

Lord THE *Brendell*
ANNALES OF
CORNELIVS *A2*
TACITVS. *12*

THE
DESCRIPTION
OF
GERMANIE.



LONDON,
Printed by *J. L.* for *Richard Whitaker*, and are to be
fold at the signe of the Kings Armes in *Pauls*
Church-yard. 1640.

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TO
THE RIGHT HO-
NOVRABLE, ROBERT
EARLE OF ESSEX AND EVVE,
Earle Marshall of England, Viscount Hereford
and Bouchier, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bouchier
and Lovaine, Knight of the most noble Order of the
Garter, Master of the Queens Majesties horse, and
one of her Majesties most honourable
Privie Counsell.

THE worthinesse of this Authour well known un-
to your Honour, putteth me in some hope of par-
don for my presumption; in presenting unto your
Honours view, and craving a favourable acceptance
of my bold unskilfulnesse. For if Historie be the
treasure of times past, and as well a guide, as image
of mans present estate, a true and lively patterne of things to come,
and as some terme it, the work-mistresse of experience, which is the
mother of prudence; *Tacitus* may by good right chalenge the first
place among the best. In judgement there is none sounder, for instru-
ction of life, for all times, to those which oft reade him judiciously,
nothing yeelding to the best Philosophers: no word not loaden with
matter, and as himselfe speaketh of *Galba*, he useth *Imperitoria brevi-
tate*: which although it breed difficultie, yet carrieth great gravitie. I
present him therefore to your Honours favourable protection in re-
gard of himselfe; but yet no otherwise then as a glasse, representing

in lively colours of prowesse, magnanimitic and counsell; not onely worthy personages of ages past and gone, but also your L. owne honourable vertues, whereof the World is both witnesse and judge. If your L. vouchsafe to receive him (though greatly darkened of that he first was, and very much dimmed in respect of the Historie alreadie in our tongue) into any degree of favour, I little doubt but others will both look on him, and the better like and allow him: for here below we receive either light or darknesse from above. *Vespasians* example wrought more then a law: for *obsequium in Principes*, and *emulandi amor*, to speak with *Tacitus*, maketh that to be in greatest request, which perhaps in it selfe deserveth least. Whatsoever my unskilfull paines hath been, my zeale and devotion to your Honour I present with it; unto whom

I wish all good hap and felicity, with the
accomplishment of vertues
and honourable
desires.

Your Honours most humbly devoted,

RICHARD GREENWEY.



TO THE READER.

THat which most men alleadge, courteous Reader, as a cause of publishing unto the World their commendable endeavours; as commandement of superiours, intreatie of friends, or such like; causes yeelding some excuse, if things well done by them needed any; that can I no way pretend: though no man hath juster cause to invent somewhat to excuse that, which (well knowing and confessing my owne insufficiency) I should by no inducements have beene drawne unto. For I wanted not judgement to know, that to performe this I undertooke as I ought, was a matter beyond the compasse of my skill: yet nevertheless my will overcoming my owne judgement and reason in undertaking, I have ventured my credit to the wide sea of common opinion, and dangerous censure; and knowing the best, have followed the worst. A fault perhaps pardonlesse in the rigoroust censure, and which bred in my selfe a long time distrust and feare: yet at last, encouraged by hope to finde some milder Iudges for my boldnesse, I ventured this labour, and performed it thus meanely as thou seest: trusting the courteous Reader, if in ought I have pleased him, will afford me his good word for my good will, and in that I have done amisse pardon, and a favourable construction for my paines. And although in reason it seemeth, I should most of all feare the censure of the learned (if any such vouchsafe to reade this Translation) in regard they best can, and with quickest insight pierce into my want of skill, judgement, and understanding; yet in those

those is my greatest hope, because they be learned. Cause sufficient to feare no captious or carping constructions, as a property ill be-
seeming their good qualitie and education. I was well assured that he
who best might would take no further paines in this kinde: nor bearing
of any other which would, I thought some could be contented
to have it rather ill done, then not at all. Friend-
ly Reader, I crave pardon for my faults,
and desire thou wouldest favour-
ably beare with my
overights.

Farewell.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

*The Proeme of Tacitus, containing the forme of government untill
Augustus time: with the subject of this Work.*

THE Citie of Rome was in the beginning governed by Kings.
Libertie and the Consulship *L. Brutus* brought it. The Dicta-
tors were chosen but for a time: the *Decemviri* passed not two
yeeres: neither had the Consulary authoritie of the Tribunes of
the souldiers any long continuance: nor *Cinna*, nor *Sillaes* dom-
inion: *Pompey* and *Crassus* quickly yeelded to *Cæsars* forces:
Lepidus and *Antony* to *Augustus*, who entitling himself by the
name of Prince, brought under his obedience the whole Ro-
mane state, wearied and weakened with civill disorders. But as well the prosperous,
as unprosperous successes of the ancient Common-wealth, excellent Writers have
recorded: neither wanted their worthy and singular wits, to deliver *Augustus* ex-
ploits, untill they were by the overswarming of flatterers utterly discouraged. *Ti-*
berius, *Caius*, *Claudius* and *Neroes* actions, they yet living, and flourishing, were falsly
set down, for feare; and after their death, through fresh hatred, as corruptly as be-
fore. Whereupon I intend to deliver some few things done in *Augustus* latter times:
then *Neroes* reign, and other occurrences as they fell out, without passion or partialitie,
as being free from motives of both.

1. *The means by which Augustus came to the Empire:
and whom he chose to succeed.*

After that *Brutus* and *Cassius* were slain, and no armes now publicly born; *Pom-*
pey defeated in Sicilie; *Lepidus* disarmed; *Antonie* killed; and no chief leader of
Julius Cæsars faction left, but onely *Augustus*: he would no longer be called *Tri-*
umvir, but in shew contented with the dignity of a Tribune to defend the people, bea-
ring himself as Consul: after he had wound into the favour of the souldier by gifts,
of the people by provision of sustenance; and of all in generall with the sweetnesse
of ease and repose, by little and little taking upon him, he drew to himself the affaires
of Senate, the dutie of magistrates and laws, without contradiction of any: the stout-
est by warre or proscriptions already spent, and the rest of the nobilitie, by how much
the more servicable, by so much the more bettered in wealth, and advanced in ho-
nours: seeing their preferment to grow by new government, did rather choose the
present estate with securitie, then strive to recover their old with danger. That form

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of government the Provinces disliked not, as mistrusting the Senates and peoples regiment by reason of noble mens factions; covetousnesse of magistrates: the laws affording no securitie, being swayed hither and thither by might, ambition, and corruption. Besides this, *Augustus* labouring by some stay to settle the soveraigntie, advanced *Claudius Marcellus* his sisters sonne, being very young, to the pontificall dignitie and *Edilship*: and *M. Agrippa* meanelly descended, but in martiall exploits warlike, and a companion in his victories, to be twice *Consull* together; and after *Marcellus* death, chose him to be his sonne in law. And his own house not failing, he bestowed the title of Emperour upon *Tiberius Nero* and *Claudius Drusus* his wives children; and adopted *Caius* and *Lucius Agrippas* children: and making shew to the contrary, yet his earnest desire was, they should be called Princes of youth, and chosen *Consuls* elect, before they had cast off their pretext or infants garments. But when *Agrippa* was dead, and *Lucius* going into Spain to take charge of the armie, and *Caius* returning wounded out of Armenia, by hastie fate or treachery of their stepmother *Livia*: *Drusus* also dead long before, onely *Nero* was left of all *Augustus* sonnes in law. Unto him all men now crouched and fawned; being received the adopted sonne of *Augustus*, copartner of the Empire; associate of the Tribunitian dignitie, shewn to the campe as successour; not as before, by secret devises and practises of his mother, but openly perswading the Emperour thereto. For he had so enthralled the silly old man, that *Agrippa Posthumus* his onely nephew, he had confined in the Iland *Planasia*: indeed, badly trained up in liberal Sciences, and sottishly bragging of his strength and activitie of body; but yet never detected of any notorious vice. He gave *Germanicus* son unto *Drusus*, charge over eight legions, by the river of Rhene; and commanded *Tiberius* (albeit he had a sonne of his own) to adopt him, the better to establish the succession with moe stayes then one. Warres there were none at that time, but only against the Germans, not so much in regard of enlarging the Empire; hope of bootie or reward, as to blot out the dishonour received, when he lost his army with *Quintilius Varro*. All was quiet in the Citie, the old names of the magistrates unchanged; the young men born after the victory of Actium, and the greatest part of the old, during the civill wars: how many were there, which had seene the ancient forme of government of the free Common-wealth? Thus then the state of the citie turned up-side down, there was no signe of the old laudable customes to be seene; but contrary, equalitie taken away, every man endeavoured to obey the Prince; misdoubting nothing, whilst *Augustus*, yet strong in body, was able to defend himself, his house, and peace. But when he grew old and feeble with sicknesse, and that the end of his government, and hope of a new was not farre off: some few, but in vain, disscourst of the commodities of libertie: some feared warre, some desired it: but the greatest part used lavish speeches, and spred rumours against the next conjectured successour. *Agrippa* they counted by nature cruell, and through the indignitie of his late disgrace easily kindled; young, and raw in state matters, unable for so great a charge. Indeed, *Tiberius* was of convenient and ripe yeeres, expert in feates of warre, but posselt with the hereditary pride of the *Claudian* Family: yea many apparant sparkles of crueltie did burst out in him, howsoever he went about to suppress them. Besides, he was brought up in an house, which knew how to reigne: the *Consulship* was more then once cast upon him with triumphes. During the time that he was at Rhodes (cloking his exile under colour of retiring himself) he dreamt of nothing but revenge, dissimulation, and secret means of licentious lusts: withall, he had his mother at hand, intolerable in all imperfections incident to the sexe: and thereby they were to obey a woman, and two young men, which would in the meane space oppresse, and in time rent in pieces the Common-wealth.

II. The

II. The death of Augustus: and Tiberius Nero made Emperour.

VV Hilest they thus debated the matter, *Augustus* maladie increased; and as it was suspected by some, through the lewde practise of his wife. For not many moneths before, a rumour was spread, that *Augustus* with the privitie of a few, accompanied onely with *Fabius Maximus*, had conveyed himselfe to the Iland *Planasia*, to visit his nephew *Agrippa*, both weeping tenderly at their meeting, with manifest tokens of love, and a hope conceived that the young man should be recalled and restored to his Grandfathers house. *Fabius* disclosed this to *Martia* his wife, and shew to *Livia*, and *C. Navus* to *Cesar*: for not long after *Fabius* (doubtfull whether by his owne procurement or not) being deceased, his wife *Martia* among other her lamentations at her husbands funerall, was overheard to accuse her selfe, as the cause of her husbands death. But howsoever the matter passed, *Tiberius* had scarce put foot in Illyricum, when by letters from his mother hee was recalled in post haste: not being well knowne, when hee arrived at *Nola*, whether there were any breath yet left in *Augustus* or not. For *Livia* had beset the house with a watchfull and straight guard, sometimes giving out that *Augustus* was on the mending hand; and so having made all sure on all hand, as the time and occasion required, the same rumour which not long before gave joyfull newes of *Augustus* amendment, now published that hee was dead, and *Nero* in possession of the Empire. The first exploit this new Prince did, was the murdering of *Posthumus Agrippa*; whom a Centurion resolute and appointed for the purpose, and taking him unarmed and misdoubting nothing, yet could hardly dispatch. *Tiberius* made no words of this to the Senate, but pretended that it was done by his fathers appointment; who (as hee said) had given charge to the Centurion which had the guarding of him, to make him away incontinently after hee had intelligence of his death. Little doubt but *Augustus* complaining of the young mans untowardly behaviour, caused his exile to be confirmed by decree of the Senate: but yet he never persisted long in desiring the death of any of his; neither was it credible that to assure the estate to his wives sonne, he would seeke the bloud of his owne nephew. But very likely it is, that the young mans death was hastened by *Tiberius* feare, and *Livias* hatred: the one as jealous, least hee should bandie for the soveraigntie; the other through the naturall hatred incident to all stepmothers. When the Centurion brought him word (as the manner of service was) that hee had fulfilled his commandment, he answered presently, that he commanded him no such matter, and that hee should answer it before the Senate. When this newes came to *Crispus Salustius* eares (who being inward in greatest secrets with *Tiberius*, had by letters given the Centurion order how to proceede) fearing least his owne turne should bee next, dangerous to him alike: to confesse the truerh, or to stande to a lie: advised *Livia* that he should not in any wise divulgate the secrets of her house, the councill of friends, and services of souldiers; and that *Tiberius* should beware of weakening the power of Soveraigntie, in referring all things to the Senate: the qualitie of absolute rule being such, that it could not stand but in one alone. Now at *Rome* the *Consuls*, the Senators, and Gentlemen ranne headlong to servitude; and the more nobler, the fairer shew, and the more hasty, but with a composed and settled countenance, least they should seeme over glad of the death of the last, or discontented with the new Prince, they tempered their griefe with joy, and lamentation with flatterie. The two *Consuls*

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Sext. Pompeius, and *Sext. Apuleius* did first sweare allegiance to *Tiberius Caesar*: and after into their hands, *Seius Strabo* and *C. Turrianus*, the one Capitaine of the guard, the other chiefe Officer for provision of corne. After them the Lords of the Senate, the souldiers, and the people. For *Tiberius* would have all things begonne by the Consuls, as the manner was in the ancient free commonwealth: as though hee had not resolved with himselfe whether it were best for him to accept of the Empire or not. No, not so much as the edict to call the Lords to the Senate to counsell, but was proclaimed in vertue and authoritie of a Tribune; which dignitie he had received in *Augustus* time. The words of the Edict were not many, and delivered in modest termes. That he would onely consult what pomp and honour were fit to be done for his father: and that he would not depart from the body: which should be the onely publick charge he would undertake. Neverthelesse when *Augustus* was dead, he gave the watch-word to the guard: placed the watch: disposed of the souldiers: managed all the affaires of Court, as if hee had bene Emperour. The souldiers waited on him to the place of publike assemblies; to the Senate house; and dispatched letters to the Campe, as though he had bene in full possession of the state: irresolute in nothing, but when hee should speake in the Senate. The chieft cause proceeded of feare; least *Germanicus* who had so many legions at commandement; such strong aides of confederates; and so exceedingly beloved of the people, should rather hold, then expect the possession of the Empire. He stood on his reputation likewise, and seemed rather to be called and chosen by the Common-wealth, then creepe in by the canvassing of a woman, and adoption of an old man. It was afterward further knowne, that he used that lingering doubtfullnesse, the better to sound the affection of the Nobilitie; for observing their countenance, and wresting their words to the worst, he bare them all in minde. In the first meeting of the Senate, hee would have nothing debated, but *Augustus* last will and Testament; which being brought in by *Vestres Virgins*, declared *Tiberius* and *Livia* to be his heires: and that *Livia* was adopted into the *Julian* family, and intituled by the name of *Augusta*. After them he substituted his nephewes, and nephewes sons: and in the third place the Peeres of the citie, which in generall he hated; yet hee did it to winne fame and glory with posteritie. His legacies were moderate, like unto other citizens, saving that hee gave as well to the common fort, as the rest of the people, foure hundred and thirtie five thousand nummos*: to every souldier of the Pretorian band a thousand*; to every one of the legionary cohorts which consisted of citizens of Rome, three hundred*.

III. The solemnities of Augustus funerals, and the censure which men gave of him.

After that, consultation was had concerning the pompe and solemnities of the funerals; among which the most honourable and magnificent were iudged to be these. *Gallus Asinius* thought it meete that the dead corps should be brought through the triumphall gate; and *L. Arruntius*, that the titles of the lawes by him ordained, and the names of the nations by him vanquished, should be carried before him. *Messalla Valerius* added, that it was convenient the oath of allegiance should every yeere be renewed in *Tiberius* name. Who being demanded of *Tiberius*, whether hee had commandement from him fo to advise; answered, that he did propound it of his owne free motion: and that in matters concerning the Common-wealth, he would use no mans advise but his own, although it should be with danger and

and offence: so farre had flattery spread it selfe, that that onely kinde remained unpractised. The Lords of the Senate after that cryed with one voice, that they themselves would carry the corpses to the funerall fire on their shoulders: which *Caesar* did yeeld unto with a modestie, yet favouring of arrogancy. And admonished the people by proclamation, that they would not (as in times past they had disturbed the buriall of *Julius Caesar* of famous memory) carried away with over-great affection, so desire now that *Augustus* body should rather be burnt in the place of publick assemblies, then in *Campus Martius*, a place deputed to that use. The day of the funerals being come, the souldiers were placed as it were a guard to the body, when as such as had either scene or heard their fathers report, of the fresh and late yoke of cruell servitude, unluckily attempted to be shaken off, and recover their ancient libertie: then I say, when the murdering of *Julius Caesar* the Dictator seemed unto some a wicked, and unto others a worthy deede; laughed to see that now an old Prince which had reigned so many yeeres, and provided heires to succeed him in might and wealth, should need a guard of souldiers quietly to celebrate his funerals. This bred sundry speeches of *Augustus*, many marvelling at vain and frivolous things: as that his death fell on the same day he was made Emperour: that he died at *Nola* in the same house and chamber, that before him his father *Octavius* did: they made it a great matter that he alone had been as oft Consul, as *Valerius Corvinus*, and *C. Marius* both together: that he had continued Tribune seven and thirtie yeeres, had been honoured with the name of Emperour one and twenty times; with many other old and new dignities bestowed or invented for him. But among the better sort his life was diversly commended or discommended: Some said, that the love of his father, and the care of the Common-wealth, at that time when all lawes were dashed, drove him to civill warres, which can never be begun or prosecuted by any good meanes: and that he had yeelded in many things to *Antonic*, and to *Lepidus* in like manner, because he would revenge his fathers death. For seeing the one grew carelesse with age, and the other wasted with lasciviousnesse, there was no other meanes left to redresse all discords in the common-wealth, then to bring her under the obedience of one alone, who should governe; neverthelesse nor as King or Dictator, but as Prince. The Empire he had bounded with the Ocean, and other Rivers farre off: the Legions, Provinces and Navie, were linked and knit in peace and unity: justice was ministred in the cities: the allies entreated with modesty: the city beautified with sumptuous building: and if any rigorous dealing had been used against some few, it was for setting of quietnes in the whole. Contrarily some said, that the love of his father, the corruption of times, served him but for a cloake and colour: and that he had stirred up the old souldiers by gifts and bribery, through ambition and desire of rule; that being yet but young and a private person, he had gathered a power; corrupted the legions of the Consuls; that he made a shew onely of favouring *Pompeius* side: but had no sooner gotten by order of the Senators the *fasces* or knitch of rods, and the Pretorship; after the death of *Hircius* and *Pansa*, (both slain by the enimie, or *Pansas* wound poisoned, and *Hircius* murdered by the souldiers, or by *Caesar* the contriver of the feat) but he seized on both their forces, extorted the Consulship; maugre the Senators; and the power assigned him to subdue *Antony*, he converted against the Common-wealth. He banished the Citizens, divided their lands, and gave away their goods, which were things by the doers themselves discommended. Indeed the revenge and pursuing his fathers death upon *Cassius* and *Brutus* may be tolerated (albeit it had been convenient for a publick benefit to have laid aside private grudges) but he deceived *Pompey* under colour

* Three pound
seven shillings
eleven pence
quart.
* 7 lb. 16 s. 3 d.
* 46 s. 10 d. p.

colour of peace, and *Lepidus* under a shadow of friendship. Afterward he tolled on *Antonie* with the treatie of Tarentum and Brundisium, and marriage of his sister, which deceitfull alliance he payed with the losse of his life. Doubtlesse a peace ensued this, but a bloody one, as may witnesse the death of *Lollus* and *Varus*, and in *Rome* it self, of *Varro Egnatius* and *Iulius*. Neither did they forbear to discourse of his domesticall affaires: as that he took *Neroes* wife from him, and asked the opinion of the Pontife in a scoffe, whether there might be a lawfull marriage betwixt them, she being with childe by her other husband, but not yet delivered. They forgot not *L. Atedius*, and *Vedius Pollius* riot and lasciviousnesse. Finally, that *Livia* was an intolerable and burthenesome mother to the common-wealth, and to the house of the *Cæsars* a dangerous stepdame. There was no honour left for the gods, seeing he would himselfe by the Priests and Flamines be worshipped in the temples, with all the ornaments belonging to the gods. Neither was *Tiberius* chosen successor to the State for love of himselfe, or care of the Common-wealth, but deeply in seeing into his lofty and bloody disposition, he would by being so unequally compared with so outrageous a mate, win glory afterward to himselfe. And although *Augustus* had not many yeeres before uttered honourable speeches in *Tiberius* behalfe before the Lords of the Senate, when he sued to make him once againe in Tribune: yet he interlaced somethings among, touching his attire and behaviour, which in the executing of him, seemed to turn to his disgrace and reproach.

IIII. *Tiberius dissimbling colour in refusing the Empire; Augustus judgement of three which were desirous or worthy of the Empire.*

A *ugustus* funerals being ended according to the usuall manner; a temple and religious ceremonies were instituted in honour of him: from that time forward all suits and requests were made to *Tiberius*, who discouraging diversly of the greatnesse of the Empire, and in modest termes of his own insufficiency, thought *Augustus* wisdom onely capable of so weighty a charge, that himselfe being assumed by *Augustus*, as an associate and partner in the state, had by good proofe learned, how hard a matter, and how subject unto fortunes change, rule and sovereignty was. And seeing the city was replenished with so many famous and worthy personages, better it were and more ease, that many, joyning their studies and cares together, should undertake the charge, then cast all upon one mans shoulders. His speech carried greater majestie then truth: for *Tiberius* either by nature, or by custome, even in those times which he would have known, spake alwayes darkly and doubtfully; but then of set purpose endeavouring to hide his drifts, wrapped himselfe more then ever, in a dark cloud of uncertaintie and ambiguitie. But the Lords of the Senate fearing all one thing (which was left some peril might ensue, if he should doubt that they perceived his dissimulation) began to lament, complain, offer up vows; and lift up their hands to the gods; to *Augustus* image, and to his own knees; untill he commanded the booke of remembrances to be brought forth and read. That booke contained the wealth of the publick treasure; how many citizens and allies were in armes; what strength there was by sea; how many kingdomes, provinces, and countries yielded obedience to the Empire, what tribute was levied; what customes; what necessary charges issued out; what gifts; and all written with *Augustus* own hand. Withall he gave a politick instruction (yet whether for feare or enyie uncertain) how to retrain the Empire within boundes and limits.

limits. Whilest these things were a handling, and the Senators in most low and humble manner intreating, that he would accept the charge: *Tiberius* letting slip a word by chance, that as he was unable to take charge of the whole; so he would undertake the protection of any one part they should assigne him. *Asinius Gallus* asked him, What part, *Cæsar*, wouldst thou have committed to thy charge? Who being stroken in a maze with this unlooked for demand, stood mute a while: then gathering his spirits to him answered, That it ill befitted his modesty, to choose or refuse any one part of that, from all which he desired to be excused. *Gallus* replied (for by his countenance he conjectured he was offended) that he did not therefore demand that question, as though he would sever that, which was inseperable; but by his owne confession convict him, that the common-wealth was but one body, and therefore to be governed by ones onely wisdom. And continuing his speech added many things in commendation of *Augustus*: and called to remembrance *Tiberius* owne victories, and divers notable things done for many yeeres in time of peace. But all this could not appease the Princes inveterate hatred against him: as though by marrying *Vipsana* daughter to *M. Agrippa*, once wife to *Tiberius*, he had carried too lofty a courage, and higher aspiring mind, then the private calling of a citizen; and favouring of the heady and fierce humour of *Asinius Pollio* his father. After that *L. Aruntius* using speeches not unlike unto *Pollio*, offended alike: and although he bore *Aruntius* no old grudge, yet because he was wealthy, bold, learned, and in reputation with all men, he had him in jealousy. When *Augustus* drew towards his latter end, discouraging who were likeliest to possess the place after his death; who would refuse it, although they should be chosen as meet: who being unmeet and unable, yet would desire it: who could discharge it, and would undertake it: said that *M. Lepidus* was for his sufficiency able, but would refuse: *Gallus Asinius* greedy to lay hold on it, but was insufficient: *L. Aruntius* was not unworthy, and if occasion were given would venture for it. All men agreed that the two first were so named, but for *Aruntius* some put *C. C. P. P.*; and howsoever it was, all saving *Lepidus*, through *Tiberius* practise, for sundry pretended crimes were made away. *L. Haterius* likewise, and *M. Iunius Scaurus* troubled his jealous head: the one by saying, How long *Cæsar* wilt thou suffer the common-wealth to want a head? The other, because he hoped that the petitions of the Senators should take effect; seeing he did not as he might, withstand the relation of the Consuls by being Tribune. He inveied sharply, and thit incontinently against *Haterius*, but let goe *Scaurus* without any word: although he were more implacably offended with him then the other. And being wearied with the clamors of all in generall, and importunity of some in particular, by little and little yielded unto their requests: not so much because he would confesse, he tooke the charge of the Empire on him; as to make an end of refusing, or being any more entreated. Certaine it is, that as *Haterius* went to the palace to crave pardon of *Tiberius*; he narrowly escaped from being slaine of the souldiers: because that calling himselfe at his knees as he was walking; either by chance, or happily hindered by *Haterius*, the Emperour fell: yet that danger did nothing mitigate his wrath: untill *Haterius* making entreatie to *Augustus*, by her earnest suite was protected. Exceeding great flatterie was used towards her by the Senators, some being of opinion that these would be called the foundres of the common-wealth, some the mother: and many that besides the name of *Cæsar*, the sonne of *Julia* should be added. But *Tiberius* answered, that titles of honour ought to be moderately given unto women: and that he would use the same moderation in such as should be bestowed on himselfe. This he did upon envy and jealousy

jealousie: and therefore thinking her greatnes to be his owne abasement, would not suffer her to have a sergeant before her, or an altar to be dedicated in memory of her adoption, nor any such like honour. He entreated nevertheless that Proconsularie authority might be given *Germanicus Caesar*, which was sent him by Embassadors, with commandment to comfort him for the death of *Augustus*. The reason why the like was not demanded in favour of *Drusus*, was because he was there present and Confull elect. And as *Augustus* had ordained before, he did nominate twelve competitors, for the Pretorship, and bound it with an oath he would not passe that number, although the Senators exhorted that they might be increased. That was the first time that the election of Magistrates was taken from the people, and transferred to the Lords of the Senate. For although untill that day all matters were swaied as best liked the Prince: yet some things were left to the favour and voyces of the Tribes. Neither did the people but with a vaine rumour complaine, that their right was taken from them; and the Senators seeing themselves delivered of many bribes and unseemly suites, were well contented to accept the authority: *Tiberius* so moderating the matter, that he commended onely foure competitors, which should be elected without suit or feare of repulse. The Tribunes of the people made request that it might be lawfull for them to set forth playes at their owne costs, and record them in the Calender of the Citie, and call them *Augustales*, by the name of *Augustus*. The playes were granted: but the costs and expenses were to rise out of the publike Treasury: and that it should be lawfull for them to use the triumphal robe in the race, but not be carried in a Chariot. Not long after the annual celebration of these Playes, was cast upon the Pretor, which was judge between the citizen and the forraier.

V. A rebellion in Pannony, stirred up by Percennius.

THIS was the estate of the citie affaires, when the legions of Pannony mutined: for no new occasions, but only because the change of the Prince gave licence of hurly burly, and hope of gaine by civill wars. These were three legions of the summer camps committed to *Iunius Blefus* charge, who advertised of the death of *Augustus*, and *Tiberius* entring to the government (in regard of the vacation which then happened, or joy conceived) neglected the accustomed care of his dutie. Hereupon the souldiers began to grow licentious and quarrellsome, and gave care to the most dissolute and disorderd: and in fine hunted after riot and ease; set nought by all militarie discipline, and refused travell and labour. There was one *Percennius* in the garrisons, who had beene sometimes a ringleader of factious companions on Stages, and Theaters; afterward a common souldier; an impudent and saucy prater; well practiced in disturbing assemblies: to shew favour unto such actors as he favoured. This *Percennius* after the better sort were gone to their lodgings, by little and little in secret conventicles in the night, or in the shutting of the evening, gathered together, and stirred up the unexpect of the souldiers, and such as were most doubtfull what entertainment they should expect after the death of *Augustus*. And when he had gathered about him of the most licentious a sufficient rabble, and readiest instruments of sedition, in manner of an Oration he began to question with them thus. Why they would like bondslaves be subject to a small number of Centurions, and a smaller of Tribunes? when durst they seeke a redresse, if they would not now present themselves to the Prince with intreaty or the sword; whilest

whilest he is new, and not fully settled in the state? they had through cowardlinesse held their tongue many yeeres, some thirtie, some fourtie in pay, overgrown with age, and many their limmes lost in service. And after they were licenced to depart, yet they were not at an end of service; but detained under ensignes, indure as great toile as before under a new name. And if any escaped so many hazards alive, they were drawne into fundry countreys, where under a colour of some lands, either moorish bogs, or barren mountainous crags were allotted to their share. Besides, service was painefull in it selfe and unprofitable; their lives and bodies valued but at ten asses^a a day: having no better allowance to furnish themselves with weapons, apparell, and tents; and redeeme themselves from the cruell usage of the Centurions; pay fees of vacations from servile ministries: yet their stripes, wounds, hard winters, scorching summers, bloody battels, and fruitlesse peace had no end: and hope of redresse there was none, unlesse certaine lawes were set downe for such as enter into service; as that every ones pay should be bettered to a denier^b a day; and none bound to serve above sixteene yeeres; and from that time forward, they should not be detained under ensignes, but receive in the same campe they served, their recompense in ready coyne. What? did the Pretorian bands, which received two deniers^c a day, and at the end of sixteene yeeres were sent to their houses, oppose themselves to greater dangers then they? yet hee did not speake this to deprave or diminish the credit of the citie-guard, but because they should consider what a hard part they were offered; yet hee for his owne part being lodged among savage and barbarous people, did from his cabine see the enemy every houre. The baser sort came murmuring about him, and stirred up others with divers encouragements: some reprochfully shewing the wales of their stripes; some their gray haire; some their ragged torne coates; and some their naked bodies. At last they grew into such a fury and rage, that they purposed of three legions shuffled together to make one: but they changed that devise very quickly, every one through emulation coveting that honour for his own legion; and pitched the three standards and ensignes together: withall they threw up mounds of turfes, and placed on it a Tribunal, to the end the seat might be more conspicuous. As they halted to finish the worke, *Blefus* came in among them, rebuking some, and hindering now one, now another, and crying aloud, In my blood rather imbrue your hands; for it is a lesser offence to slay the Lieutenant, then fall from the obedience of the Emperour. I will either with my life keepe the legion in faithfull allegiance; or being slaine by you, hasten your repentance. Nevertheless they held on their worke untill they had brought it breft high; when at last being overcome with his importunacie, they gave over their enterprise: then *Blefus* did in good and eloquent manner shew unto them, that it was not convenient that Souldiers petitions should be carried to the Emperour by mutinie and rebellion. Neither did the old Souldiers under Emperours in times past, nor yet they themselves demand of *Augustus* such unlawfull and new requests: and that in an unseasonable time: the new Prince was burdened with cares in the beginning of his Empire. Notwithstanding, if their purpose was to obtaine that in a time of peace, which being conquerors in civill wars, they never attempted; yet why do they contrary to the duty of allegiance, and order of service, use force? they should rather depute some Embassadour to *Caesar*, with publike commission, to declare their requests. They all cried immediately, that *Blefus* sonne a Tribune might undertake the Embassie, and intreate that all such as had served sixteene yeeres, should be dismissed and sent home: which being granted; then they would enjoyne him the rest of his charge. The young man being departed with this message

message, they surceased their rebellion. But the souldiers grew proud that the Lieutenants sonne undertooke to plead the common cause; as being an evident token that they had wrung out that by force, which by modest demeanour they should never have obtained.

V I. *The rebellion continueth: a praise of Vibulenus against Blæsus.*

IN the meane season, certaine bands of souldiers sent to Nauportum before the rebellion began, to see the waies cleare, the bridges safe, and other conveniences for the warre: understanding of the mutinie growen in the campe, snatched up their ensignes; and lacking villages adjoyning, and Nauport it selfe, which might have passed for a reasonable free-rowne; injured & reviled the Centurions which went about to bridle them; first with scoffes & reprochfull termes; then with blowes and stripes. But they had an especiall hart-burning against *Ausidienus Rufus*, the campe-maister; whom they pulled out of his chariot, and loaded with a sardle of stufte, and made him march formost of all the company: now and then asking him in a mockery, whether he bare so great a burden willingly or not; or whether so long a journey seemed not tedious unto him? This *Rufus* had long bene a common souldier; then a Centurion; then the campe-maister: and fought to renew the ancient rigour of service; and being himselfe hardened to beare any labor & travell, was so much the more cruell, because himselfe had endured the like. These companies joyning with the other legions, began to rebell a fresh; and stragling some one way, some another, destroy and waste all about them. *Blæsus* to terifie the rest, commanded some few, and especially such as had the greatest pillage, to be apprehended, whipt and cast into prison; for even then the Centurions, and the better sort of the souldiers were obedient to the Lieutenant. But the prisoners drew backe, and resisted such as led them, caught holde and embraced the knees of the standers by; calling every man by his name, or by the name of the band he served under, or cohort, or legion; crying that they should drinke all of the same cup: withall, they heaped injurie upon injurie against the Lieutenant: called to witness the heavens and the gods: and left nothing undone or unsaid, which might serve to stirre hatred, move compassion, breed feare, or provoke anger. The souldiers clustered all together, brake open the prisons, set at libertie the prisoners, and thrust in among themselves, the fugitives and condemned of capitall crimes. This kindled the rage of the souldier: and more ringleaders joyned with them. Among whom one *Vibulenus* a common souldier, lifted on the shoulders of the standers by, before *Blæsus* Tribunal, began to speake unto the disordered and attentive souldiers in this manner. You have given light and life to these innocent and miserable wretches; but when will you restore life to my brother, and my brother to mee? who being sent unto you from the Germane campe, to entreat of the common profit and good, was this last night murdered by his Fencers, which he hath alwaies ready armed to cut the souldiers throates: answer, *Blæsus*, where hast thou throwne his body? for the enemies themselves envie not that I should burie him? And when I shall have filled my griefe with kissing, and weeping over him, command me to be murdered also: so as these our companions bury him & me; flaine for no other offence, but because he furthered the common good and profit of the Legions. He inflamed his words with teares, beating himselfe on the face and breast: then thrusting them from him on whose shoulders he was carried, and throwing himselfe at every mans feet, drove them all into such amaze, and

and stirred such hatred, that part of the souldiers laid hands on *Blæsus* Fencers, and bound them; part on the residue of his family; and part ran hither and thither, to seeke for *Vibulenus* brothers body. And if it had not appeared incontinently, that there was no such body found; if his slaves by torture had not denied any such pretended murder to have been committed; and further, that *Vibulenus* never had any such brother: the souldiers would hardly have spared the Lieutenants life. Nevertheless, they thrust out the Tribune and Camp-maister, spoiled and robbed such as fled, slew *Lucillus* a Centurion, whom the souldiers by a nickname called *Cedo alteram*, give mee another, because that when hee had broken upon a souldiers shoulders his vine-wand, his manner was to call aloude, give mee another; and when that was broken, another. The rest were saved by hiding themselves; only *Iulius Clemens* they kept alive, because that having a ready and quicke wit, they thought him a meete man to be employed as an Embassadour in the souldiers behalfe. Besides this, the eight and the fiftenth legions were now ready to goe together by the eares, because the eight legion demanded *Serpius* a Centurion to death, whom the fiftenth defended: if the ninth legion had not interposed her selfe, first by way of intreaty; then menacing such as made light of them.

V I I. *Drusus is sent to appease the rebellion in Pannony: and the ringleaders punished.*

VW Hen *Tiberius* had intelligence of these mutinies: although he were close, and a great dissembler of bad tidings; resolved to send his sonne *Drusus* unto these legions with certaine of the principallest Gentlemen of the Citie, with two Pretorian bands, without any limited commission, but to determine there, as occasion best required. The bands were of extraordinarie choise men, and stronger then any other were used to be, and a greater part of his guard of horsemen, and the ablest Germans of his owne guard. *Aelius Sejanus* also Captaine of the guard, was sent with him, once an associate and companion to *Strabo* his father, and a man highly in credit with *Tiberius*; as well to be a guide to the young Prince, as to shew unto others the danger or reward of ill or well doing. When *Drusus* was come neere unto them, the legions met him as it were to doe their dutie; but not as the manner was, cheerefully with glittering ensignes, but in base and abject habit: and in countenance although pretending sadnesse, yet indeed were neerer wilfull obstinacie. After he was entred the trench of the campe, they set a strong guard at the gates, commanded some troupes to attend at certaine places of the campe, and the rest came, and environed the Tribunal in huge multitudes. *Drusus* stood up, and with his hand commanded silence to be made. When the souldiers beheld what a multitude they were, they made a dreadfull noise with hideous tunes; then anon turning their eyes towards *Cæsar* they quaked for feare: after that they made a confused murmuring and buzzing; then a cruell outcry; and on a sudden all was hush againe; which bred, as men were diversly affected, either a feare in themselves, or in others. At last the tumult ceasing, he read his fathers letters, which contained what a speciall care hee had over those most valorous legions, with whom hee had sustained many battels; and that as soone as his mind could be at rest, and the mourning for his father past, he would deale with the Lords of the Senate concerning their demands: that in the meane space hee had sent his sonne which should graunt without delay, as much as for the present could conveniently be yielded: and that the rest should be reserved to the consideration of the Senate, whom it was convenient

venient should Judge as well what deserved favour, as rigor and severity. They answered all in generall, that *Clemens* the Centurion had charge to propound their demands: he began with licence to depart after sixteen yeeres, with recompense after the end of their service: and that their wages might be a denarius a day; that the old Souldiers should not be constrained to continue under ensignes. But when *Drusus* began to pretend, that these were fit matters to be referred to the Lords of the Senate, and his fathers consideration; they cut of his speech with clamors, expostulating: "That seeing he had no authority to augment their pay; nor ease them of their labour; nor benefit them any way, to what purpose was he come thither?" But to beat and put them to death, every man had authority. It was an old trick of *Tiberius* to frustrate the legions desires, with the name of *Augustus*: and *Drusus* doth now put the same in practise. Shall they never have any sent them, but such as are under the power of another? It was strange, that the Emperour should referre only that to the knowledge of the Senate, which concerned the souldiers commodity. It were as requisite the Senators advice should be known, when a souldier should be punished, or brought to fight in battell. Did it stand with reason, there should be makers appointed, to despoise of their rewards and recompense; and that without any judge their punishments should be arbitrary? At last they goe from the Tribunal, and threaten with their fists those they met, of the guard, or *Cæsars* friends and familiars, as desirous to pick quarrels, and raise sedition. But they bare a speciall grudge unto *Cn. Lentulus*, because that he, for his yeeres, and experience in martiall feats, in greater reputation then the rest, was thought to animate *Drusus* against the souldiers, and first of all reject their licentious demands. Whom not long after (foreseeing the danger he was in) going with *Cæsar* to the standing campe, they envired him, asking whither he went? towards the Emperour, or towards the Senate? whether there he would bee also against the legions profit? And withall coming fiercely upon him, and throwing stones at him, all imbrued in blood, and certaine of present death, yet was succoured by such as came with *Cæsar*. That night which menaced great disorder, and outrageous behaviour, was quieted by a meere chance. For the Skie being cleere and bright, yet the Moone seemed to bee eclipsed on a sudden; which the souldiers, being ignorant of the cause, construed as a preface of present ill lucke: and comparing their attempts, to the eclipse; were of opinion that their successe should bee prosperous, if the goddesse should become cleere and bright againe. Whereupon they began with Trumpets, Cornets, and other brazen instruments, to make a loude noise, now joyfull, now sad, as the Moone appeared either cleere or darke. But when the blacke cloudes, rising, tooke from them the sight of the Moone, supposing he had been hidden in darkenesse, and utterly lost her light: as troubled minds fall easily into superstition, they began to complaine and lament, that that portended, their labour shall have no end; and that the gods turned their faces from their wickednesse. *Cæsar* thinking it expedient to make his profit of their feare; and governe that by wisdom, which fortune had offered: commanded the Pavillions to be viewed; *Clemens* the Centurion to bee called, and such others, as for their laudable vertues were best liked of the common sort: who thrusting themselves into the watch, the wards, and gate-keepers, increased sometimes their feare, and sometime promised hope, saying: "How long shall we besiege the Emperours house? what shall be the end of our revolt? Shall wee sweare allegiance to *Percennius* and *Vibulenus*? shall we looke for our pay at their hands? shall they reward the old Souldiers with lands? to be briefe, shall they take upon them the government of the Roman Empire, in *Nero's* and *Drusus* stead?"

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were it not better that as we were the last which offended; so we should be the first to repent? Demands in common are slowly granted: a private favour is no sooner deserved, then obtained. These speeches troubled their mindes, and bred a mistrust among themselves: the young souldiers forsooke the old: and one legion parted from another. By little and little they returned to their allegiance; went from the Gates which before they possessed: carried to their usuall places their ensignes, which in the beginning of their rebellion they had pitched together. *Drusus* the next morning calling an assembly, although he were no great Orator; yet the worthinesse of his birth supplying that want, hee condemned their former, and commended their present behaviour. Assured them that he was not to be overcome with feare and threatening: but if he perceived in them a modest carriage, intreatie of pardon with submission; he would write unto his father, that forgetting that which was past, he would give care to the legions suites. At their intreaty *Blæsus*, and *L. Apronius*, a Gentleman of Rome, and one of *Drusus* company, and *Iustus Catonius* chiefe Centurion, were sent againe to *Tiberius*. This done, *Drusus* counsellors disagreed in opinions: some holding it expedient, that expecting the Embassadors returne; the souldiers in the meane season should bee gently entreated: some that sharpe remedies ought to be used: affirming that there was no meane in the common people; and unlesse they were kept in awe, they would keepe other under. That they might easily be dealt withall, whilest they stood in feare; and therefore it was needfull that they should be bridled by their Generals authority: the ringleaders of the revolt executed, whilest yet the superstition held them in astonishment. Hereupon *Drusus* being naturally of a rough disposition, caused *Percennius* and *Vibulenus* to be put to death. Some say they were murdered in the Governours tent; others that their bodies were thrown out of the rampier to the terror of the rest. After this, a search was made for the principall Captaines of the conspiracie: whereof some roming about the campe, were slaine by the Guard, others the souldiers themselves delivered, as a testimony of their allegiance, into *Drusus* hands. But there did nothing more augment the souldiers distressed case, then an untimely winter, continuall and cruell raines; that they could neither put foote out of their tents; nor meet together: nor hardly keepe up their standards, through boisterous winds, and stormy showers, tossing them hither and thither. They were not yet rid of the feare, the heavensire stroke them into; imagining that the starres grew not darke in vaine against their wickednesse; and that the tempests fell upon them for their lowde and villanous demeanour. There was no comfort left, but to abandon those unluckie, and disloyall camps; and being purged of their offence by some propitiatory sacrifice, each legion to repaire to his standing campe. The eight legion departed first, then the fifteenth. The ninth cried that they ought to tarry for *Tiberius* answer: but being discomfited by the others departure, preventing imminent necessity, voluntarily went away. *Drusus* not expecting the Embassadors returne, seeing all quiet for the present, went backe to Rome.

VIII. A mutinie in Gallia, and many Centurions slaine.
Germanicus loyaltie to *Tiberius*.

Almost at the same time, and for the same causes, the legions of Germany rebelled: so much the more violently, by how much the more in number: with great hope that *Germanicus Cæsar* could never endure to be commanded by another: and that by following the humor of the legions, he would by maine strength

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resolute, looked into the successe of others revolt: but the lower army grew into a rage and fury: the conspiracy beginning by the one and twentieth and fifth legions, which drew also to their side the first and the twelfth: all of them being in the same Summer Campes, in the confines of *Vbium*, idle, or in very easie service. Advertisements being come of *Augustus* death, a multitude of City-borne bondmen, and after made free, newly mustered to be souldiers, given to licentiousnesse, and impatient of labour: began to fill the mindes of the ruder sort, with these speeches. That the time was now come, that the old Souldier might demand a shorter time of service; the new greater pay; and all in generall an end of their miseries: and opportunity given to revenge the crueltie of the Centurions. This was not spoken by one alone, as when *Percennius* incited the legions of *Pannonie*, nor unto dastards looking that men of better courage then they should begin: but many seditious mouthes and voyces, were at once heard to say; that the whole *Roman* state was in their hands; that by their victories it was growne great; and that of them the Emperours took their surname. The Lieutenant, the rage of the multitude having taken away his constancy, durst not resist them: when on the sudden like frantike men, with their swords drawne (a very old subject of quarell and hatred in souldiers, and a beginning of cruelty) they fell on the Centurions; threw them along; laid them on with stripes; threescore to one, to make even number with the Centurions. And having thus mangled and torne them, and slaine some, they threw them out of the Trench, or into the River of *Rhene*. Among others *Septimius* fled to the Tribunall, and cast himselfe at *Cacinaes* feet: but was with such importunacie demanded, that he could not but deliver him to the butchery. *Cassius Charea* (famous afterward to posterity for murdering *C. Caesar*) then a young man, but of a stout and brave courage, made way with his sword, through such, as armed, went about to hinder his passage. After that neither Tribune, nor Campe-master was obeyed; the watch and ward, and whatsoever the present time required, was ordered, and distributed among themselves. Those which deeply looked into the disposition of souldiers; judged it a strong argument of a great and implacable revolt, that they were not scattered and divided; nor any attempt given by a few; but grew insolent altogether: were quiet at once: with such a moderation and constancie, that thou wouldest have thought they had beene governed by one head. In the meane season newes was brought to *Germanicus* (who as I have said, was levying of subsidies and tributes in Gallia) that *Augustus* was departed. *Germanicus* had married *Augustus* niece *Agrippina*, and had by her many children, and was *Drusus Tiberius* brothers sonne, and nephew to *Augusta*: but greatly perplexed, by reason of his Uncles and grandmothers secret hatred towards him; so much the more deepe and deadly, because unjust. This proceeded of the good will and remembrance which the people of *Rome* had of *Drusus*: all of them certainly beleeving, that if he had gotten the Sovereigntie, he would have set liberty on foot againe: and hoping the like of *Germanicus*, bare him the like affection. This young Prince was of a milde disposition, very courteous, nothing at all resembling *Tiberius* in countenance, or covert and arrogant

met the souldiers out of their campe, hanging down the head; repenting them of that they had done. He was no sooner within the trench, but there was heard a confuse lamentation and complaint among them: some taking him by the hand as it were to kisse it, thrust his fingers into their mouthes, that he might feele they were toothlesse: others shewed their crooked bodies with age: Who perceiuing them confusely shuffed together, commanded to separate themselves into companies, the easier to heare his answer: and beare their ensignes before them, the better to discern their bands: wherein they obeyed slowly enough. *Germanicus* beginning with the reverence of *Augustus*, fell by little and little into the praise of the victories and triumphes, and especially the famous exploits *Tiberius* had done in Germany with those legions. Then extolled the unitie of Italie; the loyaltie of Gallia; and how all other parts of the Empire were quiet. The souldiers gave eare unto all this with silence, or with a small murmuring: but as soone as he began to touch their mutinies, expostulating; "What was become of the modest behaviour of souldiers? where was the honour of ancient discipline? whither they had driven their Tribunes and Centurions? they all uncloathed themselves, shewed him their wounds, scarres, and marks of their stripes: then with a confuse note, how deerely they bought their ease and vacations; found fault with their small pay; the intolerable paines they were put to in working: by name condemning the rampiers, trenches, seeking of flower, carrying of stones and timber, and all other provisions, either necessary in the campe; or to keep the souldiers from idlenesse. But the greatest clamours were heard to proceed from the old souldiers: whereof some having spent thirrie yeeres in service, some more; besought him to provide for such wearied poore souldiers, and not suffer them to end the rest of their dayes, in misery and pain: but delivered of such labour and toyles, that they might at length enjoy repose without penurie. Some demanded the legacie bequeathed by *Augustus* Will, and wished *Germanicus* all good fortune, offering themselves to his devotion if he would take upon him the Empire. Whereat, as though he had been distained with some villanie, he leapt from the Tribunall: and as he would have departed, the souldiers turned their weapons towards him in menacing wise, unlesse he would go back again. But crying that he would rather die, then falsifie his faith, drew his sword from his side, bent the point of it towards his breast, ready to have thrust it in; if some which were neere him by catching hold of his hand, had not withheld him by maine strength. That part of the throng which was farthest behinde, and which is scarce credible, some other getting neerer and neerer, encouraged him to strike boldly; and one called *Calpurnius* offered him his naked sword; saying that it was better pointed then his. But that even to the most furious, was thought a barbarous and savage part, and an evill president. *Cæsars* friends had time to conduct him to his pavilion: there they consulted what was best to be done; because news came, that the souldiers were in hand to dispatch Embassadours to the higher army, to draw them to the same attempt: and that they had determined to sacke Colen: and having imbrued their hands with that prey, run on to pill and waste Gallia.

Germanicus feared so much the more, because he knew the enemy would not faile to invade, as soone as he understood of the discord of the Romanes, and that the rivers side was undefended. On the other side, if the allies and confederates should arme themselves against the legions, it was to begin a new civill warre. And that it was to the state dangerous alike, to use either severitie or liberalitie: and no lesse, to grant the souldier all things or nothing. The matter being thus debated on both sides, it was thought good, that letters should be written in the Princes name, containing; That such as had served twentie yeers should be fully dismissed; and such as fixteene, discharged also: with condition onely to remaine under ensignes, and repulse the enemy: That their legacies left them by *Augustus*, should be doubled and payed. The souldier perceived that those were sleights to win time, and therefore urged a present execution: licence of departure was presently yeilded by the Tribunes, but payment deferred. The fift, and one and twentieth legion, refused to go to any standing campe, untill they had their pay in the same camps they served in. Which they received of such provision, as *Cesar* could either make by his friends, or had to serve his own turn. *Cacina* the Lieutenant brought back to *U-bium*, the first, and the twentieth legion, in base and disorderly aray: carrying between the ensignes and standards, masses of money, extorted from the Emperours treasure. *Germanicus* went to the upper armie, and there without delay, tooke the oath of allegiance, of the second, thirteen, and sixteenth legion; the fourteenth yet resting doubtfull what were best. But they had all their discharge and money offered them unasked. At the same time, certaine vexilliary, souldiers which continued under ensignes, and were placed for a guard to the Countrey, of two legions which before were at jarre began a tumult in the Countrey of the Chauceans: which was quickly suppressed by putting to death two of his souldiers. Which *Mennius* the Camp-master commanded rather for example, then right of his office. But the tumult growing hot, *Mennius* fled; and being found out, perceiving that there was no safety in lurking, tried what boldnesse could availe: saying, That they bent not their forces against the Camp-master, but against *Germanicus* their Generall, and *Tiberius* the Emperour: perceiving that those words danted such as would have hindered him, snatching up an ensigne, went to the River side, and denouncing him a fugitive and traytor which refused to follow; brought them to the Winter standing campe; astonied, and not daring to attempt any thing. In the meane season the Embassadors sent from the Senate to *Germanicus*, found him at *U-bium*, at the place called the Altar. Where two legions, the first and the twentieth wintered, with the old souldiers lately dismissed and kept under ensignes. The timorous and troubled in conscience, were surprised with a sudden feare, lest some were come by commandement of the Senate, to make frustrate all they had wrung out by rebellion. And as the manner of the people is, alwayes falsely to accuse some one or other whom they suspect: so now they laid all the blame, on *Munatius Plancus*, who had beene Consull and chiefe in the Embassie: affirming him to be the Author of that decree.

the first legion: where embracing the standard and ensignes, found safety as in a religious place. And had not *Calphurnius*, the standard-bearer, guarded him from the fury of his souldiers (athing which seldome hapneth, even among the enemies) an Embassador of the people of Rome, in the Romans campe, had with his blood polluted the Altars of the gods. Assoone as it was day, that the L. Generall, the souldier, and the attempts might be knowne; *Germanicus* entred the campe: and commanding *Plancus* to be brought to him, placed him in the Tribunall by him. Then sharply rebuking their fatall rage, stirred up by the wrath of the gods, and not the souldiers will: he openeth unto them the cause of the Embassadors coming: their priviledges, bewailing with great eloquence *Plancus* underserved h.p; and the discredit of the legions. And having rather ravished then quieted the assembly, sent away the Embassadors with a guard of auxiliary horsemen. During this feare, every man blamed *Germanicus*, that he went not to the upper army, where he should have both obedience, and ayde against the Rebels; that his fault had beene great enough, in dismissing the souldiers with money in their purses, and using them so courteously. And if he made no greater reckoning of his owne person; yet he had no reason to leave his young sonne, and his wife great with child, as a pray to furious and mad men; breakers of all humane lawes. And that he should preserve them, at the least wise, for their grandfather, and the Commonwealth. He then weighing long, what he were best to resolve: his wife refusing to forsake him: alleading, that she was descended from *Augustus*, and protesting that she would never degenerate from her blood, whatsoever danger might be presented: at last embracing both her and the child, with many teares constrained her to depart. Away then past this lamentable company of women; and the Generals wife; fleeing with his little sonne in her lap, with a heavy troupe of her friends wives about her, lead away with her for company: those which remained behind, no lesse sorrowfull then they. This resembled not a triumphing *Cesar*, marching out of his campe: but the bewailing and lamentation of a City, conquered and sackt of the enemy. Which piercing the eares of the souldiers; they went out of their cabbines, enquiring what that dolorous tune was? and from whence proceeded that lamentable noise? And perceiving those noble dames to goe without any Centurion or souldier, to guard them; and their Emperours wife destitute of her accustomed traine, going towards Trevers, to commit herselfe to the mercy of strangers: were stroken into shame and compassion: when they called to minde *Agrippa* her father, *Augustus* her Grandfather, and *Drusus* her father in law: and now she herselfe was for her chastity and child-bearing, honoured of all: and how she had had a child borne and brought up in their campe: whom by a military name they called *Caligula*: because that to win the favour of the common souldier, he wore the same kind of stocking or buskin as he did. But nothing did move them more, then the hatred of those of Trevers: and therefore began to intreat, and hinder their going: praying her that she would returne and remaine with them. Some ran before *Agrippina*; many turned backe to *Germanicus*: who through the late occasions, yet full of grieve and anger; uttered to the multi-

X. Germanicus Oration to the souldiers: she feare the
Cittie was in.

"N^Ot my wife, or sonne, are deerer unto me, then my father and the Common-wealth: but him, his owne Majesty, the Empire, the other armies shall defend. I doe now remove my wife and children (which neverthelesse I would willingly offer unto death, were it to your glory and honor) from the sight of raging mad men: that all your lewd actions be purged with my blood only; lest if you should murder *Augustus* nephewes sonne, and *Tiberius* daughter in law, you should become guilty of moe hainous crimes: for what have you not dared to attempt these dayes past? or what have you left unviolated? By what name shall I call this assembly? Shall I call you souldiers, who have besieged your Emperors sonne even within the trench? or shall I call you citizens, by whom the authority of the Senate is so little regarded? You have broken that law which one enemy observeth to another: violated the sacred freedome of Embassadors, and the law of Nations. *Tullius* of famous memory, repressed a sedition in his army with one bare word: calling such *Quirites*, which drew backe contrary to the oath of allegiance. *Augustus* of sacred memory, daunted the legions at Actium, with his look. And as for us, although we be neither of them, yet being extract from them, we thinke it strange and unmeet, that the Spanish or Syrian souldier should contemne us. Thou the first legion, and thou the twentieth, the one having received the ensignes of *Tiberius*, and the other a companion in so many battels, and enriched with so many recompenses, doe you thus guerdon your Generall? Is this the message I shall carry my father (who receiveth but good tidings from all other Provinces) that neither the young, nor old souldier, can be satisfied with licence to depart, nor money in their purse? And that here only, the Centurions are murdered, the Tribunes driven away, the Embassadors shut up? that the tents and rivers are stained with blood? and that I my selfe, hold my life but at the curtesie of such as hate me? why did you snatch out of my hands, the sword which I meant to thrust through my breast, the first day of our meeting? O unadvised friends! yet he dealt better and more lovingly with me, which offered me his sword; for by that meanes I should have ended my life, before I should have seen so many outrageous in my army. You should have made choise of a Generall, which would have left my death unpunished, yet have revenged the death of *Varus*, & of the three legions. The gods forbid that the Belgians, though offering themselves, should carry away the credit and the honour of succouring the Romanes, and bridling the Germans. Let thy soule, *Augustus* of sacred memory, received into heaven, thy image father *Drusus*, and the remembrance of thee, together with these souldiers whom shame and glory do enter into, wipe away this blot, and convert this private rancor, to the destruction of the enemy. And you in whom I perceive another countenance and another will, if you purpose to restore the Embassadors to the Senate, yeeld dutifull obedience to the Emperour; and me, my wife and sonne: withdraw your selves from the contagion of the seditious, and goe from them which have been the authors of this rebellion: that shall be a sure token of your repentance, and a bond of fidelity. With these speeches the souldiers humbling themselves, confessed all to be true which was upbraided them: and besought him that he would punish the faulty, and pardon those which were seduced, and bring them against the enemy: recall his wife and the legions child; and not deliver him to the Gaules for an hostage. *Germanicus* excused

excused the returne of his wife by the neereneffe of her time, and winter; yet that his sonne should returne againe: and as for other things, that they themselves should see them performed. The souldiers then, being better perswaded, ran from place to place, laid hands on the most disordered persons, and brought them bound before *C. Ceronius*, Colonell of the first legion: who gave judgement and punishment on every of them in this manner. The legions called together, stood with their swords drawne before the Tribunall: and the offender shewne by the Tribune out of a high feat: and if the souldiers did cry that he was guilty, he was immediatly throwne downe headlong, and cut in pieces: the souldiers rejoycing in these massacres, as though himselfe thereby had been acquitted. *Germanicus* did not hinder them at all, seeing, that being done without his commandement, as well the fact, as the envy of it, should light upon their owne neckes. The old souldiers following that president, were anon after sent to Rhætia, under colour of defending the province from the invasion of the Swevians: but indeed, to draw them from those garrisons; yet breathing of cruelty, no lesse by that cruell means of redresse, then memory of their former outrages. This done, he tooke a survey of the Centurions; who being called by the Captaine, told their names, degrees, and Countrey, what payes they had received, and how many yeeres: what exploits they had done in service, and with what donatives rewarded. If the Tribunes and legions approved their valour and integrity, they kept their roomes: if by common consent, covetousnesse, or cruelty were laid to their charge, they were cashiered. Things thus settled for the present, there arose immediately a matter of no lesser weight then the former, through the heady insolency of the fifth, and one and twentieth legion, lodged in winter standings threescore miles off, at Vetera. For they first led the daunce, and with their owne hands committed the lewdest outrages: Nothing terrified with their fellowes punishment, continued impenitent, and still harboured anger in their breasts. Whereupon *Cæsar* gathereth forces, prepareth a Navy with confederates and allies, to send downe the Rhene: purposing if they were obstinate, to try it out in a maine battell. No tidings being all this while brought to Rome of the successe in Illyricum: and understanding of the rising of the Germane legions; the City trembling with feare, began to blame *Tiberius*, that counterfeiting a doubtfulness of taking on him the Empire, mocked the Lords of the Senate, the wake and unfurnished common people, and suffered the seditious in the meane time to rebell, which by the weake authority of two young men could not be suppressed. That he should therefore have gone himselfe in person, and opposed his imperiall Majesty against them; at whose sight they would presently have yeelded, being by long experience skilfull, and carrying with him power to punish, or reward. If *Augustus* stricken in yeares, could make often journeys into Germanie: should *Tiberius* being of a strong and able bodie, sit in the Senate, carping the Senators words? He had taken good order how to keepe the City in servitude: and that it was now time to apply some medicine to the souldiers minde, to induce them to a disposition of peace. Notwithstanding *Tiberius* standing stiffe in his determination, resolved not to forsake the head of the Empire, and hazard himselfe and the whole state. Many things troubled his minde: as that the Germane army was the strongest: and the Pannonian neere at hand: the one leaning to the strength of the Gaules: the other, lying in the confines of Italy: doubtfull himselfe which first to goe to, lest the other being postponed should take it in disdain. But his sonnes might visit both, as a thing standing well with imperiall Majestie, bearing greatest state farthest off. The young men might be excused, if they referred some things to

red shipping; then excusing himselfe, now with the hardnesse of the winter; now with this, now with that: he deceived first the wise, then the vulgar sort; and the provinces a very long time.

XI. *The first and the ninth legion kill many of the rebels; Germanicus overcometh the Marseans, beateth downe the Temple of Tanfana. The death of Julia.*

BUT *Germanicus*, although he had an armie in readinesse to revenge upon the Rebels: thinking it convenient neverthelesse, to give them some respite; to see whether they would be reclaimed by the example of the other legions: sent letters before to advertise *Cacina*, that hee was coming with a power: and that if they would not punish the offenders before his coming, hee would without any respect make a generall slaughter of them all. These letters *Cacina* secretly imparted to the standard and ensigne-bearers, and the better sort: perswading them to deliver all in generall from infamy, and themselves from death. For in time of peace each mans cause and merit waighed; but in warre, the guilty and guiltlesse perished alike. They then sounding the mindes of those they thought fittest, and finding the greater number of the legionary souldiers to continue dutifull; following the Lieutenants advice, set downe a time when to cut off the lewdest, and most seditious among them. Then the watch-word given, they brake into their Tents; slue them; none privy to the cause, but such as were of counsell in the enterprise: neither imagining the beginning, nor the end of this butchery. The strangest manner of civill warre that ever happened was this: for without order of battell, not sallying out of divers standings; but out of the same beds, in which they had eaten by day, and slept by night: they banded into factions; lanced their darts: outcries were heard; wounds given; blood shed; but the cause unknowne: fortune ruled the rest, and some honest men were slaine among. But it was no sooner knowne against whom this watch was intended, but the worst persons snatched their weapons likewise: no Lieutenant, nor Tribune present to bridle them: but every man licenced to revenge his fill. *Germanicus* anon after entring the campe, with many teares calling that a butchery, and not a medicine, commanded the bodie to be burnt. The bloody souldiers thirsted after the enemy, as a satisfaction of his fury; supposing that the ghosts of their companions could by no other meanes be appeased, then by receiving honourable wounds in their wicked breasts. *Cæsar* followed the souldiers heate, and building a bridge over the River, past over twelve thousand, drawne out of the legions; fixe and twenty cohorts of allies: and eight wings of such horsemen, as during the mutiny, were of good and modest carriage. The Germans not farre off were jocund: whilest we for the death of *Augustus*, and by civill discords, kept holy-day. The Romane army marching with speed, past the Wood *Cæsia*; and the bound begun by *Tiberius*; and encamped upon it: fortifying the front and the backe with a trench, and the sides with loppings

them, till they came to the villages of the *Marſies*, whom they beſet round: being yet either a bed, or at table, without feare, and no watch ſet. So farre had they left all things at randon, nothing miſdoubting warre, nor, being drunke, greatly caring for peace. *Cæſar* divided the legions greedy of pillage to waſte the more ground, into foure pointed battels; and deſtroyed with fire and ſword, fifty miles; neither age nor ſexe, moving him to pity; prophane and ſecret places, and the Temple called *Tanfana*, a place of great fame among thoſe people, he battered to the ground: the Romans receiving no wound, but ſlaying the enemy halfe a ſleepe, or unarmed, and ſtragling without order or aray. That ſlaughter ſtirred up the *Bructeri*, *Tubants*, and the *Uſipetes*, who beſet the wood; that way the army ſhould returne. Whereof the Captaine being advertiſed, he maſſalled his men in order at once, both to march and fight. Part of the horſemen with auxiliary Cohorts led the way: after them followed the firſt legion: the carriages incloſed in the miſt, had on the left ſide the twenty one legion: on the right ſide, the fiſt: in the rereward, the twentieth: and after them the reſt of the confederates. But the enemy ſtirred not whileſt the Romanes campe marched through the wood: then lightly ſkirmiſhing with the flanks and foremen, ſet amaine on the hindmoſt: who being but ſlenderly appointed, and amazed with the thicke troopes of Germans, were ready to ſhrinke: had not *Cæſar* ſtepped to the twentieth legion; crying alowd, that now was the time to blot out the infamies of their former conſpiracies, and ſhew valour; and make haſte to turne their former fault into glory and honour. This ſpeech ſo inflamed their courages, that breaking in ſuddenly upon the enemies, drove them to an open place, and hewed them in pieces: and the vanguard getting out of the wood, began incontinently to fortifie and intrench. After that, they marched without diſturbance: emboldened with their late ſucceſſe; and forgetting what was paſt, were brought to their ſtanding campes. Theſe newes made *Tiberius* both glad and ſorry: glad, that the ſedition was ſuppreſſed: ſorry, that *Germanicus* had purchaſed the ſouldiers favour by largeneſſe, and timely diſmiſſing them: not a little grieved alſo with the glory that *Germanicus* got in that warre. Yet he imparted theſe newes to the Senate, highly commending his exploits: rather in colour and ſhew of words, then beleevd that he ſpake from the heart. *Drusus* he commended alſo, and the ſucceſſe of the Illyrian rebellions, in fewer words, but more unfainedly, and with better affection; yet confirmed all that *Germanicus* had granted; and gave the like to the enemies in Pannonie. The ſame yeere *Iulia* dyed: confined firſt by *Auguſtus* her father for her unchaſte life, in the Iland *Pandateria*: then in *Rhegium*, a Towne ſeated upon the Sicilian ſea. She had beene *Tiberius* wife, whom ſhe contemned as an unfit match for her, whileſt *Caius* and *Lucius* flouriſhed, which was the very inward and ſecret cauſe, why *Tiberius* withdrew himſelfe to *Rhodes*. But having gotten to be Emperour, and that by the death of *Agrippa Poſthumus*, her hopes were cut off; baniſhed and infamous, with great want hunger ſtarved her: perſwading himſelfe that her long baniſhment, would have ſmothered the ſpeech of her death. The like occaſion egged him to the like cruelty againſt *Semp. Gracchus*: who nobly deſcend-

expecting bad tidings. Of whom he requested some short time, to write his last will to *Alliaria* his wife; which being done, he offered his necke to the executioners: in the constancy of his death, not unworthy the *Sempronian* name, though in his life he had degenerated. Some gave out, that those Souldiers were not sent from Rome, but from *L. Asprenus*, Proconsull of *Africke*, by *Tiberius* appointment; hoping, though in vaine, that the infamy of the murder should redound to *Asprenus* discredit. This yeere were instituted new ceremonies, by founding a society of Priests, called *Augustales*: as in times past *T. Tatius*, desirous to continue certaine Religious solemnities of the *Sabins*, ordained a company of Priests called *Titians*. One and twenty of the chiefeft of the City were drawne by lot, and *Tiberius*, *Druſus*, *Claudius* and *Germanicus* added to the number. These players at their first beginning, were disturbed by a contention rising betwixt stage players: *Augustus* himſelfe favouring the sport, to please *Mecenas*; who was exceedingly carried away with affection towards *Bathillus*; and himſelfe not diſliking them, thought it no uncivill matter to shew himſelfe at those diſports, amongst the common people. But *Tiberius* was of another humour; yet durſt not on the sudden reduce the people to a straighter course, which so many yeeres before had beene nuzled in pleasure and easie usage.

XII. *Germanicus invadeth the Chatti. A strife betweene two noble men of Germany, Arminius and Segestes. Arminius wife is taken.*

D. *Cesar* and *Narbo* being Consuls, a triumph was ordained in honour of *Germanicus*, the warre yet continuing: for which although great preparation was made for the Summer following; yet hee by a sudden incursion made on the *Chatti*, did anticipate it in the beginning of the spring. For a rumour bred a hope that the enemies were banded into factions, some favouring *Arminius*; and others *Segestes*: the one most loyall, and the other most disloyall unto us. *Arminius* disquieted Germany: *Segestes* discovered often to *Varus*, but especially in the last banquet, after which armes were taken, a rebellion intended: and counſelled him to caſt himſelfe, *Arminius*, and the chiefeft of the conspirators into priſon; the people not daring any attempt, the ringleaders being taken away: and that he should have time thereby to sift out the offenders from the innocent. But *Varus* by destiny, and *Arminius* violence died. And although *Segestes* was by common consent drawne to the warre, yet he shewed himſelfe very backward by his private grudge against *Arminius* increasing more and more; because he had taken away by force his daughter betrothed to another. Thus then the sonne in law being odious to the father; the fathers in law at utter defiance betwixt themselves; that which should serve for a bond of friendship among friends, served here for a provocation of wrath and malice. Whereupon *Germanicus* committed foure legions to *Cacinaes* charge, five thousand auxiliaries, and certaine German bands levied in haste, inhabiting the

Chatti, that the weaker sort by age, or sexe, were presently either taken or slain: the young men swam over the river Adrana, and drave back the Romanes, which began a bridge: But at last driven away themselves with shot of arrowes and other engines, entreating in vain of conditions of peace: some fled to *Germanicus*: the rest abandoning their villages and houses, dispersed themselves in the woods: *Germanicus* having burned Mattium the capitall citie of the countrey, returned toward the Rhene, the enemy not daring to set on him as he retired; as his manner is, when he gave ground, rather upon policy then feare. The Cherusci would willingly have succoured the Chatti; but *Cacinaes* armie fleeing from place to place, kept them in awe, and overthrew the Marfi which ventured to joyn battell with him. Shortly after Embassadors came from *Segestes*, to crave aide against the violence of his countrey-men, which had besieged him: *Arminius* bearing greater sway, because he incited them to warre. For among barbarous people, the more audacious a man sheweth himself, the more loyall he is reputed; and the fittest instrument in troubled times. *Segestes* joyned his sonne *Sigismond* to these Embassadors: but being touched in conscience, was unwillingly drawn to it: because that when the Germanes rebelled, being priested at the altar of the Ubians, he brake his head-band, which was the marke of his calling, and fled to the rebels. Yet trusting in the Romanes clemency, fulfilled his fathers commandment; and being courteously received, was conveyed with a guard, to the shores of Gallia. After this *Germanicus* thought it convenient, to convert his power against those which besieged *Segestes*, whom he delivered, with a great number of his kindred, and followers. Among whom there were many noble dames, and *Segestes* daughter, *Arminius* wife: affecting rather her husband then father: and being taken, not once falling a teare, nor craving favour, joyning her hands on her breast, looked down upon her great belly. The spoiles of *Varus* overthrow were at the same time brought in and distributed, as a bootie to the greatest part of such, as had yeelded themselves with *Segestes*. Who with a comely majestic, and bold courage, and loyaltie to the Romanes, began a speech in this manner.

“ This is not the first day that the people of Rome, hath had experience of my constancy and loyaltie: for since *Augustus* of famous memory, gave me the privileges of a Citizen of Rome: I made choise of such friends or enemies, as might stand you in stead: not for any hatred to my countrey, (for traitors are odious even to those whose instruments they be) but because I judged it profitable alike to the Romanes and Germanes: and preferred peace before warre: for this cause I accused *Arminius*, ravisher of my daughter, and infringer of the league concluded with you, before *Varus* the Generall. But when I was by the slacknesse of the Generall deferred to a farther day of hearing, having small hope of support in lawes: I besought him earnestly, that he would commit me, *Arminius*, and the rest of the conspirators, to straight custody. I call to witnesse that night, (which if it had pleased the gods I would it had been my last) in which those things ensued, which deserve rather to be bewailed then maintained. In fine, I laid irons on *Arminius*, and suffered the same in my self, by his faction. But seeing you have vouchsafed

rather repent than perish. For my sonnes youth and error I crave pardon: my daughter I confesse, was drawne thither by force. It resteth in you to determine, whether it ought to be of greater force, to be with child by *Arminius*; or be begotten by me. *Cæsar* with a milde answer, promised his children and his kindred safetie: and himselfe his ancient seat in the province. This done, he bringeth backe his armie, and with *Tiberius* liking, tooke upon him the name of Emperour. *Arminius* wife was delivered of a sonne, which was brought up at *Ravenna*; of whom we will speake more hereafter, and how he served for fortunes scorne.

XIII. *Arminius stirreth the Germans to warre, seeketh revenge: What danger Cæcina was in. Germanicus burieth the legions which were slaine with Varus.*

THe newes being spred of *Segestes* yeelding, and gentle usage, as mens mindes were affected to peace or warre; so they were mooved with hope or griefe. *Arminius* being fierce of his owne disposition, understanding that his wife was taken prisoner, and the fruit of her wombe, a bondslave; became as it were mad: and raunging the Cheruscians countrey; craved for succour against *Segestes*, and *Cæsar*; not being able to containe for outrageous speeches, saying, "That, that must needs be a brave father, a mighty Emperour, a worthy army, that could with so much helpe carry away one silly woman. He had defeated three legions, and so many Lieutenants: not by treason, nor against women great with childe, but in the face of the enemy, and against armed men, atchived his enterprises. And that the ensignes, which he had taken from the Romanes, were to be seene in the woods of Germany, offered up in honour of their Countrey gods. Let *Segestes* inhabit the conquered banckes; and restore his sonne to his Priestly dignity: that the Germanes could never excuse it: that the Romanes have beene seene to beare their rodde, their axes, and gownes betwene *Albis* and *Rhene*. Other Nations being strangers to the Roman Government, could speake nothing of their cruell punishments and grievous Tributes: and seeing they had shaken off those burdens; and that, that *Augustus* whom they placed among the gods, and *Tiberius* chosen after him, lost their labour; they should not feare an unexperienced young man, nor his mutinous company. If they preferred their Countrey; their Kindred; their ancient life, before new Lords, and new Colonies; they should rather follow *Arminius*, protector of their glory and libertie, then *Segestes* the Author of reproachfull servitude. These speeches incensed not only the Cheruscian, but the neighbours adjoining also; and drew *Inguiomerus*, a man once in credit with the Romanes, and Uncle to *Arminius* by the fathers side, to their party, which increased *Cæsar*'s feare the more. And therefore left the whole waight of the warre should atonce fall upon him: hee sent *Cæcina* with forty cohorts of Romanes, to sever the power of the enemy through the Bructerians countrey, to the River of *Amisfa*. *Pedo* the Camp-master had the conducting of the horsemen, by *Frisia*: himselfe embarked foure legions, and lead them through the lakes: all the horsemen, footmen, and the whole Navy meeting together at the said River; and received the Chaucians among them who had promised them ayde. The Bructeri burning their owne Countrey, *Stertinius* overthrew with a company of light harnessed souldiers, sent against them by *Germanicus*: and found betwene the slaughter and the bootie, the banner of the nineteenth legion which was lost with *Varus*. From

thence

thence the army marched to the utmost confines of the Bructeri, all the countrey wasted betwixt the river *Amisfa*, and *Lappia*: not farre from the Forrest *Teutoburgh*: where the reliques of the legions which *Varus* led, were reported to lie unburied. Whereupon *Cæsar* had a great desire to celebrate the captaines, and souldiers funerals; all the armie moved to compassion, some calling to minde their kinsfolkes; some their friends: and some in consideration of the hazards of warre, and the slipperie estate of man subject unto fortunes change. And having sent *Cæcina* before, to search out the secret places of the Forrest, and cast bridges and caueys over the moist and deceitfull passages of the bogs, they marched those dolefull wayes, irksome to behold, and dreadfull to remember. *Varus* first encamping feat, by the large circuit of ground it contained, and dimensions of the * *Principia*, did shew that the inclosure was capable of three legions: then by a rampire halfe broken downe, and a shallow trench, they perceived where the overtoiled remnant was retired. In the middle of the field lay white bones, either scattered, or on a heape, as they had either resisted or fled: hard by, trouncions of weapons, and horses ribs; and before them mens heads, fastened upon the bodies of trees. In the woods were their barbarous altars, on which they sacrificed the Tribunes and chiefe Centurions. Those which escaped alive, or broke prison after the butchery, told that here the Lieutenants were slain; there the standards taken: where *Varus* received his first wound, where with his own unluckie hand he slew himselfe. On what Tribunal *Arminius* made his oration. How many gibbets he had set up for captives, and what ditches: and with what proud disdain he scoffed at the ensignes and standards. The Romanes then that were present, six yeeres after the slaughter, oppressed with griefe, yet more then ever kindled with rage against the enemy; covered with earth the bones of the three legions: as if they had been all their friends or kindred; howbeit it was uncertaine whether they buried the stranger or friend. *Cæsar* to shew a gratefull memory of the dead, and himselfe to be partaker of their griefe, with his owne hands put the first turfe on their tombes; which *Tiberius* misliked: either as construing all *Germanicus* actions to the worst; or because the fight of the dead, unburied, would make the Souldiers more fearfull of the enemy, and lesse forward to fight: and because a Generall honoured with the Augurall dignitie, and devoted to most ancient ceremonies, ought not to meddle in mortuaries. But *Germanicus* pursuing *Arminius*, already crept into accessible places, as soon as he found conveniencie, thrust his horsemen on him, and recovered the field which the enemy occupied. *Arminius* gathered his men together; and commanding them to draw neare the wood, turned short on the sudden, and gave them the watchword which he had hidden there before, to break out. Whereat the horsemen amazed, and the cohorts sent for a supply, borne back with those which fled; augmenting their feare, were almost thrust into the bogges, well known to the Conquerours, and dangerous to the Romanes; had not *Cæsar* come on with the legions in battell aray. Which stroke a terrour into the enemy, and assured the courage of the souldier: both the armies in the end parting on even hand. Anon after the army being brought to the river *Amisfa*, he conducted the fleet and the legions backe againe, in the same manner they came thither. Some of the horsemen were commanded to returne to the river of *Rhene*, still coasting the Ocean shore. *Cæcina* who conducted another companie, although he was skillfull in the wayes, yet was charged to returne with all diligence by the long bridges; which was a narrow cauey betwixt wide marshes, thrown up in times past by *L. Domitius*. The rest of the countrey was mirie, and full of fast binding clay, with some doubtfull brookes.

C

Round

* *Principia* feth
meets to be that
row of lodgings
where the Tri-
buni and prefe-
ti are quar-
tered.
Sau. in the
view of Cæ.
verb. forum.

Round about were woods, ascending little and little, which *Arminius* had filled, by a neerer way, and light armie, preventing the Romanes, loaden with armour and carriages. *Cacina* doubting how he should at once repaire those bridges, already decayed with age, and drive back the enemy; thought it best to encampe in the same place, that while some were fortifying, others might skirmish with the enemy. The Barbarians used all force to breake the wardes, and make way to the trench-makers: set on them, and compassed them in; ran from place to place; leaving nothing undone, to disturb them. The labourers and the fighters made one confuse cry: nothing prospering on the Romanes side. The place was nothing but a deep mire, not firme to tread on, and slipperie to march: the weight of their corselets an hinderance, and they unable to launce their javelins in the waters. Contrarily the Cheruscians being a great limmed people, and accustomed to fight in bogs, were with huge speares able to hurt as farre off. To be brieft, the night delivered the legions from an unluckie battell. The Germanes through prosperous successe, nothing wearied, but forbearing from rest; turned all the waters which rose in the mountaines, into the under grounds: whereupon the plaine being drowned, and so much of the work overthrown as they had cast up, the Roman souldier was put to a double labour.

XIIII. *The Romanes escape a great danger through the good conduct of Cacina.*

Cacina had then in qualitie of a souldier of commander fortie yeere received pay: and therefore being acquainted as well with the changeable events of fortune, as prosperous successes, felt nothing at all in courage: but pondering in his minde what might follow, found nothing more expedient, then to enclose the enemy in the wood, untill the wounded, and the carriages were gotten before. For betwixt the hills and the marshes, there stretched out a plaine, capable of a small armie. The legions were so placed, that the fifth should be in the right flank; the one and twentieth in the left; the first to leade; and the twentieth to defend, if they were pursued. The night was unquiet for divers respects; the barbarous enemy, in feasting and banquetting, songs of joy, and hideous outcries filled the valleys and woods, which redoubled the sound againe. The Romanes had small fires, broken voices, lay neare the trenches, went from tent to tent, rather disquieted, and not able to sleep, then watchfull. The Generall had that night a heavey dreame, which drove him into a feare: for he thought that he had seen *Quinctilius Varus*, rising out of those bogs, embrued all in blood, calling him by name, and stretching out his hand towards him; which he thrust back refusing to follow. At day breaking, the legions appointed for the flankes, either for feare, or contempt, abandoned their standings; and seased on the field adjoining beyond the marshes. *Arminius* although he might safely have assaulted them, yet forbore a time. But he no sooner perceived their bag and baggage to stick in the mire, and ditches, and the souldiers troubled about it, disbanded and out of order, and the ensignes confusedly disordered, as it falleth out in such times, every man busie to help himselfe, and deafe to hearken what was commanded; but he encharged the Germanes to break in, crying aloud, Behold *Varus*, and the legions once again vanquished by the same destiny. Having thus said, accompanied with a choise band of horsemen, breaketh the rankes of the Romanes, and especially woundeth their horses; which slipping, by reason of their own blood, and moisture of the bogs; overthrowing their masters,

either

either trode under feet, or scattered all they met. Much adoe they had about the ensignes, which they could neither beare up, the shot came so thick: nor pitch on the ground, it was so miry. Whilest *Cacina* maintaineth battell, his horse was killed under him; from which being fallen, he had been taken by the enemy, if the first legion had not opposed her selfe. The greedines of the enemy was some help unto them; being more thirsty of pillage then blood: whereby the legions had leisure towards the evening, to win the open firme land. And yet their miseries did not thus end: They had defences to make, and stufte wherewithall to seek: their tooles to cast up earth, or cut turfes, were almost lost: tents they had none to cover them: nor medicaments to heale the wounded: and dividing their meat partly stained with blood, or beraied with dirt, they bewailed that unfortunate darknesse; and that only day left for so many thousands to live. By meere chance a horse brake loose in the campe, and prauning up and downe, affrighted with noise, overthrew all he met in his way: which stroke such a feare and terror in the souldiers hearts, that thinking the Germanes had broken upon them, ran all to the gates of the campe, and especially to the Decumana, which was farthest from the enemy, and safest to flee away. *Cacina* being assured that it was but a vain feare, yet not being able either by his authoritie, entreaty, or forcible meanes to stay their fleeing; cast himselfe across the gate, and so moved them to pity, stopping the passage; because they would not tread on their captaines body. The Tribunes and Centurions shewed them withall, that their feare was false, and without cause. Then assembling them in the Principia, and commanding silence, admonished them of the time and "necessitie they stood in. That their safety onely consisted in their weapons; which "yet they were to moderate by discretion: keeping still within their trench, untill "the enemy with hope to break upon them, should draw neare: and that then they "should rush out on every side, and so get to the river of Rhene. Whereas if they "should flie, they should passe through more woods, finde deeper bogs, and the enemy more cruell then ever: but by conquering they should purchase glory and renown: putting them in minde of those things which were esteemed deere at home, and of credit in campe: not once mentioning their disgraces and adversities. This done, he assigned to the most couragious a horse: beginning with his owne; then with the Tribunes and Centurions, not respecting calling or quality to the end that they should first invade the enemy, and the footmen follow. The Germanes, what with hope, what with greedinesse of pray, what with disagreeing opinions of captaines; were as much disquieted as the Romanes. *Arminius* thought it best to suffer them to come out of their fort, and set on them in the bogs and marshes: but *Inguomerus* advice, though more cruell, was most pleasing to the Barbarians: which was, that they should besiege the campe, perswading that by that meanes, the assault would be easier; more captives taken; and the bootie entire and untouched. As soon then as it was day, they beat down the trenches, filled them up with hurdles, grappled up to the toppe of the trench, few souldiers resisting them, and those all stooke still in a maze. The cohorts within had the allarm given; the corners and trumpets sounded; and with a great clamour sallied out courageously, and hemmed the enemy in, casting in their teeth, that here there were neither woods nor quagmires, but the places and the gods indifferent to both. The enemies imagining it but an easie conquest, and that there were but a few to resist, and those but halfe armed; hearing the sound of the trumpets, and seeing the glittering of the armour; which seemed so much the greater, by how much the lesse they were esteemed, on a sudden were beaten down and slain, as men in prosperitie greedy, and in adversi-

tie uncircumspect. *Arminius* and *Inguimerus* fled, the one not hurt, and the other grievously wounded. The common sort were slain as long as the day and anger lasted: the legions returned at night to the fort. And although there were more wounded then the day before, and no lesse want of victuals: yet with the victory they thought they had recovered strength, courage, health, and all other necessities.

XV. *The danger the legions were in under Vitellius. Tiberius reneweth the law of treason.*

IT was noised abroad in the meane season, that the legions were besieged; and that the Germane hoste was entering Gallia. And if *Agrippina* had not hindered the pulling downe of the bridge over Rhene; some through feare would have ventured to lewde an action. Who being a woman of great courage, took upon her for some daies the office of a captain; relieved the souldiers, as they had most need, with apparell and medicine. *C. Plinius* a writer of the Germane warres, recounteth, that she went to the end of the bridge and there staied, praising and thanking the legions as they returned. A matter which entred deeply into *Tiberius* minde: imagining with himselfe that it was not for nought, that she used such care & courtesie: that she fought not the favour of the souldier against the stranger. That there was nothing left for the Emperours to do, if a woman took once upon her to visit the bands, go to the ensignes; and seek meanes to corrupt the souldier: As though it had been but a small point of ambition, to carry her sonne about the campe in the attire of a common souldier, and call him *Cæsar Caligula*. That *Agrippina* was now of greater credit with the army, then the Lieutenants and Captaines; and that a woman suppressed a sedition, which *Cæsars* name and power could not doe. All this was aggravated by *Sejanus*, well acquainted with *Tiberius* humour; and who had long before sowne seeds of hatred: which for the time he smothered, because they should burst out the greater in the end. But *Germanicus* gave *P. Vitellius* charge of the second and foureteenth legion, which he had brought by sea, to conduct by land: to the end the shippes might in the low waters saile more easily, or in the ebbing lie a ground more lightly. *Vitellius* had a quiet beginning of his journey, a dry shore, and small flote: but by and by through a gale of northern winde, the equinox falling out the same time, and the sea swelling extraordinarily, his army was tossed hither and thither: the face of the earth was covered with waters, the sea, the shore, the fields, were all but one. The uncertaine sands could not be discerned from firme land: nor the selves from the deepe seas: their horses and carriages were drawne under water, and swallowed in the gulfs: dead bodies flored and met one another: the souldiers disorderly mingled, now breast, now chin high in water; and sometimes losing footing, either drowned or scattered. Encouragements tooke no place: and being thus tossed with waves, the valiant man was not distinguished from the coward: the wife not knowne from the foole, nor no difference betwixt counsell and chance; but all wrapped up in like violence. In the end *Vitellius* having gotten the higher ground, brought the rest of his company thither, where they passed all that night without utensils, or fire: the greatest part either naked, or moiled, in no lesse miserable a taking, then the besieged by the enemy: for the end of those is glorious, and the death of these without honour. The day shewed them land, and they passed to the river *Visurgis*, where *Cæsar* was arrived with the whole fleet: into which he received the legions, reported

red to have beene drowned, and never beleeveld to be alive, untill they saw *Cæsar* and the army returned. Now *Stertinus* sent before to receive *Segestes* brother *Segimerus*, who had yielded himselfe, brought him and his sonne to *Coleyn*, and both pardoned; though *Segimerus* earlier then his sonne: because it was layde to his charge, that he had scoffed at *Quintillus Varus* body. But to supply these losses which the armie had sustayned; Gallia, Spaine, and Italy, strove who should furnish most; offering armour, horses, gold, and such things as they had most in a readinesse. *Germanicus* commending their love and affection, accepted onely their armour and horses, and furnished the rest with his owne charges. And to comfort and mitigate the remembrance of their overthrow, with some courteous usage, hee went about to visit the wounded: praying in particular every ones valiantnesse, and looking on their wounds; fed one with hope, and another with praise: wun all by good words, and care, and made them constant to himselfe, and resolute to fight. The same yeere by decree of Senate, the markes of triumph were ordained for *A. Cæcina*, *L. Apronius*, *C. Silius*, for their noble exploits atchieved under *Germanicus*. And *Tiberius* refused the Title of father of his cuntry, which the people had often cast upon him. Nor would not suffer any to sweare to the observation of his ordinances, although the Senate were thereto consenting: affirming, that all mortall things were mutable and uncertaine, and the higher hee should cline, the slipperer his estate should be. Notwithstanding all this, they could not be perswaded that he meant well to the citizens, because hee had put on foote againe the law of treason, knowne to the ancients by the same name. But by vertue of that law other things were brought into question: as if any had betrayed the army: stirred the people to sedition: badly managed the affaires of the common-wealth: impayred and weakened the majesty of the people of Rome. But then deeds onely were punished, words went scotfree. *Augustus* was the first, who under colour of this law, comprehended the examination of infamous libels: moved thereto by the insolent behaviour of *Cassius Severus*, who had defamed honourable persons, both men and women, with scandalous writings. *Tiberius* also, when *Pompeius Macro* the Pretor asked whether judgement should bee given, touching the sayd crime, made answer; that the lawes were to be observed. *Tiberius* was the more exasperated, through certaine verses cast abroad by an uncertaine author, against his cruelty, pride, and disagreeing with his mother. It shall not be amisse, if I rehearse, with what pretended crimes, *Falanius* and *Rubrius*, both meane Gentlemen of Rome were charged: to make it knowne by what beginnings, what sleights of *Tiberius*, an utter ruine of the Common-wealth was intended, then suppressed, afterward revived again, and in the end, overmastered all. *Falanius* accuser objected against him, that amongst other worshippers of *Augustus* (for such fellowships there were almost in every house as it had been Colledges) he had received one *Cassius* a stage-player, and infamous of his body: and that with his gardens he had sold *Augustus* image. *Rubrius* was accused to have violated an oath made in *Augustus* name. When these things were brought to *Tiberius* notice, he answered: "That his father had not a place assigned him in heaven by decree of Senate, because that honour should be converted to the overthrow of the Citizens. That *Cassius* the stage-player, was wont to be admitted with others of the same trade, to the playes which his mother had consecrated to *Augustus* memory. That there was nothing done against religion, if his image was sold, as the counterfeites of other gods were, in the sale of their gardens and houses. And as for *Rubrius* oath, it was to be held in the same account, as if he had deceived *Jupiter* himself,

"selfe: and that the injuries done unto the gods, ought to bee referred to the care
"of the gods.

XVI. An accusation against Granius Marcellus. Orders against
suing for dignities.

NOr long after, *Granius Marcellus* Pretor of Bythinia, was accused of treason by *Capio Crispinus* his Quæstor: *Romanus Hispanus* subscribed thereto: who entered into a course of life, which the calamities of times, and mens boldness made famous. For being needy, obscure, and a busie companion, by secret information he so crept into the cruell humor of the Prince, that hee was able in short time to endanger the estate of the best in the citie; thereby getting credit and authority with one, and hatred of many. He gave an example; which many following, of beggers became rich, of base and contemptible persons, feared; procuring destruction to others, and in the end to themselves. Hee accused *Marcellus* to have uttered bad speeches against *Tiberius*: which was an accusation inevitable, because that having chosen out the greatest blemishes of *Tiberius* life and manners, because they were true, were beleaved. *Hispo* added, that *Marcellus* image was placed higher then those of the *Cæsars*; and that the head of another of *Augustus* being cut off, *Tiberius* image was put upon it: which so incensed him, that breaking silence, hee cried out that hee would himselfe, and that sworne, give open sentence in that cause: to the end the rest should be enforced to doe as he had done: for as yet there were some markes of dying libertie left in the Senate. Then said *C. Piso*. What place wilt thou take *Cæsar* to deliver thy censure? If thou wilt speake first, I shall have a president to follow: if last, I feare I shall swarve from thee uncircumspectly. Abashed with this, the hotter unadvisedly he had growne, the more repenting, hee suffered the arraigned of treason to bee quit. As concerning the extorsions, the cause was put over to the delegates. And not contented with the judgements of the Senators, hee assisted in the hearing of causes himselfe, and sate in the end of the Tribunall, lest he should put the Pretor out of his chaire. Many orders were given in his presence against canvassing for offices, and noble mens suites; but whilest hee laboured for justice, liberty went to wracke. Whilest these things were a doing, *Pius Aurelius* a Senator, complained that his house was decayed and growne to ruine, by the raising up of a publike way, and conveyance of water, and craved ayd of the Lords of the Senate in that behalfe. And where the Treasurers opposed themselves against it, hee was releaved by *Cæsar*, who payed him the valew of his house: desirous to imploy his money in honest actions: which vertue hee long rejoynted after he had shaken off all others. He bestowed * ten hundred thousand sesterces upon *Propertius Celer* once Pretor, & now craving licence to give up his room, by reason of the poverty his father left him in; and commanded others which made the same suite, to make it known to the Senate, that their petition was true: desirous to be accounted severe in things well done: which caused others rather to indure their poverty with silence, then by acknowledging it, receive a benefit at his hands. The same yeere, through continuall raines the river *Tiber* rose so high, that it covered all the flat places of the city; and in falling, there ensued a great ruine of men and buildings. Whereupon a remedy being consulted of in Senate, *Asinius Gallus* was of opinion, that the bookes of the Sibyls should be searched: which *Tiberius* hindred, as one who would hide from them, as well things divine as humane. But he committed that charge unto *Ateius Capito*, and *L. Aruntius*: *Achaia* and *Macedonia*

* About 7.
thousand eight
hundred and
twelve pounds
ten shillings.

donia complaining of their heavy taxations: it was agreed in Senate, that they should no longer bee governed by a proconsull, but by *Cæsar. Drusus* being made overseer of a play of fencers, set forth in in his owne and his brother *Germanicus* name; because he seemed to take over great pleasure in shedding of blood; stroake a feare into the peoples mindes, and as it is reported, was disliked of his father. Why *Tiberius* forbore to see this spectacle, it was diversely construed: some thought because he loathed to be in great assemblies: some because he was of a melancholy sad disposition: and also misdoubting lest some should fall into comparifon, betwixt him and *Augustus*, who was wont to be present at such plays with courteous and milde carriage. I cannot thinke that his meaning was, to give his sonne occasion to shew his cruelty, and move the people to offence; although some have so reported. The licentiousnesse begun in the Theater the last yeere, grew now to a farther outrage: many not onely of the common people laine, but souldiers and Centurions and a Captaine of the guard, whilest they went about to bridle the insolency of the people, and hinder them from using lavishing speeches against magistrates. That sedition was debated in Senate; many being of opinion that it was convenient, that the pretor should have authority to whip the stage-players. But *Haterius Agrippa* Tribune of the people contradicted him: whom *Asinius Gallus* rebuked in an oration: *Tiberius* holding his peace, suffering the Senate to use that shadow of liberty. Yet *Haterius* prevailed, because *Augustus* had once declared the stage-players to be free from stripes: and therefore not lawfull for *Tiberius* to infringe it. Many orders were layd downe touching the moderation and charges betwixt upon plays, and against the insolent behaviour of their favourers; whereof the cheifest are these. That no Senator should enter into a players house: that the Gentlemen of Rome should not accompany them in publike places: that it was not lawfull to see their plays but on the Theater. And that the Pretor should have authority to banish such lookers on, as behaved themselves disorderly. The Spaniards had licence granted them, at their request, to erect a temple in honour of *Augustus* in the free towne of Tarracon; which was a president for all the other provinces to follow. The people making supplication, that they might bee unburdened of the imposition of one in the hundred of all things bought and sold, which began after the wars were begun: *Tiberius* answered by an edict that it was the onely stay of souldiers wages: and that the state would bee overcharged if the olde souldiers should not be dismissed after twenty yeeres service: and by this meanes the order wrung out to appease the souldiers, that the souldiers should be dismissed after sixteene yeeres service, was abrogated. After this it was propounded in Senate by *Arminius* and *Atinius*, whether for the repressing of the inundations of *Tiber*, it were convenient to divert the course of the rivers and lakes, which were cause of this rising. Upon this occasion, the Embassadors of other free townes and colonies were heard: and especially the deputies from the city of Florence; requesting that *Clanis* might not be turned out of his owne channell into Arne, as a matter greatly to their hurt. The like speech the Interammates used, shewing that the fertile tract of Italy should be lost, if (as it was intended) the River *Nar* should be cut into many branches; and so all become a standing poole, if the new channels were not capable of so much water. The Reatins did not in this case hold their peace, no way yielding that the mouth of the lake *Velinus* should be dammed up, where it discharged it selfe into *Nar*: for so it would overflow all about it. And that nature had well provided for the necessity of mans use: having given all rivers their course and mouth, and as well their bounds, as beginnings. That the religion of their allies was to bee considered,

dered, who consecrated unto the rivers of their countrey, woods and altars. Yea that Tiber would not be deprived of his neighbour-rivers, and so run his course with lesser glory. In the end either through the intreaty of the Colonies, or difficulty of the worke, or superstition, *Piso's* opinion was approved, which was, that there should be nothing changed. *Poppaeus Sabinus* was continued in the government of *Mesſia*, and *Achaia* and *Macedonia* added to his charge. For it was *Tiberius* manner, to continue men in their office and charge, either of warre, or jurisdiction, sometimes during their life, whereof there were divers reasons given. Some sayde he did it, to avoyd the tedious care of often providing; and that hee would have that to continue which he had thought once well done: some did interpret it to bee done of envie, because many should not enjoy them: some, that as he was of a subtil wit, so of no resolute judgement; as not choosing men of excellent vertue: and on the other side, hating vices. Hee feared lest the best would attempt somewhat against him, and the worst dishonour the state. Which doubtfulness brought him to that passe at last, that he gave the government of provinces to some, which he would not suffer to depart the City. Concerning the election of Consuls, which was first observed under this Prince, and afterward by others, I dare assure nothing: not only the authors, but the Prince himselfe doth so much differ in his orations. For sometimes not naming the suters, he described every mans beginning, life, and what pay he had received; that a man might easily guesse who they were. At another time not touching any of those particulars, he perswaded the suters, not to disturbe the elections, by bribing and canvasing: promising that himselfe would be a meane for them. And oftentimes he sayd, there were no more which pretended to be suters, but such onely, whose names he had presented unto the Consuls: and that others might bring in their names likewise, if they would trust either to their merit or favor. But all was but faire words, and indeed deceitfull and without effect: and by how much the more they were masked with a colour of liberty, by so much the heavier and greivouſer a servitude they were like to bring after them.

THE



THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The cause of the Parthians warres. Vonones driven out of his kingdome.*

S *Isenna Statilius Taurus*, and *L. Libo* being Consuls, the kingdome of the East, and the Romane provinces rebelled: the beginning thereof proceeding from the Parthians; who having demanded and received a King from Rome, yet contemned him as a forreiner, although he were descended of the *Arfacides*. *Vonones* was this King, who had been before given in hostage to *Augustus*, by *Phrahabes*. For although *Phrahabes* had repulsed the army and the Romane Captains, yet he shewed all duties and reverence to *Augustus*; and the better to confirme friendship, sent some of his children to him: not so much for feare of us, as distrust of disloyaltie in his own subjects. After the death of *Phrahabes*, and other succeeding Kings, through murders committed among themselves: Embassadors came to the City, from the chief noble men of Parthia, to demand *Vonones* the eldest sonne of *Phrahabes*. *Cesar* thinking that to be an honour to himself, enduing him with great riches delivered him; and the Barbarians, as their manner is at the change of a new Prince, received him with great joy. Not long after the Parthian grew to be ashamed, that he had so much degenerated, as to demand a Prince from another countrey, trained up in the sleights of their enemies. That now the royall seat of the *Arfacides* was given and accounted among the Romane Provinces. Where is the glory of those which murdered *Craſſus*, and chased away *Antonie*; if *Cesars* bondslave after so many yeeres servitude should command and rule over the Parthians? He himselfe kindled their disdainfull minde, by swerving from his predecessors manner of life; as going seldom a hunting, being carelesse of horses, carried in a chariot in the streets, and loathing their countrey fare: his Grecian followers were scorned, and himselfe laughed at, for keeping under his seal his basest utensils. But the free access unto him, his curtelie towards all men; unknown vertues to the Parthians; were accounted new vices: and because they were not used of their ancestors, was odious alike to the good and bad. Whereupon *Artabanus*, one of the *Arfacides* blood, brought up with the Dahes, was raised against him: who in the first encounter overthrowne, recovered new forces, & enjoyed the kingdome. When *Vonones* was overcome he fled to Armenia, then without a King; and betwixt the Parthian and Romane wealth wavering, through *Antonies* treacherie: who having under colour of friendship tolled unto him their King *Artavasdes*, loaded him with chains, and in the end deprived him of his life. *Artaxias* his son, hating us for the injurie done to his father, with the power of the *Arfacides*, defended himselfe and the kingdome against us. But when *Artaxias* was slain by the treason of his nearest friends, *Tigranes* was made King of the Armenians, and brought by *Tiberius Nero* into the kingdome. Yet *Tigranes* reigne dured but a short time, nor his childrens: although they were, as the manner of strangers is, linked in marriage with the Armenians. Then by commandment of *Augustus*, *Artavasdes*

was

was appointed their King, afterward driven out: not without a great slaughter of our men. After that, *Cæsar* was chosen to settle the affaires of Armenia, who with the good liking of the Armenians, appointed *Ariobarzanes* descended from the *Medes*, to be their King: a man greatly reckoned of for the comelineffe of his personage, and valiant courage. *Ariobarzanes* dying by misfortune, the Armenians would endure none of his race: but tried the regiment of a woman called *Eratus*, whom they expelled in a short time: and led an uncertain and loose kinde of life, rather without a Lord then in Libertie: and in the end received the fugitive *Vonones* againe. But when *Artabanus* began to use threatening; and that small aid was to be expected of the Armenians: and yet if he should be defended by our forces, it were to enter into war against the Parthians: *Creticus Silanus* governour of Syria sent for *Vonones*: and appointed him a guard: and suffered him to enjoy all pompe and sumptuousnesse, and name of a King: from which mockery how he purposed to deliver himself, we will set down in his place.

II. Germanicus maketh warre in Germanie.

BUt it displeased *Tiberius* nothing at all, that the East parts were in an uproare; because that under that pretext he might draw *Germanicus* from his accustomed legions, and by giving him charge over new provinces, expose him to treachery and hazard. But he, by how much the more affectionate the souldiers were towards him, and his uncle backward; by so much the more earnest he was to hasten the victory; and laid all the plots he could to give the enemy battell: Discouraging with himselfe, what fortunate or unfortunate successes had happened unto him those three yeeres past, which he had spent in war amongst them: that the Germanes in a pitched field and indifferent places would easily be vanquished: that they took advantage of woods, bogs, short summers, and timely winters: that his souldiers received not so great hurt by wounds, as by long journeyes and weight of their armour: that Gallia was wearied with furnishing horses; the long traine of carriage was subject to ambushes; and not easily defended. But if he should take sea, the possession was open for him, and unknown to the enemy. Withall, that for the war might be sooner begun: the legions and victualls brought together: the horses and horsemen conveyed by channels and mouthes of rivers into the heart of Germanie. Having thus resolved, he sent *P. Vitellius*, and *Sejanus* to levie the subsidies of Gallia: *Silvus Aneius*, and *Cecina* had care of all preparation by sea. A thousand ships were thought to suffice: which were made ready with speed. Some were short and narrow at the fore and hinder part, & broad in the middle, as stronger against the waves. Some were flat bottomned, to land without danger. Many had rudders at both ends, that the rowers altering their froak on a sudden; might drive to land at either end. Many of them had bridges over, to carry both their engines, horses, and provision, swift of saile, and nimble with oares; in shew gallant and fearful to the enemy, by reason of the souldiers cheerefulness. The place appointed to meet at, was the Iland of the Batavians, as a place of easie arrivall; and fit to receive the army; and from thence to transport them to the house of battell. For the river of Rhene keeping one channell, or else environing but few Ilands, at the entring of Batavia, is divided into two rivers, and keepeth his name and swiftnesse through Germanie untill he fall into the Ocean. But by the coast of Gallia it waxeth broader, and runneth not so swiftly; and changing his name, the inhabitants call it *Vahales*; which name, it afterward changeth again into *Mosa*: so continuing untill it fall into the

fame

fame Ocean with a great breadth. Whilest the ships were a putting from shore, *Cæsar* commandeth the Lieutenant *Silius*, with a band of men lightly appointed, suddenly to invade the Chatti. And himselfe understanding that the fort of *Luppi* upon the rivers side, was besieged, conducteth thither six legions. *Silius* by reason of sudden raines, did little else then bring away some small bootie, and the wife and daughter of *Arpas*, prince of the Chatti. Neither did those which had besieged the fort, stay to fight; but slip away, when *Cæsars* coming was noyed. Yet they had throwne downe the tombe, lately built in honour of *Varus* legions, and the old altar erected for *Drusus*. The altar, the Prince reedified, and in memory of his father, hee and the legion ran a horse race; but thought it not convenient to set up the tombe againe, but fortified all passages betwixt the fort, *Aliso*, and *Rhene* with new mounds and bulwarks. By this time the Fleet was come: and having sent before all provision, and assigned the legions and confederates their shipping, himselfe entred the ditch, called the *Drusian ditch*: where he made a prayer to *Drusus* his father, that having undertaken the same enterprize, that he had done; he would willingly and benignly further him, with the example and memory of his counsels and exploits. From thence he sayled prosperously, by the lakes and Ocean, untill he came to the river *Amisfa*, where the navy was least, leaving the river on the left side of it. Wherein there was an oversight, that they brought the shipping on higher, the souldiers being afterward constrained to land on the other side: whereby many daies were spent in making of bridges to passe them over. The horsemen and legions passed the first arme of the sea, the waters being yet but small, without feare: but the auxiliarie souldiers which followed, and Batavians, whilest they sported themselves, and shewed their skill in swimming, were some hindered and troubled, and some drowned.

III. Arminius deborteth his brother Flavius from the Romans service.

AS *Cæsar* was planting his campe, word was brought, that the *Angrivarians* were revolted behinde him. And *Stertinius* was incontinently dispatched away with a company of light horsemen, which revenged their treason with fire and sword. Betwixt the Romanes and the *Cheruscians* ran the river *Visurgis*, and on the banke side was *Arminius*, with the rest of the nobility: who enquiring whether *Cæsar* were come, and answer given him that hee was; intreated that hee might have licence to speake with his brother *Flavius*, who was in the campe, faithfull and trustie to the Romanes; and who not many yeeres before, had lost one of his eyes, under *Tiberius*. His request was granted him: and as *Flavius* came neere, *Arminius* saluted him. And causing his followers to withdraw themselves, requested that our archers which were placed in order on the banke side, should stand farther off; who being gone away, hee asked his brother how hee came to that blemish in his face. Hee named both the place and the battle. He asked him further, what rewards he had received? *Flavius* telleth him that his pay was augmented, sheweth his chaine, his crowne, and other military gifts: which *Arminius* scorned as base rewards of servitude. After that, they grew to farther communication, the one extolling the greatnesse of the Romanes: *Cæsars* wealth: the grievous punishments inflicted on the conquered, and the clemency used to such as yielded: that neither his wife nor sonne were intreated as enemies. *Arminius* alleadged the duty of his cuntry: their ancient liberty: the gods of the inward parts of Germany: that

that his mother and himselfe besought him; that hee would not rather chuse to be a traitour and forsaker of his countrey, then a captaine of his kindred, allies and nation. Growing from thence by little and little to hard words, although the river was betwixt them, they had coped; if *Sertinius* had not runne in, and held backe *Flavius*, full of anger, calling for his armour and horse. *Arminius* was heard to threaten on the other side, and denounce battell: intermingling some Latine words: for once hee commanded his countrey-men; and received pay in the Romane camps. The next day, Germane armie presented it selfe in battell aray beyond *Vifurgis*. *Germanicus* not thinking it the part of a Commander, to hazard the legions, not having first made bridges, and appointed guards to defend them, passed over the horsemen at the foord. *Sertinius* and *Aemilius*, sometime captaine of the principall ensignes, were the leaders: who separated themselves farre one from the other, to divide the enemies forces. *Cariovalda*, Captaine of the Batavians, where the river was swiftest, sallied out: the Cherusci making as though they fled, tolled them to complain, environed with woods: and there turning againe, and spreading abroad, drove back those which made head; hotly pursued those which shrunke: then being gathered round in a ring, overthrew them some neere, some farre off, *Cariovalda* having long sustained the brunt of the enemy, exhorted his souldiers closely together, to breake into the enemies troopes: himselfe venturing amongst the thickest, was beaten downe with darts: and his horse killed under him, and many noble men about him. The rest either through their owne valour, or ayd of the horsemen, with *Sertinius* and *Aemilius*, escaped danger. When *Cæsar* had passed the river *Vifurgis*, he understood by a fugitive from the enemies campe, what place *Arminius* had chosen to give battell: and that other nations were assembled in a wood consecrated to *Hercules*, with intention to assaile the campe by night. The runnagate was beleevèd: lights were seene: and the espials getting neerer, reported they heard a great confuse noise of men and horses. Being therefore at a jump to hazard all, thinking it convenient to found the souldiers minde, hee bethought himselfe what was the fittest expedient to trie the truth. The Tribunes and Centurions brought him oftener pleasing, then true newes: the freemen were of a servile disposition, in friends there was flattery: if he should call an assembly, that which a few should begin, the rest would applaud. That their mindes would bee best known when they were by themselves; not overlooked: in eating and drinking they would utter their feare or hope. As soone as it was night, going out the Augurall gate, accompanied with one alone, in secret and unknown places to the watch: casting a savage beasts skin on his backe, he went from one place to another: stood lising at the tents, and joyeth in the praise of himselfe: some extolling the nobility of their Captaine; others his comely personage: many his patience, and courtesie: that in sports and serious matters, he was still one man: confesse therefore that they thought it their parts, to make him some requital in this battell, and sacrifice the traitors and peace-breakers, to revenge and glory.

IIII. Arminius and the Germans overthrow.

A Midst these things, one of the enemies campe, skillfull in the Latine tongue, riding close to the trench: promisseth aloud in *Arminius* name, wives, and lands, & a hundred * sefterces a day, as long as the war continued, if any would flee from the Romans, and come to his side. That bravado did greatly exasperate the legions, wishing among themselves: O that the day were come, that wee might

once

once come to joyne battell with them, saying, that they would take possession of the Germans lands, and bring away their Wives by force. They accepted of their words as a preface, and vowed they would have their Wives and money for a boottie. About the third watch the enemy assailed the campe, but threw no dart: because he perceived many in readinesse to defend their forts: and no man remisse in his charge. The same night *Germanicus* in a pleasant dreame, thought he had bene offering of sacrifice, and that his pretext or robes of his infancy, had bene sprinkled with holy blood, and that he received another at the hands of *Augusta* his grandmother. Emboldned with that dreame, and the Augurs foretelling luckie successe, concurring with it: he called the souldiers to an assembly, and declared unto them what things by wisedome he had foreseene: and what he thought expedient for the eminent danger of the battell. "That not only the open fields were commodious for the Romans to fight in, but the woods also and Forrests; if they proceeded by discretion. Neither were the barbarous huge Targets, and long Pikes so hand'some, among trees and low shrubs; as darts and swords; and armour, close to the body. They should therefore lay on thicke load; and strike at their faces with their swords. That the Germans had neither coat of fence nor helmet: and their bucklers were not ribbed with iron, or sinews, but with osiers, or painted: thin board. Their first rancke was in some sort appointed with Pikes: but the rest had but short weapons burnt at the point. And although they were grim in countenance, and of some courage for a short fit: yet being once wounded they would flee and be gone without shame of discredit, or care of their Captaine: in adversity faint hearted and timorous; but in prosperity, unmindfull both of divine and humane lawes. If they desired an end of their wearisome journeys, and sea; in this battell they might ease themselves. Albis was now neerer then Rhene: neither was there any further warre to be made, if in that place treading the steps of his father, and uncle, they would make him Conqueror. The heat of the souldier being inflamed with this speech of the captaine, the signe of battell was given. Neither did *Arminius* nor the rest of the German nobility omit to encourage theirs on the other side, saying: "These are the Romans which fled from *Varus* campe: who for feare of joyning battell, had raised a rebellion. Whereof some their backs laden with wounds; and others their sides tired and broken with waves and tempests of the sea; once more offered themselves to the enemy full of ire, without hope of good; the gods being against them. They tooke sea, and chose out the by-ways of the Ocean; lest they should have bene encountered as they came, or pursued after they were repulsed. But when they shall come to handy strokes, they shall finde small refuge in the winde, and oares. That now they should call to minde their covetousnesse, cruelty, and pride: was there any thing else to be done, then to maintaine their liberty; or dye rather then be brought to servitude? Thus encouraged, and demanding battell, they were brought into a place called *Idistavium*, betwixt *Vifurgis* and the hills: not of one breadth, but now wide, now straight, as the River or jutting out of the hills did suffer. Behind them was a wood of high trees: and betweene those trees a plaine and even ground; which the Barbarians had possessed with the entrance of the wood: the Cherusci put themselves on the top of the hills to fall furiously upon the Romans in the heat of the fight. The order of our battell was this. The aydes of Gallia, and the Germans were placed in the front: followed with the four archers: after them four legions; and *Cæsar* himself with two Pretorian cohorts, and a choise troupe of horsemen. After them his many legions more, with light horsemen, and bowmen on horsebacke: and the rest of the

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confederates;

* *Arminius* sequester
sustaining
peace.

confederates; all of them most carefull to keepe their order and aray. *Germanicus* perceiving the Cheruscians troupes to come fiercely toward them; commanded the ablest horsemen, to charge them on the flanke, and *Stertinus* with the other squadrons of horsemen, to environ him, and set on him behind, promising to be himselfe at hand if need required. In the meane season, eight Eagles (a very lucky signe) were seene to flee towards the entrance of the wood. Which the Emperour perceiving; cryed that they should march on, and follow the Romane birds; the peculiar gods of the legions. Whereupon the footmen brake in, and the horsemen sent before charged them on the flanke and on the backe. And which is strange to report, two companies of the enemy tooke a contrary flight: those which kept the wood, ran to the plaine: and those which held the plaine, hastened to the wood. The Cherusci being betwene both, were thrust downe from the hills: amongst whom with great valour, *Arminius* maintained the battell, with his hands, voyce and wounds. All his might he bent against the archers, to have burst out that way, if the cohorts of Gallia, of Rhetia, & the Vindelicians, had not opposed themselves with their ensignes. Nevertheless, by strength of body, and courage of his horse, he escaped; having first dyed his face with blood, lest he should be knowne. Some report that he was knowne to the Cherusci, which were among the auxiliary bands of the Romanes, and let passe by them. The same either valour or guile, gave *Inguomerus* meanes to escape; the rest were slaine on every side. And most of them endeavouring to swim over *Visurgis*, were either with the darts throwne after them, or force of the river, or waight of such as leapt after, or with the bankes which fell, killed or overwhelmed. Some cowardly fleeing away, sought to clamber the tops of trees, and there hiding themselves in the boughes, were shot through by the archers in a mockery: and others bruised by the overturning of the trees. The victory was great, and unto us not bloody. From five of the clocke, untill night, the enemies were slaine, which filled ten miles of ground with dead carcasses, and armour. Some chaines were found among their spoiles; brought to imprison the Romanes, as not doubting a prosperous successe. The souldiers saluted *Tiberius* by the name of Emperour, in the same place where the battell was fought: and erected a mount of earth, as a token of victory: and put on it the armour of the enemy: and underneath the names of the nations which they had conquered.

V. A second battell wonne by the Romanes against the Germanes.

THE wounds which the Germanes received, and their overthrow, did not so much fret and grieve them as this spectacle: in so much that those which were on the point to abandon their dwellings, and make preparation to passe the river *Albis*, catch up their weapons, and demand battell. The common fort, the chiefe Gentlemen, young and old, assaile and endanger the Romanes. At last they chose a place, environed with woods and a River, which had a narrow waterish plaine within it. The woods were invironed likewise with a deepe marsh: saving on one side, where the Angrivarians had raised up a broad causey, by which their territories were separated from the Cherusci. The footmen stayed there: the horsemen hid themselves in the woods adjoining; that when the legions should enter the wood, they might charge them on the backe. *Cesar* was informed of all their plots: he knew their designements, their places, their open and secret devices, and turned the enemies fraud to his owne destruction. The charge of the horsemen and the plaine he committed to *Sejus Tubero* Lieutenant: part of the footmen marched in

in order of battell to the wood: and part went about to win the causey; the hardest he undertooke himselfe; and the rest he committed to the Lieutenants. They unto whom the plaine fell, did easily enter it: but those which were to assault the causey were sore gaulded, & put back, with blowes from above, as if they had scaled a wall. The Capitaine perceiving that the enemy had the advantage by fighting so neere, caused the legions to retire a little: and commanded the sling-casters and stone-casters to let freely at them, and drive them from their fence. Many darts and speares were shot out of engines; and the more the enemies were in fight, the more wounds they received. The causey being taken, *Cesar* himselfe with his guard, courageously entred the woods, and fought with the enemy hand to hand: who had behinde him a marsh, and the Romanes a river or mountaines: the place brought a necessity of fighting to both parts: their hope consisted in their manhood: and their safety in the victory. The Germanes were no lesse courageous: but they were overcome by the advantage of weapons, & manner of fight. For being a great multitude, and the place narrow, they could neither thrust out, nor draw backe those long pikes, nor use any nimbleness of body in running in, and stepping backe: but were forced to fight, and not move a foot. Contrarily the Romane souldier, his shield close to his brest; his sword in his hand: gored the wide sided, and open faced Barbarian: and by their slaughter opened a way through them. *Arminius* being now couragelesse, by reason of continuall danger, or fresh bleeding wound lately received; but *Inguomerus* flew up and downe the army, wanted rather fortune then courage, and *Germanicus* to be the better knowne, unlaced his helmer, and besought them to continue the slaughter: captives there was no need of: only the generall butchery of the nation would make an end of the warre. And in the evening he draweth out one legion from the army; to make ready the campes: the rest filled themselves untill night with the blood of the enemy. And for the horsemen, it is hard to ghesse which had the better. Then *Cesar* having praised the valor of the Conquerours in an assembly, made a great heape of armour with his proude title. The people betwixt Rhene and *Albis* being vanquished, *Tiberius Cesar*s army doth dedicate those monuments to *Mars*, *Iupiter*, and *Augustus*. Of himselfe he added no word for feare of envy, or because the memory of the fact was sufficient testimony for him. Immediately after he commanded *Stertinus* to make warre against the Angrivarians, unless they would presently yeeld: who humbly intreating and yeelding to all that was demanded, received generall pardon. But the Summer being now farre spent, some of the legions were sent backe to the standing camps; and *Germanicus* embarking many, conveyed them to the Ocean, by the river *Amisia*. At the first they had a quiet and calme sea: no noise heard, but the noise of the oares of a thousand vessels; which sometimes likewise were driven with sailes; by and by haile powring downe out of blacke and thicke clouds, and sundry stormes and tempests arising from all parts; and uncertaine raging surges deprived them of all foresight, and skill in governing their shipping. And the souldier fearefull & unacquainted with the dangerous adventures by sea, whilst he troubled the mariners, or unseasonably goeth about to helpe; hindered the office of the more skilfull. In the end the heaven, and all the sea gave place to the southwind: which more and more prevailing, through the mountaines of Germany, deepe rivers, and huge clouds; and growing more violent and boisterous through the cold of the north, neere which it is, tossed and scattered the shipping into the wilde Ocean, or rocky Ilands, or dangerous and unknowne quicksands. Which being a little, but with much adoe escaped, by the changing of the sea, they went whither the winde drove them. They could

could neither cast anchor, nor pumpe out the water which came in on them. Horses of service and carriage; bag and baggage; yea their armour, they threw into the sea; that the ships might be lightned, which leaked at the sides; the billowes swelling more and more. By how much the Ocean is more violent, then any other sea; and Germany exceedeth other countries in roughnesse and sharpenesse of ayre: by so much that misfortune exceeded others, in strangenesse and greatnesse: happening at the shores of the enemies land, or in so deepe and wide a sea; that it hath bene beleevd to be the last, and beyond which there is no land. Some of their ships were drowned; many cast upon llands farre off: the souldiers, the countrey being uninhabited, perished by famine, unlesse it were such as releevd themselves with the horses as were cast a land. *Germanicus* galley only arrived at the *Chauceans* country: who seeing himselfe all those dayes and nights upon rockes, and points; crying that he only was guilty of the casting away of so many persons: could hardly be kept and stayed by his friends, from casting himselfe into the same Sea. At length the sea growing lower, and the winde more favourable; the lame and untackled ships, with a few oares, or their garments spread in stead of sailes, or drawne at the taile of stronger, returned. Which *Germanicus* mending in haste, sent to search the llands: by which care many of the souldiers were gathered together and recovered. The *Angrivarians* lately received into protection, delivered some, which they had redeemed of such as dwelt further in the land: some were cast into Britanny, and sent backe by the petty Kings. As every man returned from farre countreys, he reported strange wonders; tempestuous stormes; birds never before heard of; sea-monsters; doubtfull shapes, whether of men or beasts: which they had either scene, or imagined through feare.

VI. *Germanicus being returned, wasteth the countrey of the Chatti: and recovereth an ensigne, lost with Varus.*

BUT the same of the navy lost; as it did put the Germans in a hope of beginning a new warre: so did it give *Germanicus* stomach to curbe them. Whereupon he commanded *C. Silius* to goe against the *Chatti*, with thirty thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen; and himselfe invaded the *Marfi* with stronger forces. Their Capitaine called *Malovenus*; who not long before had yeelded himselfe, gave notice how, that not farre off, an ensigne of *Varus* legion was buried, and kept but with a slender guard. A band of men was sent thither out of hand: with direction, that some should toll them out, and assaile them in the front; and others by invading them behind, to open the earth and take out the ensigne: fortune shewing herselfe favourable to both the companies. This made *Cesar* more forward, and entered further into the land: wasteth, forrageth, rifeth the countrey; the enemy not daring to encounter them: or if at any time he did resist, he was straight driven back: never (as they understood by certain captives) fearing more in their lives. For they gave out; that the *Romanes* were invincible, and not to be danted with any misfortune; seeing that having lost their navy, and armour; and after that the shores were covered, with the carcasses of their men and horses; they invaded them afresh, with the same courage, & like fiercenesse: yea as if they had increased their number. From thence the souldiers were brought back to their winter-standing camps: glad that they had recompensed their misfortune by sea, with so prosperous a victory. *Cesar* used great largenes, recompensing every man, to the value of the losse he had

sustained.

sustained. Little doubt, but the enemy grew faint hearted, and began to consult how he might intreat a peace: and that if the next summer the warres should have been continued, there should be an end of all. But *Germanicus* was solicited by often letters from *Tiberius*, to return and receive the triumph which was ordained for him: that he had passed through many chances and accidents: that he had had prosperous successe in many battels: that he should remember what grievous and cruell losses he had sustained, not by any oversight of the Captain, but by the winds and waves of the sea: that he had been sent nine times into Germany by *Augustus* of famous memory: where he had achieved more noble exploits by counsell then force. So he had received the submission of the *Sigambri*: so the *Suevians* and the King of the *Maroboduans* were enforced to make peace: that the *Cherusci* and other rebellious nations, seeing the *Romanes* had had a sufficient revenge on them, might be left to war one against another. But *Germanicus* intreating for one yeere longer, to finish the enterprises he had begun; *Tiberius* assaulted his modesty more earnestly; offering him the Consulship once more: which he should execute in person. He added further, that if there were any more wars to be enterprised, he should reserve that subject, for the glory of his brother *Drusus*: who no other enemy being left, could not but by warring against the Germans, get the title of Emperour, or win the crown of laurell. *Germanicus* made no longer stay: although he knew well that those were but colours, fought through envy, to draw him from the glory he had already purchased.

VII. *Libo accused of treason, killeth himselfe.*

ABOUT the same time *Libo Drusus*, one of the *Scribonian* family, was accused for practising against the state. The beginning, the order, and the end of that business, I will set down: because those things came then first to light, which for so many yeers had consumed and eaten the Common-wealth. *Firminus Cato* a Senator, and one of *Libos* inward friends, induced this uncircumspect young man, and easily led to vanities, to give credit to the Chaldeans promises, Magicians ceremonies, and interpreters of dreames: vainly and boastingly putting him in minde, that *Pompey* was his great grandfather; *Scribonia*, who had been *Augustus* wife, his Aunt, the *Cesars* his cosen Germans: and that his house was full of images and monuments of his predecessors. He incited him further to licentious riot: to take up and borrow money, making him a companion of his wanton lusts and familiarities, the better to wrap and convince him with many evidences. When he had found witnesses sufficient, and such also of his servants which were privy to the whole matter, he desired he might be admitted to the speech of the Prince: and by means of *Flaccus Vesularius*, a Gentleman of Rome, and one of *Tiberius* familiars, discovered the matter, and the man. *Cesar* was content with the accusation, yet denied conference with *Firminus* the accuser: saying, that by the same messenger, *Flaccus*, their speech might passe from one to another. In the mean season he honoureth *Libo* with the Pretorship, inviteth him to his table, never changed his countenance towards him, nothing passionate in words (so skillfull he was in concealing his anger) and although he could have pretended both his words and enterprises; yet he desired rather to know the manner of his proceedings: untill one *Iulius* solicited to convince and raise infernall spirits by enchantments, uttered the matter to *Fulvius Trio*, one amongst the promoters, compted quick and ready witted, and carelesse of discredit. This *Trio*, accused immediately the party: went to the Con-

fuls : and required that the Senators would heare the matter. The Senators were assembled, and given to understand that they were to deliberate of an important and weighty affaire. *Libo* in the meane time changing his attire, went with certaine noble women from one house to another, intreated his Cousins, and craveth their good word in his extremity : but all of them refused ; some pretending one excuse, some another ; fearing lest they should be thought partakers of the same crime. The day come that the Senate fate ; being through feare, or as some report, faining him selfe sicke, weake and weary, was brought to the court gates in a chariot, leaning on his brother, and holding up his hands, craved pardon of *Tiberius* ; who received him, never once changing countenance. Then *Cæsar* read the libels aloud, and their Authors ; so moderating him selfe, that he was not thought either to mitigate, or aggravate any way the crimes. Besides *Tio* and *Casus*, there stepped forth two other accusers, *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *C. Livius*, striving which had best right to plead against him ; untill *Livius* (because they would not yeeld the one to the other, and *Libo* came without any advocate) promised that he him selfe would set downe severally every crime by him committed. Then he produced such fortifick declarations, that among other things, they contained, how *Libo* had consulted with the Magicians, whether he should ever have money enough, to be able to cover the Appian way, from Rome to Brundisium ; with many such simple and frivolous matters, and more mildly to terme them, pitifull. Yet the accuser enforced one thing more : that in one writing of *Libos* owne hand, there were added certaine dangerous and unknowne characters, to the names of the *Cæsars* and Senators. And the party arraigned denying it ; it was thought good, that his bondmen which knew his hand, should be examined upon the racke. And because that by an ancient decree of Senate, it was not lawfull to torture a bondman against the life of his Lord : *Tiberius* a subtil deviler of new lawes, commandeth them all to be sold to a publicke Actor, that without prejudice of the decree, they might be tortured, as not being *Libos* bondmen. Whereupon *Libo* desired that the matter might be deferred to the next day. And being at his house, intreated his neere Kinsman *P. Quirinius*, to make the last intercession for him to the Prince : who had answer given him that he should intreat the Lords of the Senate. In the meane season his house was beset with a guard of souldiers, who in the entry made such a noise, that they might easily be both heard and seene. When as *Libo* loathing the very sight of the dainties minifred for his last comfort, began to call for some one to murder him : and taking his bondmens right hands, and putting a sword in them ; whilest they trembling with feare, and refusing to doe it, ran from one place to another : overthrew the light on the table : in that mortall and deadly darknesse, he thrust him selfe twice in the guts. At the grone when he fell, his freed men came running about him : but the souldiers feeling the murder, stood aloofe. Notwithstanding, the accusation was prosecuted with like asseveration, and *Tiberius* swore, that if he had not voluntarily hastened his owne death, he would have begged his life, although he had bene guilty. His goods were distributed among the accusers, and Pretors roomes were extraordinarily given to such as were of the Senate. Then *Cotta Massilius*, gave his opinion, that *Libos* funerals should not be carried the funerals of his posterity. *C. Lenculus*, that none of the Scribonian family should take upon him the surname of *Drusus*. By the advice of *Pompey Flaccus*, certaine daies of general procession were ordained. *L. P.* and *Gallus Asinius*, and *Papius Mutilus*, and *L. Apronius*, were of opinion, that gifts should be offered to *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and the goddesse of Concord ; and that the Ides of September when *Libo* killed him selfe should be kept holy day. The dignities and

and flatteries of these men, I have thought good to register, that it might be knowne that that was alwayes an old disease in the Common-wealth.

VIII. An expulsion of Mathematicians. A reformation of abuses.

Decrees of Senate were ordained, for the expulping of Astrologers, and Mathematicians out of Italy : among whom *L. Pittanius* was throwne headlong, from the Tarpeian rocke : and the Consuls punished *P. Marius* without the Esquiline gate, with the sound of Trumpets, according to the ancient custome. At the next meeting of the Senate, *L. Haterius* once Consull, and *Octavius Fronto*, who had bene Pretor, spake much against the superfluous exesse of the City. Where it was decreed, that they should not serve at their tables vessels of beaten gold, nor men weare silke above their degree. *Fronto* went further, and demanded that there might be an order set downe touching their plate, household stuffe, and number of servants : for it was a thing in use, for the Senators to lay downe that for a decree, which they thought expedient for the Common-wealth. "*Gallus Asinius* spake to the contrary, saying : that with the greatnesse of the Empire, private mens wealth was increased : which was no new matter, but of old times received likewise : that the wealth in *Fabrics* time differed from that in *Scipios* ; and yet all referred to the Common-wealth : which being but in meane estate, the Citizens houses were thereafter. But now that it is growne to that magnificence, the estate of particular men is better also. Neither is there any thing too much or too little, either in plate, number of servants, or other furniture of household, but in respect of the quality of the owner. The revenewes of a Senator were distinguished from a Gentlemans : not because they differed in nature, but as they were preferred in place, degrees, and dignities, the one before the other. These things are procured for the recreation of the minde, or health of body. Unlesse peradventure they would that the most noble should take most cares upon them, & hazard their persons in most dangers : and yet want those pleasures and comforts, which best served to lenifie and make them more easie. The acknowledging of vices under honest termes, and the likenesse of affections in the hearers minds, caused *Gallus* to have an easie assent. *Tiberius* added, that that was no time for reformation : & if there were any dissolution in manners, there should not want one to redresse it. Among these things, *L. Piso* reprehending the ambition used in places of judgment, corruption of justice, cruelty of advocates, the threats of accusers ; protested he would be gone and forsake the City, and lead his life far off in some retired and solitary place in the country : and in so saying went out of the Senate house. *Tiberius* was moved at this ; and did what he could to pacifie him with faire words : and withall was earnest with his neerest Kinsmen to stay him, either by intreaty or authority. Not long after the same *Piso* gave no lesse free testimony of his griete, by summoning *Vergulanius* to appear in judgement ; whom the favour of *Augusta* had priviledged above the course of lawes : but *Vergulanius* disobeying the summonce being conveyed into *Cæsars* house, made small reckoning of *Piso* ; yet he desisted not, although *Augusta* complained her credit was touched therein, and her calling embased. *Tiberius* making it a part of curtesie, so farr to yeeld unto his mothers request, as to promise he would goe to the Pretors Tribunal to defend *Vergulanius* : went out of the Palace, the souldiers being commanded to follow a far off. The people which met him in the face, marked with what a setled countenance he went forward, protracting the time & the way, with divers discourses,

Vide ann. li. 1. cap. 7.

discourses, untill that (*Piso's* friends labouring in vaine to dissuade him from the suite) *Augusta* had commanded the money which was demanded to be brought to the Tribunal. That matter was so ended, not without some glory to *Piso*, and greater fame to *Cæsar*. But *Virginius* credit and authority was so overgreat in the city, that he disdain'd to come, and give witness in a matter which was handled before the Lords of the Senate. And therefore the Pretor was sent to examine her in her house: when as the ancient custome was, that even the Vestall virgins were examined as witnesses, in the common place of pleading and judgement. I would not recite the matters propounded thar yeere, but that the diversity of opinions, betwixt. *Cn. Piso*, and *Asinius Gallus* in that point is worthy the knowing. For *Piso* was of opinion, that although *Cæsar* had promised he would be present, that so much the rather he would prosecute his cause against *Virginius*: and that in the absence of the Prince, the Senators and Gentlemen might execute their charge, as a thing well becoming the dignity of the Common-wealth. *Gallus*, because *Piso* had first taken upon him the colour of liberty, held that there was nothing done with majesty, and answerable to the dignity of the people of Rome; but what was done in *Cæsar's* presence: and therefore, the assemblies of Italy, and meetings of Provinces were to be reserved untill he would be present. These things were debated very hotly on both sides, *Tiberius* giving them the hearing, and holding his peace, and in the end they were deferred. There arose another controversie betwixt *Gallus* and *Cæsar*. For *Gallus* was of opinion, that the assemblies for creation of Magistrates, should be from five to five yeeres: and that the Lieutenant of the Legions, who had executed that charge before they had bene Pretors, should then be chosen Pretors elect: and that the Prince should every yeere nominate twelve. "Little doubt but this advice went deep, and reached to a secret of state. *Cæsar* nevertheless, as though his authority should thereby be made greater, said, that it stood not with his modesty to choose so many, and deferre so many. And if the election should be every yeer, hardly could it be chosen, but some would be offended, although such as had the repulse, might be comforted with hope to be chosen the next yeere. And how would they hate me, which should be deferred above five yeeres: how could it be knowne in so long a time, what every mans minde is, what his house, and fortune? if men grow too proud in one yeere, what would they be if they should be continued for five yeeres? Magistrates should to be multiplied five for one: and lawes subverted: which have prescribed a time for others to exercise their industry, and to procure and enjoy dignities. With this speech, in few plausible, he confirmed the state to himselfe: he bettered the revenges of certain of the Senators: & therefore it was the more to be marvelled that he accepted no better of the request of *M. Hortalsus*, a noble young man, fallen into manifest poverty. This *Hortalsus* was nephew to *Hortensius* the Orator, and by the liberality of * tenne hundred thousand sesterces given him by *Augustus*, perswaded to marry, and have children, left to worthy a family should be extinguished. Standing therefore with foure of his sonnes, before the entry of the Senate house, in stead of his opinion, in a full assembly of the Senate in the palace, casting his eyes sometimes on the image of *Hortensius*, placed among the Orators, and sometimes on that of *Augustus*, began as followeth. "These children, Lords of the Senate, whose number and tender yeeres ye see, I have not begotten of mine owne accord, but because the Prince did so exhort me: and because my predecessors had deserved to have issue to succeed them. As for my owne part, seeing I could neither attaine to wealth, nor winne the peoples favour through the alteration of times; nor yet eloquence, which is the proper ornament of

* About 17812.
li. 10. 4.

"of our house: I contented my self, if my small ability were neither a reproch to my selfe, nor a burden unto others. By the Emperours commandement I took a wife; beheld the off-spring and progeny of so many Consuls and Dictators: which I speake not for envy to any, but to move pity. They shall enjoy, O *Cæsar*, whilst thou dost flourish, such honors as thou wilt bestow upon them. In the mean space defend from poverty *L. Hortensius* nephews sonnes, brought up by *Augustus*. *Tiberius* perceiving that the Senators were inclined to his speeches, was the more ready to gainesay him almost in these words. If all such as are needy begin to come hither, and crave for money for their children, they shall never be satisfied, and the Common-wealth unable to supply their necessities. Neither have our predecessors permitted us to digresse from the matter put in deliberation; and when we should intreat of somewhat to the benefit of the Common-wealth, debate how to better our private estates: & increase our substance with the hatred of the Senate, and Princes, whether they grant or deny our requests. These are not petitions, but unseasonable, importunate, unlooked for craving: to rise up in this place and with the number and age of children, when the Lords are assembled to handle other matters, to assaile the modesty of the Senate, and use the like violence unto me, and as it were forcible to breake open the publicke treasury: which if we waste by ambition, must be supplied by unlawfull means. *Augustus* of famous memory, hath given thee money *Hortalsus*, unasked: yet not upon condition that it should alwayes be given thee: for in so doing, indurty would decay, and idleness increase: if men had not a feare and hope in them. And if all men should carelessly expect reliefe from others, they would be to themselves unprofitable, and to us burdensome. These and the like speeches, although they were heard with the approbation of such, whose custome is to applaud all the Princes actions, be they honest or dishonest: yet many held their tongue, or secretly muttered, which *Tiberius* perceived; and having paused a little, said that he had answered *Hortalsus*: Nevertheless if it so seemed good unto the Lords of the Senate, he would give every one of his male children * two hundred thousand sesterces: The rest gave him thanks: *Hortalsus* held his tongue, either for feare, or as retaining somewhat of the nobility of his Ancestors, even in extremity of Fortune. Yet *Tiberius* had no compassion afterward on him; although the *Hortensian* family fell into shamefull poverty.

IX. Clemens a bondslave, counterfeits himselfe to bee Agrippa: and his bold answer.

THE same yeere, an audacious part of a bondslave had shaken the whole state with civil warres and discord; had it not bene prevented in good time. A bondman of *Agrippas* called *Clemens*, understanding of *Augustus* death: with a courage more then servile, purposed to goe to the Iland Planasia, and by fraud or force bring away *Agrippa* to the German campe. But his enterprise was hindered by the slownesse of a ship of burden: and in the meane season *Agrippa* being murdered, bending his minde to greater and dangerons attempts; stealeth away his ashes: and being come to Coram, a promontory of Ethruia, in unknowne places hideth himselfe, untill his beard and haire were growne out: being in favour and yeeres not unlike his Lord. This done, he whispereth it abroad, by fit companions of his secrets, first (as in things forbidden commonly it is wont to be) by privy rumours; that *Agrippa* was yet alive; then openly in the credulous eares of the weaker

weaker

Drusus wife, in fruitfulness, fame, and name. Nevertheless the brothers did exceedingly well agree, nothing at all moved with the emulation and contentions of their kindred.

X. *The Germanes are at variance between themselves.*
An earthquake in Asia.

NOT long after, *Drusus* was sent to Illyrium to be trained up in feats of war, and to winne the souldiers hearts. And *Tiberius* thought it better, that the young man lustily given, by the wanton lasciviousnesse of the Citie, should be better fashioned in the camp, and himself in more securitie, both his sonnes being commanders over the legions. But the colour was, that the *Suevians* did crave aide against the *Cherufci*: for being rid of the *Romanes*, and voide of forrein feare, through emulation of glory, a thing usuall in that countrey, they turned their armes against themselves. Oddes there was none in the strength of the nations, or valour of Captains, but that the name of a King, which *Maroboduus* took upon him, was odious to the common people: and *Arminius* favoured because he fought for libertie. And therefore not onely the *Cherufci*; and their confederates: *Arminius* old souldiers took armes: but the *Suevian* nations also of *Maroboduus* kingdom. The *Semnones* and the *Longobards* took part: and joyning with *Arminius* had prevailed; if *Inguiomerus* with a strong company of his vassalls, had not fled to *Maroboduus* for no other cause, but onely being old and unkle to *Arminius*, disdained to obey him being but young and his brothers sonne. They pitcht their battell with like hope on both sides: not using roving incursions, or skirmishing in scattered troupes, as the manner of the *Germanes* in times past had been: but by long warring against us, they had accustomed themselves to follow their ensignes, strengthen and ayde one another, and obey their Captains. "Then *Arminius* viewing his armie on horseback vaunted to all he met, that their libertie was recovered, the legions slain: and shewed in the hands of many of the souldiers, the spoils and armour which by force they had taken from the *Romanes*. Contrarily he called *Maroboduus* a runagate, unskilfull in warres, that he had saved himself in the lurking holes of *Hereynia*: and then by gifts and embassies, entreated an agreement: that he was a traitour to his country, and one of *Cesars* followers: therefore that they should thrust him out, with no lesse hatred then they had slain *Varus Quintilius*: that they should now call to minde so many battells, by successe of which, having in the end driven out the *Romans*, it is easily seen who should have the upper hand. Neither did *Maroboduus* on his side forget to vaunt himself, or inveigh against his enemy; but taking hold of *Inguiomerus*, told them that all the honours of the *Cherufci* consisted in that body: and that all that fell out luckily, was achieved by his counsell. "That *Arminius* a sot, unexpert in matter of warre, attributed others glory to himself: because he had entrapped by guile, three unfurnished legions with their Captain, nothing misdoubting their fraud; to the great losse of Germanie, and his own ignominie, seeing his wife, and his sonne do yet endure servitude. But as for him, he had maintained the honor of Germany unfained, being assailed by twelve legions, under the conduct of *Tiberius*; and in the end parted with reasonable conditions. Neither did it repent him that it was yet in their choise, either to make war against the *Romanes*, or accept of peace without bloodshed. Both parts being incited with these speeches; yet other peculiar causes did more inflame them. Considering that the *Cherufci*, and the *Longobardi*, did fight for their ancient

cient honours, or fresh libertie: and contrarily the others to enlarge their dominions. A fiercer encounter then this there was never seene: nor a more doubtfull issue; the right wings on both sides being slain. And a new fight was hoped for, if *Maroboduus* (an evident token of a faint heart) had not retired to the hills: and being somewhat weakened, by the backsliding of traitors, withdrew himselfe to the *Marcomans*, and sent Embassadors to *Tiberius* to crave aid. Unto whom it was answered, that he had no reason to crave the *Romanes* aid against the *Cherufci*, seeing he aided the *Romans* nothing at all, when they fought against the same enemy. Yet as we have said, *Drusus* was sent to make a peace. The same year twelve famous cities of Asia were destroyed by an earthquake in the night: a calamity so much the greater, by how much the lesse looked for. The usuall meanes of saving themselves in like cases, by fleeing to the open fields, doing them no good at all; because they were swallowed up by the opening of the earth. It is reported that huge mountains were laid flat, and plaines raised up into high hills: and fire flashed out among those ruines. And the dyaster being more grievous among the *Sardians*, then elsewhere; greater compassion was had on them: for *Cesar* promised them *an hundredth hundred thousand sesterces: and released them for 5. yeeres space of all that they were to pay to the common Treasurie. Next unto them endamaged and relieved, were the *Magnetiens*, neare unto *Sipylus*. It was thought expedient for the same space, to discharge of all tributes, the *Temnians*, *Philadelphians*, *Egetians*, *Appolonienses*, and such as are called *Moscenians*, or *Macedonians*, of *Hyrkania*, and *Hierocæsarea*, *Myrina*, *Cymen*, *Tmolium*, & to send some of the Senators, to view and relieve their present estate. This charge was committed to *M. Alaim* once Pretor, left if one who had been once Consull over Asia, should have been deputed; there might some emulation have risen between equals; and thereby the busines hindered. *Cesar* did with no lesse gratefull bountie, shew his liberalitie when he bestowed the goods of *Aemilia Musa*, a rich woman, fallen to the fiske; upon *Aemilius Lepidus*, of whose house she seemed to have been. And the like when he gave the inheritance of *Patuleius*, a rich gentleman of Rome (albeit he was instituted heir in part) to *M. Servilius*, whom he found to have been written in the first not suspected testament: having declared before, that both their nobilities were to be holpen with money. Neither did he at any time take any inheritance, unless he had deserved it by friendship. He did reject all such, as being unknown to him; and for hatred unto others, declared the Prince to be their heires. And as he did relieve the honest povertie of the innocent: so the prodigall and needy through their own behaviour, he put from the Senate, or gave licence to depart: as to *Vibidius Varro*, *Marinus Nepos*, *Appian*, *Appianus*, *Cornelius Sulla*, *Q. Vitellius*. At the same time, the Temples of the gods, begun by *Augustus*, and fallen to ruine by age or fire: he dedicated to *Bacchus*, *Proserpina* and *Ceres*, neare to the great Circus; which *A. Posthumus* had vowed. And in the same place the Temple of *Flora*, built by *Lucius* and *Marcus*, *Publicius*, *Aediles*: And also *Ianus* Temple, which *C. Duilius* had built neere the hearb market; who first of all others, had a prosperous fight by Sea for the *Romanes*: and deserved a triumph by Sea over those of Carthage. The Temple of Hope, which in the same warre *Atilius* had vowed, was dedicated by *Germanicus*.

XII. The accusation of Apuleia. Tacfarinas maketh warre in Africa.

IN the meane season, the law against treason grew strong: and a pickthank accused *Apuleia Varilia*, *Augustus* sisters neece; that she had reproachfully scoffed at *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and his mother: and that nothing regarding that she was by marriage allied to *Caesar*, she had abused her body. But as for the adultery there was sufficient order taken by the law *Julia*: yet *Caesar* requested that the treason might be distinguished from the other crime; and that she might be punished, if she had spoken irreligiously against *Augustus*. As for that which she had spoken against himselfe, he would not have it brought into examination. And being asked by a Consul, what he thought of those things she was accused of, against his mother; he held his peace. But the next time the Senate met, he intreated in his mothers name, that such words as she had uttered against her, might not be construed for a fault. Of treason also he acquitted her: and intreated that the punishment of adultery, might not be severely enforced against her: perswading her friends, that according to the example of their ancestours, they would remove her from her kindred above two hundred miles: and *Manlius* the adulterer was banished Italy and Africk. When *Vipsanius Gallus* was dead, there arose a strife in subrogating a Pretor in his room: *Germanicus* and *Drusus* both then being at Rome, favouring *Haterius Agrippa*, neare kinsman to *Germanicus*: and some labouring to the contrary, desired that according to the lawes, among sisters such should prevaile as had the greatest number of children: *Tiberius* rejoicing, that the Senate debated the matter betwixt his children and the lawes. Without doubt the law was overcome: but neither by and by; nor with a few suffrages; but after the same manner, as when the lawes were in greatest force. The same yeare the warre began in Africk, *Tacfarinas* being the captain of the enemies. This *Tacfarinas* was a Numidian born; and being an aide souldier, received pay under the Romanes: then a forsaker of them gathered together certain wandering companions, inured to robberies, thefts, and pillage: whom he marshalled into companies, and divided into ensignes, according to the manner of service: and at the last was reckoned a leader not of a disorderly multitude, but captain of the Musulaniens: which being a strong nation neere unto the desert of Africk, having no dwelling in townes, took armes, and drew their neighbours the Moores with them, under their captain *Mazippa*. Their army was so divided, that *Tacfarinas* should encampe himselfe with chosen men, armed after the Romane manner, and train them up in discipline and obedience. *Mazippa* with a company lightly armed should rove up and down, burn, slay, and terrifie. They had also perswaded the Cinithians, a nation not to be despised, to the like. When as *Furius Camillus* Proconsul of Africk, having gathered a legion, and the confederates which were under ensignes (a small power if you respect the multitude of Moores and Numidians) and led them against the enemy: and doubting nothing more then lest they should shift off the battell with feare, with a hope of victory tolled them on, and in their hope overthrew them. *Furius* placed a legion in the middle, the cohorts lightly appointed, and two companies of horsemen in the wings. *Tacfarinas* refused not to joyne battell: but the Numidians were vanquished; and the Furian name, after so many yeares recovered the reputation of warriors: For ever since that *Furius*, which recovered the citie from the *Galli*, and his son *Camillus*; the glory of being captains hath remained in other families. And this

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man whom we have spoken of, not being a man of action, his exploits were the more willingly set forth by *Tiberius* to the Lords of the Senate: who decreed, that he should be honoured with triumphall ornaments; which to *Camillus*, by reason he was of a modest behaviour, could no way be a cause of envie.

XIII. Germanicus Peregrination.

THE yeere following, *Tiberius* was the third time made Consul, and *Germanicus* the second. But *Germanicus* took that dignitie at Nicopolis, a citie in Achaia, whither he came by the coast of Illyrium; having first visited his brother *Drusus*, then making his abode in Dalmatia: and having had an unprosperous voyage by the Adriaticall and Ionian Sea. By reason whereof he spent some dayes in repairing his Navie, and visiting the coasts, which by the victorie of *Actium* were made famous, and the spoils dedicated by *Augustus*: with the place where *Antonie* had camped; by those meanes renewing the memory of his ancestours; for as I have said before, *Augustus* was his uncle, and *Antonie* his grandfather: and therefore in that place he saw represented, things both joyfull, and dolorous. from thence he went to Athens, which being an ancient citie, and a confederate with the Romanes: he would have but one Licor before him. The Grecians received him with most exquisite honours, and represented the ancient exploits, and sayings of his predecessors: that their flatterie might be so much the more gratefull and acceptable. And going from thence to Euboea, he passed by Lesbos: where *Agrippina* in her last delivery, had *Julia*. Then desirous to visit places of antiquitie and fame, he went to the confines of Asia, Perinthum, and Byzans, cities of Thrace: then he entred the straits of Propontis, and the mouth of the Pontian sea. Withall he relieved the Provinces, which were wearied with civill discords, and oppressions of Magistrates. In his returne desirous to visit the sacrifices of the Samothracians, and sundry other things; for change of fortune, and our beginning from thence worthy of honour. The northren windes drove him back again. Then he coasted Asia, and came to Colophona, to consult with the oracle of *Clavius Apollo*. There is no woman, as at Delphos; but a Priest usually chosen out of certain families, and for the most part from Miletum, doth heare only the number and names of such as come to consult: then going down to a den, and drinking a draught of the secret fountaine, giveth answer (being commonly ignorant in learning and verses) in verses touching those things, which a man hath fore-thought in his minde. It is reported, that by circumstances of dark speeches, as the manner of the oracles is, he prophecied that *Germanicus* death was not farre off. But *C. Piso*, to the end he might more speedily begin to effeuate his determination, sharply rebuked the citie of Athens, already amazed with his turbulent behaviour, indirectly carping at *Germanicus*, that contrary to the dignitie of the Romane name, he had used too great curtesie: not toward the Athenians which had been wasted by so many miseries; but towards a rife-rafte of other nations: and those which were *Mithridates* confederates against *Sulla*: and *Antonius* against *Augustus* of famous memorie. Other stale matters he objected also against them; as that they had not prosperous successe against the Macedonians, & used violence against their own citizens: bearing them also a special grudge, because that at his request they would not deliver one *Theophilus* condemned of forgery, by the counsell of the Areopagites. From thence sayling with all celeritie by the Cyclades, and seeking out the shortest cuts, at the Island of Rhodes, he overtook *Germanicus*: nothing ignorant how he

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had backbitten him: yet nevertheless such was his milde disposition, that when *Piso* was driven through tempest against the rocks, and that his misfarrying might have been imputed to chance, he sent galleies to succour him, and so delivered him from danger. But all this did not mollifie *Piso's* heart, but scarce enduring one dayes stay, forsaketh and preventeth *Germanicus*. For being come to the legions in Syria, winning the bafe of the common souldiers with gifts: he began to displace the old Centurions, and severe Tribunes: and bestow their roomes on his followers, or to the most lewdest: suffered idleness in the camps: licentiousnes in the citie; vagrant and riotous souldiers to range the country: whereby they grew to such corruption, that among the common sort, he was called the father of the legions. Neither did *Plancina* containe her self within the bonds of womanly modesty: but would be present at the horsemens exercise, as the running of the cohorts: and use reprochfull speeches against *Agrippina*, and *Germanicus*: some of the better sort of souldiers, full ready to follow her humor, in bad actions, because there was a secret rumour spread that those things were not done with dislike of the Emperour. *Germanicus* knew all this: but his greatest care was to prevent the Armenians. That nation was in times past doubtfull and uncertain to the Romanes, not onely through their disposition and affection; but also through the situation of their country: which stretching into our provinces, reacheth even to the Medes. And being seated betwixt great kingdomes, are often in wars, through hatred to the Romans, and envie to the Parthians. King at that time they had none, *Vonones* being expelled. But the nation favoured *Zeno*, *Polemon* King of Pontus son, because that from his infancie, he had imitated the customes and attire of the Armenians; their hunting and banquetting and other exercises of the Barbarians greatly esteemed: thereby winning the favour and as well of the nobilitie, as common people. *Germanicus* then in the city Artaxata, the noble men approving it, in the presence of a multitude, crowned him King: and the rest doing him honour as their King, saluted him after the name of the city by the name of Artaxias. The Cappadocians being reduced to the forme of a Province, received *Q. Veranius* for their lieutenant: and to give them a good hope of the Romane government, some of the tributes usually before paid to the Kings, diminished: and over the Comagini, then first reduced under the regiment of a Prefect, *Q. Servus* was made governour.

XIIII. Germanicus, and *Piso's* jarring.

Albeit, all the affaires of the allies were settled in good order: yet *Germanicus* was nothing the more at his ease; by reason of *Piso's* pride: who being commanded either by himself, or by her sonne, to conduct part of the legions to Armenia, neglected both. At length they both met at Cirrum, where the tenth legion wintered: *Piso* with a resolute countenance against feare: and *Germanicus*, as I have said, the milder of the two, lest he should be thought to threaten. But his friends their crafts master in provoking hatred, made the most of that which was true, and suggested much which was false, laying divers things to his own charge, *Plancina* and his childrens. In the end, *Cæsar* in the presence of a few of her familiars, uttered some such speech to *Piso*, as anger and dissimulation doth suggest, and *Piso* answered with a proud submission, and so they departed open enemies. After that time *Piso* was seldom seen at *Cæsar's* tribunall, and if he did assist at any time, he shewed himselfe froward, and alwayes differed openly from him. In a banquet made by the King of the Nabateans, when there were presented crownes of great

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weight to *Cæsar* and *Agrippina*, and light ones to *Piso* and the rest: He was heard to say, that that banquet was made to the son of a Roman Prince, and not to the son of a king of Parthia: and withall threw away his crown, uttering many speeches against the superfluity of the banquet: which although *Germanicus* could hardly digest, yet indured all patiently. Whilest these things were a doing, Embassadors came from *Artabanus*, king of the Parthians, calling to minde their friendship and alliance with the Romans, and desiring that they might renew right hands: and that in honour of *Germanicus*, he would come to the bank of Euphrates. And requested in the mean time, that *Vonones* might not remain in Syria, lest he should by messengers draw the noble men of the country round about to civill dissensions. Touching the alliance, *Germanicus* answered magnificently: but concerning the kings coming, and the honour done to himself, he answered civilly, and with great modestie. *Vonones* was removed to Pompeiopolis, a sea town in Cilicia; not so much as at *Artabanus* request, as to spite *Piso*, unto whom he was most acceptable, for many benefits and gifts bestowed upon *Plancina*.

XV. Germanicus voyage to Egypt and Thebes. Maroboduus and Catualda, both expelled, flee to the Romanes.

When *M. Silanus*, and *L. Norbanus* were Consuls, *Germanicus* went to Egypt to see the antiquities of the country, but pretended a care of the province: where he opened their storehouses, and brought down the price of corne: and did other things to winne the favour of the people: as to goe without souldiers, wear open shooes: apparell himself like the Grecians: imitating *P. Scipio*, whom we have heard to have done the like in Sicily, when the warre was hottest against the Africans. *Tiberius* having lightly blamed him for his behaviour and apparell, did most sharply rebuke him, that contrary to *Augustus* order, and without the Princes licence, he had entered Alexandria. For *Augustus* amongst other secrets of state, had reserved Egypt; and forbidden all Senators, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, to enter into it, but with permission, lest Italy should be oppressed with famine: whosoever should be master of that province: being the key of the sea and land: and easily defended with a small power, against a strong host. But *Germanicus*, not knowing that his voyage was disliked, went up Nilus, beginning at the towne Canopus, which the Lacedemonians built: because *Canopus* the Governour of their ship was buried there, when *Menelaus* going back to Greece, was carried to a contrary sea, and land of Libya. The next mouth of the river from thence, is dedicated to *Hercules*, the first of which name was borne there, as the inhabitants do report; and of whom all which come after him, of like valour and vertue, took their surname. After that, he visited the great monuments of ancient Thebes: where yet were to be seen Egyptian letters in old buildings, which contained their ancient wealth. And one of their ancientest Priests, being commanded to interpret those letters in the country language; related, that in times past there had dwelt in that citie, seven hundred thousand persons, of age fit to bear armes: and that with that army king *Rhamses* had conquered Libya, Æthiopia, Media, and Persia, Bactria, and Scythia, and the countreys which the Syrians, and the Armenians, and the Cappadocians, their next neighbours inhabited: and that their dominion reached from the Bithynian to the Lycian Sea. There were also read the tributes imposed over nations, the weight of silver and gold, the num-

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ber and furniture of horses and armour: the gifts given to the Temples, the Ivory, sweet favours: and what plenty of corn; what utensils every nation was charged to furnish; which were no lesse magnificent, then are now commanded by the forces of the Parthi: or power of the Romanes. But *Germanicus* was yet tied to other miracles: whereof the chiefest was, the image of *Mennon* made of stone; when it was stricken with the sun-beames yeelding a sound like a mans voice: and the Pyramides as great as mountaines, on the not passable sands; built a vie by Kings in times past to shew their riches: and the ditches wrought by handie work to receive the overflowing of *Nilus*; so narrow in some places, and so deepe in others, that the bottome cannot be found by any searck. From thence he came to Elephantines, and Syenes, in times past the bounds of the Romane Empire, which now openeth to the red sea. Whilest *Germanicus* spent that summer, in visiting many Provinces, *Drusus* got no small honour, by sowing sedition in Germanie: and incensing them to pursue *Maroboduus* already weakened, even to his utter ruine. Among the Gotoes, there was a noble young man called *Catualda*, who through *Maroboduus* violence having before fled his country; things standing now in doubtful termes, ventured a revenge. And with a strong power, entered the frontiers of the Marcomans: and having corrupted the chief noble men to his confederacie, forceth the kings palace, and a castle hard by. Where he found the old spoils of the Suevians and the base rascals of our Province: and certaine Merchants; whom intercourse of merchandize, and a desire of increasing their wealth; or last of all a forgetfulness of their country; had drawn from their own dwellings to the enemies country. *Maroboduus* being forsaken of all hands, had no other refuge left, but the mercy of the Romanes. And having passed the river of Danub, where it coasteth the Province of Norica, wrote unto *Tiberius*, not as a fugitive and suppliant, but putting him in minde of his former fortune and estate: alleading that when sundry nations invited him to their alliance, being sometimes a renowned king, he preferred the amitie of the Romanes before them all. *Cesar* answered him, that he should have a sure and honourable dwelling in Italy, if he list to remaine there: but if any thing of greater advancement should happen unto him, that he should depart with the same safe conduct he came thither. Afterward he declared in Senate that the Athenians had no such cause to feare *Philip*, nor the people of Rome, *Pyrrhus*, and *Antiochus*, as this man. An oration of his is yet extant, wherein he extolleth his power, the strength of the nations he had under him; and how neere an enemy he was to Italy; and what plots he had devised to roote him out. *Maroboduus* was received at Ravenna; that if at any time the Suevian should wax insolent, he was in sight as it were always ready to return. But he departed not Italie the space of eighteen yeares, and grew old with losse of reputation, through over great desire of living. The like hope had *Catualda*, and no other refuge: for not long after being driven out by the Hermunduri, under the conduct of *Vibilius*, he was received and sent to Forum Julii, a Colonie of Gallia Narbonensis. The barbarous people which followed both these, left being mingled among others, should disturb the quiet Provinces: were placed beyond Danubium, betwixt the rivers Marus, and Cusus; and a King given them of the Quadian nation.

XVI. Warres betwixt Rhefcuporis and Cotys. Rhefcuporis is sent to Rome.

N Ewes being come that *Artaxias* was by *Germanicus* made King of Armenia: the Lords of the Senate ordained that *Germanicus* and *Drusus* should enter into the citie ovant, or with a small triumph; and that arches should be erected about the sides of the Temple of *Mars* the Revenger, with the images of the two *Cesars*: *Tiberius* being more glad that he had established a peace by wisdom; then if he should have ended the war by a maine battell. Now he determined by some subtiltie to set upon *Rhefcuporis* King of Thrace. That country once having bene under *Rhemetalces*: after his death, *Augustus* gave part of it to his brother *Rhefcuporis*, and part to his sonne *Cotys*. In that partition, the arable grounds, the cities and places adjoining to Greece fell to *Cotys* share. That which was uninhabited, wilde, & lying neere the enemy to *Rhefcuporis*. The dispositions also of those Kings were such, that the one was tractable and of a milde condition; this stout, covetous, and impatient of a companion: and both at the first living in cunning and dissembled concord. Then *Rhefcuporis* began to exceed his bounds; and draw that to himself, which was given *Cotys*, and use violence if he resisted: but not so hotly in *Augustus* time; whom he feared being the author of both kingdomes, would revenge if he were despised. But understanding of a change of the Prince, he sent in troupes of thieves, beat down his castles, and sought occasions of warre. Nothing did more trouble *Tiberius*, then that those things which were once settled, should now be disturbed: and therefore making choise of a Centurion dispatcheth him away to signifie to the Kings, that they should not in any case enter into armes: and thereupon *Cotys* dismissed presently the aide he had prepared. *Rhefcuporis* with a fained modestie, requesteth a place of meeting, to end their controversie by conference: neither did they long doubt of the time, place, and conditions; the one yeelding to all with a facilitie of nature; the other accepting all with a fraudulent meaning. *Rhefcuporis* as he pretended to conclude this agreement; maketh a banquet: and when the night was farre spent with great mirth, much eating and quaffing of wine: he loaded uncircumspect *Cotys* with chaines: who perceiving the treason, besought him by the sacred ceremonies of the kingdome, the gods of the same family, and by the entertainment of his table, he would use no such violence. Having thus made himself master of all Thrace, he wrote to *Tiberius*, that there were conspiracies wrought against him, and the contriver of them prevented. And withall, pretending warre against the Bastarnians, and the Scythians, making himself strong with a new power of footmen and horsemen. *Tiberius* wrote to him coldly again, that if there were no fraud in his doing, he might trust to his innocencie: but neither he nor the Senate could discern the right from wrong, unless he knew the cause: and therefore that he should deliver up *Cotys*, and come to them, and purge himself of the envy of the crime. Those letters *Latinus Pandus* Proprietor of Moesia sent with the souldiers, unto whom *Cotys* should be delivered. But *Rhefcuporis* balancing between anger and feare, and desirous to be guiltie rather of the fact committed, then only attempted, commandeth *Cotys* to be slain: and untruefully gave it out, that he had killed himself. Yet for all this, *Cesar* altered not his intended course, but after *Pandus* deceale, whom *Rhefcuporis* accused to have been his back-friend, made *Pomponius Flaccus* an old souldier, and with whom the King was very inward, and therefore a more fit instrument to deceive, for the same cause especially governour of

of Mœsia, *Flaccus* being gone to Thrace, by way of great promises, perswaded him, although doubtfull, and calling to minde his owne wickednesse: to enter into the Romane garrison, where he was guarded with a strong company, under colour of honour. He had Tribunes and Centurions at hand to counsell and perswade him: and the further he went, the greater gaurd: and at last knowing in what termes of necessitie he stood, they brought him to the citie: where being accused in Senate by *Corys* wife, he was condemned to be kept far from his countrey. Thrace was afterward divided betwixt *Rhematales* his sonne, who was knowne to be an enemy to his fathers proceedings, and *Corys* children: which not being of fullage, *Trebellienus Rufus*, who had been Pretor in the meane season, was made governour of the kingdom: following the examples of our prede cesseurs, who sent *M. Lepidus* into Egypt to be guardian to *Ptolemæus* children. *Rhescuris* was carried to Alexandria, and there a going about to escape, or because it was so fathered on him, was killed. At the same time *Vonones*, who (as we have said) was confined in Cilicia, having corrupted his keepers, vnder colour of going a hunting, attempted all meanes to escape to the Armenians; from thence to the Albanians, and Heniochians, and to his Cousen the king of Scythia. And forsaking the sea coastes, got into by-waies and forrests, and by the swiftnesse of his horse, posted with all speed to the river Pyramus. The borders vnderstanding the kings escape, having broken down the bridges, & he not able to passe at any foord, was taken by the rivers side, and bound by *Vibius Fronto*, Captain of the horsemen. Anon after *Remmius Evocatus*, unto whose charge the King was first committed, as it had been in an anger, thrust him through with his sword. Whereupon it was the easier beleaved that he had so slain *Vonones*, as one guiltie and consenting to his escape, and therefore fearing he should be bewrayed and accused.

XVII. Germanicus sicknesse and death. The variance betwixt him and Piso.

BUT *Germanicus* returning from Egypt: and perceiving that all which he had commanded, either in the legions or townes, left undone, or changed cleane contrary, began to use grievous and contumelious speech, against *Piso*: and he to requite *Cæsar* with no lesse dangerous attempts. Whereupon *Piso* determined to depart Syria: but staying a time by reason of *Germanicus* sicknesse, when he heard of his amendment, and that the vowes were accomplished for his health: he drove away by his sergeants the beast brought to the Altar, and disturbed the preparation made for the sacrifice, and the solemne meeting of the people of Antioch. Then he went to Seleucia, expecting the event of his sicknesse which he fell again into: the rage thereof so much the more grievous, through an opinion that *Piso* had poysoned him: for there were found pulled out of the ground and walls, charms, verses, and enchantments: and *Germanicus* name engraven in sheets of lead: ashes half burned, and tempered with corrupt blood, and other forceries, by which it is thought, that souls are dedicated to the infernall powers. Some also were accused to have been sent from *Piso*, to espie in what state he was in. That drove *Germanicus* both into anger and feare, considering with himselfe: if his house should be besieged: if he should lose his life in the sight of his enemies: what should happen after to his wofull wife, and his young children? he saw that the poyson seemed slow in working: but *Piso* hastened, that he might alone have the government of the legions and the province. But *Germanicus* was not so destitute of friends, that

that the murderer should enjoy the rewards of the murder. And hereupon enditeth a letter to him, in which he renounceth his friendship. Some adde, that hee commanded him to depart the province. *Piso* made no longer delay, but looserth anker and moderated his course to returne the sooner, if *Germanicus* death should open him away to Syria. *Germanicus* being a little amended, and in some hope: then growing feeble againe, when his end was at hand, hee spake to his friends about him in this manner. If I should die a naturall death, yet should I have just cause of griefe against the gods: that by an untimely death, they should take me in my youth from my kinsfolke, children and countrey. But now being brought to this passe by the lewd practice of *Piso* and *Plincina*, I leave in your breasts for my last prayers, that you signifie unto my Father and my Brother, with what crueltie tortue, with what fraud circumvented, I have ended my miserable life, with a most naughtie death. If the hopes conceived of me have moved any; if neereneffe in blood any: yea, if envie towards me when I lived: they will weep, that he who hath sometimes flourished, and escaped so many battels, should now end his life by the guile and treachery of a woman: you shall have occasion to complaine to the Senate, and demand the execution of lawes. This is not the chiefest dutie of friends, to shew their affection towards the dead, by a slow and dull complaint; but remember and execute that which they commanded. Yea, such as knew not *Germanicus*, will weepe for him: If you did rather love me then my fortune, you will revenge my death. Shew the people of Rome *Augustus* neece, and and the same my wife, and my children which are fixe in number: the accusers themselves will have compassion, and those which pretend wicked commandements, shall either not be beleaved, or not pardoned. His friends taking him by the right hand, swore they would rather lose their life, then omit revenge. Then turning to his wife entreated her by the memory of him, and by the children common betweene them, that shee would lay aside all haughtinesse, and submit her courage to raging fortune: left returning to the citie, shee stirred not with emulation of greatnesse more powerable then her self against her. Thus much he uttered openly, and other things in secret, whereby it was conjectured he stood in feare of *Tiberius*. Not long after he yeelded up the ghost, with great lamentation of the Province and countries about; forrein nations and Kings lamented also; so great was his courtesie to his allies, and mildnesse to his enemies. He was no lesse venerable to those which saw him, then those which heard of him; and did so well temper the greatnesse of high estate and gravity that he avoided both envie and arrogance. His funerals although he had neither images nor pompe: yet by the commendation and memory of his vertues, were honoured of all men. Some there were which compared his favour, his age and manner of death, by reason of the vicinitie of the places wherein they died, unto *Alexander* the Great. For being both of a comely stature, noble parentage, not much above thirty yeeres of age they died in strange countries, by the treachery of their owne people. But this man was courteous towards his friends, moderate in pleasures, & his children certain, begotten in marriage by one woman. Neither was he to be counted a lesse warrior then the other, although he were not rash, & hindered to reduce under the yoke of servitude the Germans daunted with so many victories. And if he alone had had the supreme managing of affaires, and power, & a name of King; so much the sooner he would have carried away the prize and renown of warfare, by how much he did excel him in clemency, temperancy, & other good vertues. His body before it should be burned, was laid naked in the market place of Antioch, which was the place appointed for his buriall. Whether he shewed

shewed any tokens of being poisoned or not, it is unknowne: for divers did diversly interpret it; either as they were inclined to pitie *Germanicus*, or suspected to favour *Piso*. This being done, the lieutenants and the Senators which were present, consulted among themselves, whom they should make governour of Syria; and the rest not greatly contending: it was long debated betwixt *Marsus* and *Cn. Sentius*; and in the end *Marsus* yielded to *Sentius* being his elder, & prosecuting the suit more eagerly. He sent to Rome one *Martina*, a woman infamous in that Province for empoisoning, but deerey beloved to *Plancina*, at the suit of *Vitellius* and *Veranus*; & others, which framed their accusations, as against one already guiltie of the fact. But *Agrippina* waisted with sorrow and feeble of body, yet impatient of delaying revenge; tooke shipping with *Germanicus* althes with her; and her children: all men taking compassion, that a woman so noble descended, and who not long since in regard of her stately marriage, was honoured and revered by all men, should now carrie in her lap, those lamentable reliques of her husband: incertaine of revenge, doubtful of her person; so oft exposed to fortunes mercy by her unlucky fruitfullnes.

XVIII. *Piso* is doubtfull whether he should returne to Syria or not. And prepareth an armie against *Sentius*.

IN the mean season a messenger overtaketh and advertiseth *Piso*, at the Iland Cots, that *Germanicus* was departed. Which tidings he received intemperately, offered sacrifices, visited the temples, nothing moderating his joy; and *Plancina* growing more insolent then first, changed the mourning weede she ware for the death of her sister into a joyfull attire. The Centurions flocking about him, told him that he had the good will of the legions at his devotion; that it was his best to returne to the province wrongfully taken from him, and now void of a governour. Whereupon taking advise what was best to be done; his sonne *M. Piso* was of opinion that he should make all haste to the citie: that there was nothing yet done which might not be answered: and that weake suspicions, and vaine reports were not to be feared. The variance betweene him and *Germanicus*, was worthis perhaps of some rebuke, but not punishment: and by taking the province from him, his enemies were satisfied. But if he should returne, *Sentius* being against him, a new civill war would begin. Neither would the centurions and souldiers continue on his side; with whom the fresh memorie of their captaine, and the love deeply printed in their hearts towards the *Cæsars* would prevaile. *Domitius Celer*, one of his inwardest friends, perswaded the contrary. That he ought to take the time when it was offered: that *Piso*, and not *Sentius* was made governor of Syria: unto him were the safces, and dignitie of Pretor given, to him the legions committed. If any violence should be uttered by the enemy, who should more justly oppose his armies against them, then he who hath received the authoritie of a Lieutenant, and speciall commission? Rumors grow stale and vanish away with time: and often the innocent are borne downe with fresh envie: but if hee had a power at hand, and his forces encreased, many things which could not be foreseene, by meere chauce might turne to the better. Doe we hasten to come to Rome, with *Germanicus* althes: that *Agrippinaes* lamentation, and the unskillfull multitude, at the rumour, should lay hands on thee, unheard and undefended? Thou halt for thee *Augustaes* conscience, and *Cæsars* favour, though in secret. And none bewaile more braggingly *Germanicus* death in outward shew, then such as in their hearts are most glad. *Piso* being

ing forward enough of himself to haughty attempts, was with small adoe drawn to this opinion. And sending letters to *Tiberius* accuseth *Germanicus* of riot and pride: and that himselfe was driven out of the province, because there might be a way made open to innovation: that he had again taken charge of the armie, with the same fidelity, as he had already governed it. Withall, he commanded *Domitius* with a galley to saile into Syria, and avoiding the coasting of the shoare, and letting passe the Ilands, take wide and open sea. Then marshalling and arming runnagates, and rascall base companions, & sailing over to the continent, he intercepted an ensigne of young and raw souldiers, which were going to Syria. And writeth also to the Lords of Cilicia, to send him aid: the young man *Piso* being nothing slack in the service, although he was against the undertaking of the warre. Wherefore passing by the coast of Lycia, and Pamphylia, meeting with the ships which had conveyed *Agrippina* to Rome, each side hating one another, made themselves ready to fight: yet both sides fearing the one the other, they proceeded no further then to hard words. *Marsus Vibius* summoned *Piso* to come to Rome to answer for himselfe: who scoffingly answered him again, that he would come and appeare, when the Pretor which was to inquire of poysonings, would appoint a day aswell for the plaintife, as defendant. In the mean time *Domitius* being arrived at Laodicea, a city in Syria, and going to the standing campe of the sixt legion, as most fit for new enterprises, was prevented by the Lieutenant *Pacuvius*. *Sentius* openeth that by letters to *Piso*, warning him not to go about to tempt the army with corrupters, nor raise any war in the Province. And such as he knew to have *Germanicus* in minde, or were adversaries to the enemies, he assembled together: putting them often in minde of the greatnes of the Emperor, and how the common-wealth was assailed; and thereupon gathereth a stronger power ready to fight. Yet neither *Piso*, nor his side, although his enterprises fell out otherwise, then he expected, did let slip that which was of most safetie for the present, but putteth himselfe in a very strong castle in Cilicia, called Celenderis. For by forting and medling together the runnagates, the new and raw souldier lately taken, his own and *Plancinaes* slaves, and the aids which the Lords of Cilicia sent, he marshalled them in form of a legion. And then affirmed that he was *Cæsars* Lieutenant: but driven out of the Province committed to him: not by the legions, for they called him thither; but by *Sentius*, which cloaked his private malice with false crimes: therefore that they should stand stoutly to the battel, because the souldiers would not fight, when they should see *Piso* whom heretofore they called their father. If they would proceed by order of justice the right was on his side: if by arms he wanted not strength. Then he displayed his companies in order of battel, before the castle on a steep craggy hills side: the rest being inviron'd with sea. On the contrary side the old souldiers, with their supplies were marshalled into ranks. On this side was the strength of souldiers: on that of place. In courage and hope there was great ods also: and on their side no weapons, but rude and clownish, prepared for a present shift. And when they came to handy stroakes, there was no longer doubt who should have the upper hand, but till the Romane Cohorts could win the plain ground: which done, the Cilicians shewed their backs, and shut themselves in their fort. In the mean space *Piso* went about, but in vain, to assail the navie which waited not farre off. Then returned to the castle again, now tormenting himself upon the walls, now calling to every souldier by his name, and offering rewards: assailed to raise a mutinie, and did so much prevaile, that the standard-bearer of the sixt legion, went with his ensigne to his side. Then *Sentius* commanded the cornets and trumpets to sound; gave an assault to the rampiers; caused ladders

to be put up, and the ablest men to follow; and the others out of engines to shoot darts, stones, and firebrands. In the end *Piso*es obstinacie being overcome, entreateth that having yeilded up his weapons, he might remaine in the castle, untill *Caesar* were consulted, who should be governour of Syria. The conditions were not accepted, nor any thing granted him: but onely, that he should have shipping and safe conduct to the citie.

XIX. Great bewailing for Germanicus death: strange religion suppressed: loose life restrained in women of account.

BUT when *Germanicus* sicknesse was noised at Rome, and as in newes it falleth out, the farther it goeth, augmented to the worser: all men burst out into anger, grieve, and complaints: saying, that therefore he was sent to forreine countries: that was the reason why *Piso* had the Province committed to him: this was the effect of *Augustus* secret conference with *Plancina*: that the ancient men said most truly of *Drusus*, that the courteous and modest disposition of children doth dislike such as reigne. Neither were they made away for any other reason, but because, libertie restored; they had a meaning to reduce the people of Rome to a certain equalitie. These speeches of the common people, the news of his death did so much kindle, that before any edict of Magistrates, before any decree of Senate was made, vacation being taken of themselves; the places of judgement were abandoned; houses shut up; silence and mourning every where: nothing of all this counterfeited or done for ostentation. And although they did not abstain from outward tokens of mourning, yet in their hearts they mourned much more. Certain Merchants returning by chance out of Syria, *Germanicus* yet living, bringing joyfull tidings of his health, were presently beleeveld, and spread abroad, and as they met one another (although they had scarce heard the tale to the end) yet they reported it again, and they again to others, still making it more, and increasing their joy. They ran up and downe the citie, went about to wrest open the gates of the temples: the night furthered their credulousnesse, and in the dark every man more ready to affirm. Neither did *Tiberius* gainsay these false reports, but let them vanish away with time. But then the people, as though he had been a second time taken from them, grieved more bitterly. Such was his funerall pompe done in memorie of him, as either mens love, or pregnancie of conceit could invent: as that his name should be sung in a Salarian verse, which *Mars* Priests were wont to sing: that in the roomes of the Auguttall Priests, chaires of estate should be placed, with garlands of oak: that his image graven in Ivorie, should be carried before the Circensian plaies: and that none should be created Flamen or Augur in *Germanicus* place, unlesse he were of the Julian family. At Rome and at the banke of Rhene, and on the hill Amanus in Syria, were erected arches, with an inscription of his exploits: and that he died for the common wealth: a sepulchre at Antioch where his bodie was burnt: a Tribuall at Epidaphna, where he ended his life. It would be hard to number the images and places in which he was honoured. And when some thought it convenient that he should have a shield of exquisite gold and greatnesse, dedicated him among the authors of Eloquence; *Tiberius* said he should have none but such as was usuall, and equall to the rest: for neither was eloquence to be judged of by fortune: and that it was a sufficient honor for him, if he were put in the number of ancient writers. That which before was called the band of young men, the

the Gentlemen called *Germanicus cuneum*, or appointed battell: and ordained that the squadrons of horsemen should follow his image the Ides of July. Many of these ceremonies yet remaine; some were presently left off; and some, time wore out. But whilest this griefe was yet fresh in every mans memory; *Livia Germanicus* sister, and *Drusus* wife, was at once delivered of two sonnes: which being a thing rare, and welcome, even to meane families, did so rejoyce the Prince, that he could not containe (for even casuall things hee attributed to his glory) but must needs brag before the Lords of the Senate, that no other of the Romanes of his greatnesse, had ever before had two male children at a birth. But in such a time even that also brought griefe unto the people; as though that *Drusus* increase of children, would the rather depresse *Germanicus* house. The same yeere womens lascivious life, was punished by severe degrees of Senate; and ordained that none should put their bodies to sale, whose grandfather, father, or husband had beene a Gentleman of Rome. For *Vesilia* descended of a Pretorian family, had made her loose licentious life knowne to the *Ediles*, according to a received custome among the ancients; who thought it a sufficient punishment for unchaste women, if publickely they confessed their lewdnesse. And *Titius Labeo*, *Vesilia* husband, was called into question, because he had inflicted the punishment of the law, on his wife manifestly taken in the offence. But he for his excuse, alledged that the threescore dayes given to deliberate, were not yet past; and therefore thinking it enough to punish *Vesilia*, she was confined in the Iland Seriphon. It was debated in Senate touching the rooting out of the Egyptian and Judaicall ceremonies: and a decree made for foure thousand libertines of competent age, infected with that superstition, should be conveyed into the Iland Sardinia, to suppress robberies committed there: and if they should dye through the unwholesomenesse of the ayre, the losse were but vile and small: and that the rest should depart Italy, if before a certain day they would not forsake those prophane rites. When those things were done, *Caesar* propounded, that another Virgin should be received in the roomes of *Oceia*; who with very great integrity, seven and fifty yeeres, had beene governess of the ceremonies of the Vestall virgins: and gave thanks to *Fonteus Agrippa*, and *Domitius Pollio*; who offering their daughters, strove in duty to the Common wealth. But *Pollios* daughter was preferred for no other reason, but because her mother had continued wife to her first husband: *Agrippa* having diminished the reputation of his house with divorcement. Yet *Caesar* in regard the other was preferred, did comfort her with 'tenne hundred thousand sesterces for her dowry. The people complaining of a dearth of corne, he put downe a price for the buyer, promising to pay of his owne in every bushell two nummos. Yet for all this he would not take up on him, the title of Father of his countrey, before offered him: but did sharply rebuke them, who had called his affaires divine, and him Lord. And therefore under a Prince which feared liberty, and hated flattery; all speeches ought to be briefe; and yet cannot hardly escape captious construction. I find in ancient writers of that time, that *Adgandrestius* Prince of the Chatti letters were read in Senate, promising *Arminius* death, if poyson were sent him to commit the deed. And that it was answered him, that the people of Rome used not to revenge on their enemies by treachery and privy meanes; but openly and armed. Wherein *Tiberius* equalled himselfe to the old Roman Captaines, which did forbid king *Pyrrhus* to be poysoned, but disclosed it unto him. Now *Arminius*, the Romans being departed, and *Marobodius* expelled, earnestly covering the kingdom, had the people as defending their liberty against him: and being assailed, and fighting with doubtfull fortune,

was slain by the fraud of his own neereſt familiars. Doubtleſſe the deliverer of Germanie; and who provoked, not as other Kings and Captains had done, the fiſt ſpringing up of the people of Rome; but when they flouriſhed moſt in rule and Empire. In his battels, he had doubtfull fortune, ſometimes lucky; ſometimes unlucky; but never was overcome in warre. He lived full ſeven and thirtie yeers, and was Prince twelve. To this day he is famous amongſt barbarous nations; but in the Annales of the Greeks, which admire nothing but their own doings unknown; and not greatly ſpoken of among the Romanes. Who whileſt we extoll ancient things, are careleſſe of our own time.

THE



THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF

CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. Agrippina cometh to Rome: Germanicus funerals.



Agrippina although it were winter, yet ſtill continuing her voyage by ſea, arrived at laſt at the Iland *Corcyra*, over againſt the coaſt of *Calabria*: where as one without mean in mourning, and unable to endure, ſhe reſted a few daies to ſettle her minde. In the mean time, her arrivall known, her deereſt friends, and eſpecially ſouldiers which had ſerved under *Germanicus*; and many alſo which ſhe knew not, from the towns round about: ſome thinking it to be their dutie towards their Prince; and many following them ſlocked to *Brundifum*, being the neereſt and ſafeſt place of landing. And as ſoon as her ſhips were diſcerned a far off; not only the haven and places, neer the ſea ſide; but the walls and houſe tops, and other places, from whence a man might fartheſt ken; were filled with a mourning and heavy multitude of people: aſking (as not knowing what was fitteſt for the time) one another, whether they ſhould receive her with life, or acclamation, when ſhe came out of her ſhip. But when by little and little the ſhips drew neere, they ſaw no cheerefull rowing, as the manner was wont to be: but all of them compoſed to ſadneſſe. Bur being come to land with her two children; holding the funerall pot with her husbands aſhes in her hand, and her eyes fixed on the ground: all men began to bewaile and lament alike. Neither couldeſt thou have diſcerned the lamentation of kinsfolks from the ſtranger; nor the women from the men: ſaving, that the freſh griefe of ſuch as went to meet her, exceeded the lamentation of her train, already wearied with long continuance of ſorrow. *Cæſar* had ſent two companies of his guard to meet them: and gave further charge, that the Magiſtrates of *Calabria*, the *Apuleians* and *Campanians*, ſhould ſolemnize the laſt obſequies in memory of his ſonne. The aſhes were carried on the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* ſhoulders; the enſignes untrimmed; and the faſces or knitch of rods, turned downwards, went before: and when they paſſed by any colonies, the common people in mourning weed, and Gentlemen in their attire called *Trabea*, according to the wealth of the place, burnt garments, ſweet odours, with other accuſtomed funerall ſolemnities. Yea ſuch whole towns were farre off, yet met them; erected altars; offered ſacrifice to the infernall gods, witneſſing their dolour with teares and cries. *Drusus* went to *Terracina* with his brother *Claudius* and *Germanicus* children, which had remained in the citie. The Conſuls *M. Valerius* and *M. Aurelius* (who began then to enter into office) the Senate and a great part of the people filled up the way, ſcattered hither and thither, weeping, as every mans affection was. Flattery there was none: all men knowing that the death of *Germanicus*, joyfull to *Tiberius*; could badly be diſſembled, howſoever he counterfeited the contrary. *Tiberius* and *Auguſta*, abſtained from mourn-

ing in publike: judging it a thing under their majesty, if they should be seen openly to lament; or left the eyes of all men observing their countenance, should espie they did but counterfeite. I finde not in any authour, or diurnall register, that his mother *Antonia* did any thing worthy memory in that solemnitie: when as besides *Agrippina*, *Drusus*, and *Claudius*, the rest of his blood, are by name written of: either hindred by sicknesse, or in minde overcome with sorrow, could not endure the sight of so heavy a griefe. I should easier have beleevd, that *Tiberius* and *Augusta*, which kept within doores, made her do the like: that the griefe might be judged equall: and that the grandmother and uncle should seeme to have kept in, by the example of the mother. The day that the ashes were put in *Augustus* tombe, was sometimes with silence desolate and still; and on the sudden unquiet with weeping: all passages of the citie were full, *Campus Martius* shined with burning torches. There the soldier with his weapons: the magistrates without the marks of their dignitie and calling; and the people gathered into tribes and companies cryed: that the common-wealth was fallen to ground; and no hope left: and that so openly, and boldly, that thou wouldest have beleevd, they did not remember by whom they were governed. Yet nothing went so neere *Tiberius* heart, as the ardent affection men bare *Agrippina*: calling her the honour of their countrey; the only blood of *Augustus*; the pattern of antiquitie; and turning towards the heaven, and the gods, prayed that her issue might long continue, and overcome the wicked. Some desired that the funerals might be celebrated with publike pompe: comparing the magnificence and honours that *Augustus* had used for *Drusus*, *Germanicus* father. And that he in the hardest time of winter, went as farre as *Ticinum*: and how never once departing from the body, accompanied to the citie. That about the coffin were the images of the *Claudians* and *Julians*: that he was bewailed in the place of publike assemblies: praised with an oration before the people: and all honours done him, which either our ancestors or latter times could invent. But *Germanicus* had not so much as the usuall solemnities done for him; his body through distance of place, was in some sort burnt, in strangelands: but by so much the more, honours should now have been bestowed upon him, because fortune had denied him the first. His brother went to meet him but one dayes journey: his uncle not so farre as to the gate. Where are the ancient customes become? why was not his image put before the Beere; and verses sung in memory of his vertues? why was he not praised, and bewailed, with the usuall representation of mourning? All this was well known to *Tiberius*; and to suppress the speech of the common people, he admonished them by edict. "That although many notable Romanes had died for the Common-wealth: yet none had ever been bewailed with such an ardent affection. Which was to him and unto others also honourable, so as there were a mean used. For the self same things are not seemly for noble men, the Emperour and the common people. It was convenient that small houses, or cities should mourne and lament, in fresh griefe; and after their griefe take comfort again: but now it was time to console the minde, as *Julius Caesar*, having lost his only daughter; and *Augustus* his nephews did cast off all sorrow. It was needlesse to allcadge ancient examples, to shew how oft the people of Rome had suffered constantly the losse of armies; death of captains; and the utter overthrow of noble families. That princes are mortall, and the Common-wealth everlasting. Therefore that they should take their solemnities again; and because the shew of the Megalenian plays was at hand, return to their pleasures.

II. Piso

11. Piso cometh to Rome, where he is accused:
and killeth himselfe.

THE vacation ended, every man returned to his busines: and *Drusus* went to the army of Illyrium: the people bent to demand a revenge of *Piso*; complained that he in the meane time now here, now there, in the pleasant countrey of Asia and Africke, with a proud and subtil delay, did shift off the proofes brought against his lewdnesse. For it was commonly rumored, that *Martina*, as I have before said, a woman infamous for poisoning, was sent to Rome by *C. Sentius* and being suddenly dead at *Brundisium*, had no token upon her that shee had taken her owne bane; and that the poyson was found hidden in a knarle of her haire. But *Piso* having sent his sonne before him to the citie, with lessons how to pacifie the Prince, went toward *Drusus*, not hoping to find him cruell in his behalfe, for the death of his brother, but rather favourable, as being rid of such a concurrent. *Tiberius* used a shew of upright dealing, having entertained the young man courteously, made the like liberality towards him as he was accustomed to doe the noble mens children of such as he was familiar with. *Drusus* answered him, that if the accusations laid against him were true, the greatest griefe should be his: and for his own part he could wish they should be false and vain; and that *Germanicus* death might be prejudiciall to none. These words were openly uttered, and not in secret; neither was it doubtfull at all, but that *Tiberius* had before hand taught him his lesson, when as being plain, simple, and young, yet shewed the cunning of the old man. *Piso* having past over the Dalmatian sea, and left his ships at *Ancona*, went by *Picenum*, and after by the *Flaminian* way, overtook the legion which was brought from *Pannonia* to Rome, to lye in garrison in *Africk*: being common in every mans mouth, how in the camp and in the way he did often shew himself to the souldiers. From *Narnia* (whether it were to avoide suspition, or because such as stand in feare are irresolute in their determinations) being conveyed by Nare, and anon after by Tiber, he increased the cvill will of the people towards him, because he landed neere the *Cæsars* tombe: on a day when the shore was full of people: many followers after him: and *Plancia* accompanied with a train of women, both pleasant and cheerefull in countenance. Among other causes of envy and heart-burning, *Piso*'s house was one, looking on the market place, trimmed to feast and banquet in, where nothing could be hidden. The next day *Fulcinus Trio* accused *Piso* before the Consuls. *Vitellius* and *Viranius*, and the rest which had followed *Germanicus*, allalleged that that was their office, and that *Trio* had no part therein; and that as witneses and openers of the cause, and not as accusers, they were to report that which *Germanicus* had given them in charge; *Trio* relinquishing the accusation, obtained licence to accuse his former life: and the Prince intreated to receive the hearing of the cause to himself: which the defendant refused not, as misdoubting the Senators, and peoples good will: and contrary, being well assured that *Tiberius* regarded not rumors, but would leane to his mothers conscience: and that the truth; or things beleevd and wrested to the worst, might easly be discerned by one Judge: whereas hatred and envie beare the sway where there are many. *Tiberius* was not ignorant, how weighty a cause he undertooke, and how diversly he was censured: and therefore calling some of his familiar friends about him, hearing the menaces of the accusers; then the request of the party arraigned, referred the whole cause to the Senate. In the meane season, *Drusus* returning from Illyrium, although the Senators had decreed, that for receiving of *Maroboduus*, and exploits done the sommer past, he should

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enter

enter the citie ovant, or with a small triumph: yet deferring that honour for the time, he entred privately. After that *Piso* had demanded *T. Arruntius*, *Fulcinus*, *Asinius Gallus*, *Aesernius*, *Marcellus*, *Sext. Pompeius* for his advocates; and all of them alleading divers excuses, *M. Lepidus*, *L. Piso*, and *Liveneius Regulus* undertooke his defence: the whole citie being attentive to know how *Germanicus* friends would sticke unto him; what hope the party arraigned had, whether *Tiberius* were able to master his affections, or would shew himselfe. All these things were greedily expected of the people: never shewing themselves more attentive, nor at any time licencing themselves a more secret speech of the Prince, or suspicious silence. The day that the Senat met, *Cæsar* made a premeditate oration, tempered in this sort, saying: "That *Piso* had been his fathers Lieutenant & friend, and given by "him to *Germanicus* as a coadjutor, by the authoritie of the Senate, in the ad-
"ministration of the affaires of the East: but whether he had there exasperated the
"young Prince, through disobedience and contention: and whether he had shewed
"himselfe glad of his death: or villanously had made him away; that they should
"judge of that with upright consciences. For if being Lieutenant, he had gone
"beyond the bounds of his office: and shaken off his dutie to his Lord generall: and
"rejoyced in his death and my griefe: I will hate him, and estrange him from my
"house, and revenge, not the Princes, but private grudges: If any villanous deed
"be detected in him worthy of revenge, even the death of any private person, as
"foord your selves, and *Germanicus* children, and us his father, reasonable and just
"comfort. And examine also whether seditiously and mutinously *Piso* hath stirred
"up the army: whether by ambition he hath sought to win the favour of the foul-
"diers: whether he returned into the province by force of armes: or whether these
"things be false; and made greater then they are, by the accusers: with whose over-
"great affection I have just cause to be offended. For to what purpose should his
"bodie be shewne naked, be handled of the common people; and bruted abroad
"among strangers, as though he had been empoysoned; if these things be yet un-
"certaine, and are to be enquired of? I lament truly, and am grieved for my sonne,
"and alwaies shall. But I hinder not the defendant, to alledge all he can for the
"purgation of his innocency: or if *Germanicus* had any fault worthy of reprehension.
"And I beseech you, not to take the crimes as already proved, because
"the cause is joynd with my sorrow. If either his neereneesse in blood, or his
"owne faithfulness, hath yielded him any to defend his cause, helpe him, as
"much as in you lieth either by your eloquence or care, in this his extremity. To the
"same labour & constancie, I exhort the accusers. *Germanicus* this onely priviledge
"we will afford above the lawes: that his death shall be rather inquired of in the
"Curia, then in the Forum: before the Senate, then other Judges. Let all the rest
"be debared with like modesty, nothing regarding *Drusus* teares: or my griefe:
"or if any slanders be forged against me. After that the accusers had two dayes given
"them to bring in their accusations; and after six dayes were past, the defendant had
"three more to justifie himself. Then *Fulcinus* began with stale and frivolous mat-
"ters: as that he governed Spain ambitiously, and covetously. Whereof being
"convicted, he could not be intreated, if he could purge himself of the latter crimes:
"nor if he could defend himself from that accusation; yet was he not acquitted, if
"greater matters were laid to his charge. After him *Servus* and *Veranius* and *Vitellius*
"with like affection; but *Vitellius* with greater eloquence objected that *Piso*, for
"hatred to *Germanicus* and desire of innovation, had so farre corrupted the com-
"mon souldier with licentiousnesse and injuries towards the confederates: that of the
"lewdest

lewdest sort, he was called the father of the legions. Further, that he had used cruel-
"tie against every good man, and especially against *Germanicus* followers and friends:
"in the end, that he had killed him with poysen and enchantments. Then, that he and
"*Plancia* used wicked ceremonies and sacrifices: that he had borne armes against the
"Common wealth: that he would never have appeared in judgement, had he not
"been overcome in battell. In many things his defence was weak: for he could not
"deny but that he had wonne the souldier by ambition: or that he had not exposed
"the province as a prey, to the lewdest sort: nor the injurious speeches against the ge-
"nerall. Onely he seemed to have purged himself of the empoysoning: which in-
"deed the accusers did not sufficiently prove: accusing him to have empoysoned
"*Germanicus* meat with his hand, which was infected, as he fate above him at a ban-
"quet. For it seemed absurd, that he should dare so bold an attempt, amongst other
"mens servants, in the sight of so many standers by, and in *Germanicus* own presence.
"And thereupon he offered his family, and was very earnest that his servitors might
"be examined upon the rack. But the Judges were implacable for divers respects,
"*Cæsar* because he had made warre against the province, the Senatours, because they
"could never beleieve but that *Germanicus* died by treachery, and that they had expo-
"stulated the matter by letters the one to the other. Which *Tiberius* did no lesse deny
"then *Piso*. Withall, the outcry of the people was heard before the Senate house, that
"they would not temper their hands, if he escaped by sentence of the Senate. And
"they had drawn *Pisos* images to the Gemonies; and broken them in pieces, if they
"had not been saved, and put in their places again, by the Princes commandment.
"*Piso* was carryed back in a charriot, by a Tribune of the Pretorian band, diversly ru-
"mored: whether he followed him as a guard for his safetie, or executioner of his
"death. The like hatred was toward *Plancia*, but greater favour, and therefore it was
"doubted, how far *Cæsars* authoritie would reach in her behalf. As long as there was
"any hope left for *Piso*, she promised to take part of whatsoever fortune with him,
"and if it so fell out, to be his companion in death. But she was no sooner pardoned
"through *Augustus* secret intreaty, but she began by little and little, to separate her
"self from her husband, and bring her defences apart. The which when *Piso* percei-
"ved, to aboad his utter destruction, doubting whether he should make any further
"triall in judgement: his sonnes perswading him he hardeneth himself, and goeth
"once again to the Senate. Where his accusation being renewed, and the Senators
"voices against him; and having endured all things adverse and cruell, he was amazed
"at nothing more, then that he saw *Tiberius* without pittie, without anger, resolute,
"and not swayed with any affection. Being brought home from thence, as though he
"had premeditated some justification for the next day, he writeth, sealeth, and deli-
"vereth some few lines unto a freedman. This done, he gave himself to the accus-
"med care of his body. Then the night being farre spent, his wife going out of the
"chamber, he commandeth the doores to be shut, and the next morning early, he was
"found with his throat cut, the sword lying on the ground. I remember I have heard
"of ancient men, that *Piso* was often seene to have a little book in his hands which
"he published not: but as his friends said, it contained *Tiberius* letters, and Commis-
"sion against *Germanicus*; and that he had purposed to disclose it to the Lords of the
"Senate; and accuse the Prince, had he not been deluded by *Sejanus* vain promises,
"and that he killed not himself, but that some one was sent to murder him. But I
"will not assure either of those things, although I ought not to conceale it to have
"been uttered by those, which lived untill I came to maus estate.

III. Pisos letters to Tiberius: Plancia is quit.

CÆsar having changed his countenance into sadnesse, perswading himself, that that death of *Piso* would breed him envy; questioned of in Senate how *Piso* had behaved himself, the day before he died; and how he had passed the last night. "And he answering most things wisely, and some inconsiderately, reciteth the contents of the writing made by *Piso* almost as followeth. Being oppressed by the conspiracies of my enemies, and envy of a false crime; so farre, that there is no place left to my innocency and truth: I call the immortall gods to witnesse, O *Cæsar*, that I have lived with all loyalty towards thee, and no lesse dutie towards thy mother. And I beseech you, that you would be an ayde and stay unto my children. Among which *Cn. Piso* is guiltlesse of my fortune whatsoever it be: seeing he hath lived all this while in the citie. *M. Piso* did alwayes dissuade me from returning to Syria. And I would to God, I had rather yielded to the counsell of my young sonne, then he to his old Father. And therefore I beseech you most earnestly, that being innocent, he suffer not the punishment of my demerit. By the service of five and fortie yeers, by the fellowship of the Consulship which we bore together, once liked of *Augustus* the father, and a friend to thee, I recommend unto thee as my last request, my unfortunate sonnes life. Of *Plancia* he added no word. After this, *Tiberius* excused the young man of the civill warres, because the sonne could not disobey the fathers commandment: withall, he had compassion on the noblesse of his house, and his own heavy fortune, howsoever he had deserved. Of *Plancia* he spake with shame and discredit: pretending his mothers intreatie: against whom every good man was incensed, and secretly complained, saying: "Is it lawfull then for the grandmother to look upon the murderesse of her nephew, talke with her, and take her out of the hands of the Senate, that justice might not be executed? Shall not that have place in *Germanicus*, which the law doth permit all other citizens? "*Cæsar* was bewailed by *Vitellius* and *Veranius*: *Plancia* defended by the Emperor and *Augusta*: that now she might convert her skill and poysons which she had so happily experimented, against *Agrippina* and her children, and satiate the good grandmother and uncle with the blood of a most miserable house. Two dayes were spent under colour of examining the cause: *Tiberius* urging *Pisos* children, to defend their mother: and when the accusers and witnesses, had spoken a vie against her, and no man answered for her, pitie encreased more then envie against her. *Aurelius Cottus* being first demanded his opinion (for *Cæsar* propounding the case, the magistrates spake first) gave his censure that the memory of *Piso* should be blotted out of the Chronicles: that part of his goods should be confiscated; and part bestowed upon *Cn. Piso* his sonne, with condition that he should change his name: that *M. Piso* being deposed from his dignitie, and receiving * fiftie hundred thousand sesterces, should be exiled for ten yeeres: and *Plancia* his life pardoned at the suite of *Augusta*. Divers points of that sentence were mitigated by the Prince, as that *Pisos* name should not be wiped out of the Fasti: seeing that *M. Antonius*, who had made warre against his countrey; and *Julius Antoninus* name, who had violated *Augustus* house, remained: and *M. Piso* he delivered from infamy, and granted him his fathers goods, never, as I have often said, greedy of money: and at that time more easily pleased, for shame that *Plancia* was quit. And when *Valerius Messalinus* propounded, that there should an image

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of

of gold beset up in *Mars* their revengers temple: and *Cacina Severus* an altar erected to revenge. He hindred both, alleging that those things were to be dedicated and offered for forreign victories, and that domestical adversities ought to be buried in forrow. *Messalinus* added, that thanks should be given to *Tiberius* and *Augusta*, to *Antonia* and *Agrippina*, and to *Drusus* for *Germanicus* revenge, not once mentioning *Claudius*. And *L. Apronius* asking *Messalinus* before the Senate, whether he had willingly omitted him? *Claudius* name was then first added. The more I meditate with myselfe of things done both in old and latter times; the more the uncertainties and vanities of fortune in mortall affaires come to my remembrance; for in fame, hope, estimation, all men were rather destined to the sovereignty, then he, whom fortune had kept hidden for the future monarch. A few dayes after *Cæsar* perswaded the Lords of the Senate to bestow the dignity of Priesthood upon *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and *Severus*: and having promised his voyce *Fulcinus* for the obtaining of any dignity, advised him not to overthrow his eloquence with rashnes. And that was the end of revenging *Germanicus* death: many things diversly reported; not onely among such as then lived, but in times consequent. So doubtfull are all weighty matters; whilest some take all as certaine, howsoever they heare it: others report a truth otherwise then it is; posteritie adding to both.

III. Warres renewed in Africke under Tacfarinas,
who is defeated by Apronius: Lepida
condemned for changing
a child.

BUT *Drusus* being gone out of the city, once more to learne future things by the flying of birds; entreth in againe, with a small triumph. And a few dayes after, *Vipsania* his mother died, only of all *Agrippas* children, of a naturall death: because it was certainly beleevd, that some died by the sword; others by poyson or famine. The same yeere *Tacfarinas*, who as I have said, was the last summer driven out by *Camillus*, reneweth the warre in Africke: at the first by roving pillages; unrevengeed by reason of his sudden coming, then by wasting of villages; and carrying away great booties; and last of all not far from the river *Pagyd* he besieged a Roman cohort. One *Decrius* was Captaine of the fort, a lusty man, and of good skill in matters of warre: who taking that besieging as a disgrace to himselfe; encourageth his souldiers to fight in open field; and marshalled his army in order of battell before the fortresse. The cohort being beaten backe at the first brunt: he runneth in among the weapons of such as fled; rebuking the standard-bearers, that a Roman souldier should shew his backe, to a few untrained raw traitors. And having received wounds; & an eye stricken out; yet put himselfe in the face of the enemy, never leaving off fighting, untill he was forsaken of his company and slain in the place. Which when *L. Apronius* (who succceeded *Camillus*) understood: being more perplexed with the shame of his own people; then glory of the enemy: he draweth out by lot (a rare matter in those dayes, though in old times practised) every tenth person of the dishonorable band, & beateeth him with cudgels to death. Which severity wrought so great good, that an ensigne of old souldiers, in number not above five hundred, defeated *Tacfarinas* army, going about to assault a fort called *Thala*. In which battell *Ruffus Helvius*, a common souldier got the credit of saving a citizens life, on whom *L. Apronius* bestowed chaines and a speare: *Cæsar* added a civill crowne to them; finding fault rather then offended, that *Apronius* had

had not given it by his proconsular authority. But *Tacfarinus* perceiving the Numidians to be daunted, and refusing to besiege any longer, scattered his war, giving ground when he was pursued: and following a fresh when their backs were turned. Which manner of fight used by the Barbarian, molested and kept the Roman play to no purpose. But after that greedy of pray, he drew to the sea coasts, and there encamped: *Apronius Cestianus* being sent thither by his fathers appointment, with a troupe of horsemen & aid cohorts; adding unto them the readiest of the legions; had a prosperous fight, and drove the Numidian to the deserts. *Lepida*, who besides the honour of the Aemilian family, from which she was descended; had *L. Sulla* and *Cn. Pompeius* for her great grandfathers, was accused at Rome, for failing her selfe to have had a child, by *P. Quirinius*, a rich man and without children, and also of adulteries and empoisonings: and that she had consulted with the Chaldeans against the house of *Cæsar*: her brother *Manius Lepidus* defending her cause, *Quirinius* being offended, and separated from her; yet had commiseration on her, although she were both infamous and faulty. In the hearing of that cause, it was hard to guesse the Princes mind: he did so turne and wind himselfe, & interlace tokens of anger with Clemencie: having first of all requested that matters of treason should not be debated at that time. Then he drew *M. Servilius*, once Consul, and other witnesses to broach such matter, which he would seeme to have suppressed: and sent to the Consuls *Lepidus* servants, whom he had guarded before with a company of souldiers, & would not suffer them to answer by torture, to such interrogatories as did appertaine to his house. Neither that *Drusus* Consul elect should first yeild his opinion: which some construed to be a point of civility, that others should not be forced to do the like: others did wrest it to cruelty: and that he should never have given place, but to condemne the party called in question. *Lepida* the day of hearing, falling out when the playes were to be shewne; entering the Theater with a company of noble women: calling on her ancestours with a dolefull lamentation; and *Pompey* himselfe, whose monuments and images were there in a view, moved such great compassion, that the people gushing out in teares, began to curse *Quirinius*: wishing him all cruelty and misfortune: upon whom being old and without children, and of base parentage, she was bestowed, who had once been destined a wife for *L. Cæsar*, and daughter in law to *Augustus*. Not long after her lewd behaviour was discovered, by torturing her slaves: and all of them condemned unto *Rubellius Blandus* opinion, which was that she should be banished. *Drusus* yeelded unto his opinion, although others were milder bent. Then *Scavrus*, who had had a daughter by her, obtained that her goods should not be confiscate. At last *Tiberius* declared, that he was assured also by *P. Quirinius* slaves that she sought to poison him, as being an enemy alwaies to noble houses. And so in a short compasse of time, the Calpurnians lost *Piso*: and the Aemilians *Lepida*. But *D. Silanus* being restored to the Junian family, was a comfort unto it: whose fortunes I will lay downe.

V. Decius Silanus touched with adulterie: Papias Poppæa
law against single life.

AS fortune was favourable to *Augustus* in government of state, so in household matters unlucky and improsperous: his daughter and Neece which he banished the city, being both of incontinent life: and the adulterers punished with death or exile. For perceiving the offence to be common in the mouth both of man and woman; and terming it by a rigorous name, of religion

violated;

violated, or treason; he passed the bounds of his ancestours clemencie, and his own laws. But I will lay down the ends of others, and what hath happened in that age: if having finished this which I have begun I shall have longer life, to undertake further matter. *Decius Silanus*, who was accused to have committed adultery with *Augustus* Neece, although there was no severe punishment decreed against him, then that he should be deprived of *Cæsar*s friendship; yet interpreting that to be a banishment, durst never intreat pardon of the Senate and the Prince, untill *Tiberius* came to be Emperour; and that by his brother *M. Silanus* credit and authoritie, for his great nobilitie and eloquence highly esteemed. But *Silanus* thanking *Tiberius*, he answered before the Lords of the Senate, that he was glad of his brothers return from a long peregrination: and that he might lawfully so do, because he was not expelled by decree of Senate or law: yet that the offence committed against his father, was entire: and that by *Silanus* return, those things were not made frustrate which *Augustus* had decreed. He remained after this in the citie, but as a private man without office. After this, they debated the matter concerning the moderation of the law Papias poppæa, which *Augustus* stroken in yeers, had ordained after the Julian laws, for augmenting the punishment of single life, and enriching the publike treasure. Neither for all that, were marriages and education of children the more frequented: the single life having taken strong root: whereby the multitude of the endangered by the law, growing greater, most houses were subverted by the interpretations of enforcers: and as heretofore through lewdnesse of life: so now by laws the estate of many was overthrown. This giveth me occasion to speake more at large of the beginning of laws; and by what means we are come to such an infinite multitude and varietie of them. In most ancient times no disordinate desire reigned: every man lived without reproch and vice; and therefore without punishment and restraint of laws; neither was there any need of reward, when as every man desired honest things of his own will: and where nothing was demanded against custome, nothing was forbidden by feare. But after that equalitie was banished, and that ambition and violence crept in, in stead of modestie and shame, rule and dominion took footing, and continued for ever among many nations. Some presently; or after they were weary of Kings, desired rather laws: which at the first were simple, mens mindes being yet rude. And above the rest, fame commended those of the Cretensians which *Minos* gave: and those of the Spartans, which *Lycurgus*: and not long after *Solon* prescribed more, and more exquisite, to the people of Athens. *Romulus* ruled us as pleased himself: then *Numa* bound the people with ceremonies and divine laws: some were found out by *Tullus* and *Anens*: but the chiefeft law-maker was *Servius Tullius*, which kings themselves were bound to obey. *Tarquinius* being driven out, the people made many against the factions of the Senatours, to defend their libertie and establish concord. Then ten men were chosen, to collect all the best laws of other countries, out of which they composed twelve tables, the end of law and equitie. As for the laws which followed; although they were sometimes made against malefactours for their misdemeanour; yet notwithstanding for the most part, they were brought in through the diffention of the commonalty and noble men: for getting of unlawfull dignities; or driving out of noble men; or other disorders. By this occasion, the *Gracchi*, and the *Saturnini* were disturbers of the people: and *Drusus* no lesse prodigall under pretense of the Senators name, corrupted his companions with hope; or mocked them by sundry oppositions against them. Neither did they omit in the warre of Italy, nor in

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the civill warre, to make many lawes: untill *L. Sulla* the Dictator, the former lawes either abolished or changed: after he had added many unto them; forbare sometime for making any more, though not long by reason of *Lepidus* turbulent demands: and because that not long after, licence was yeelded the Tribunes to manage the people, as themselves listed. And now not in generall, but against particular men lawes were ordained: and thereby in a Common-wealth most corrupt; lawes upon lawes were multiplied. Then *Cn. Pompeius* being a third time Consul, and chosen for reformation of manners; being more severe in punishing then the offence deserved; was the anchor and overthrower of his owne lawes: and lost those things by armes, which he had defended by armes. From that time forward there was continuall discord twenty yeeres together: no custome, no law observed: the most lowdest enterprises escaped unpunished: and many undone for well doing. At length *Augustus Caesar* being the first time Consul, and settled in the state abolished those things, which being Triumvir himselfe had commanded: and gave new lawes to be observed in time of peace and under a Prince. Straighter lawes were made by him, and spies appointed to watch the transgressors: and many induced through recompenses granted by the law *Papia poppaea*; that if any forbore from the priviledges of parents, ceast from marriage, and had no children: that then the people who was the common father of all, should inherit their goods. But the pickthanks went farther, and informed against many, not only in the city, but also through all Italy, and wheresoever else the citizens were: and overthrew many mens estates, and drove a terrour into all: if *Tiberius* in providing a remedy had not chosen by lot, five such as had bene Consuls, five as had bene Pretors, and so many of the rest of the Senators, which solving many intricate quirkes of this law, were some ease for the present time.

VI. *Nero is recommended by Tiberius to the Senate: and married with Julia, Drusus daughter.*

ABout the same time, he recommended *Nero* one of *Germanicus* children, now entred into his youth, to the Lords of the Senate: and requested that he might be dispensed with for the office of Vigintivir: and (which to all men seemed ridiculous) be lawfull for him to demand the Questorship, five yeeres sooner then the lawes did permit: pretending that the same was granted him and his brother at *Augustus* request. But I doubt not, but at that time, some secretly laughed at that demand. Yet these were the first beginnings of *Cæsars* rising; and the ancient custome more in every mans eyes: and a lighter band of alliance, held to be betwixt the father in law, and his wives children; then the grandfather and his nephew. The Pontificall dignity was likewise bestowed upon him: and the first time he entred the place of common assemblies; he gave the people a donative: very joyfull to see *Germanicus* off-spring now of full age. Their joy was augmented by *Neroes* marrying of *Julia*, *Drusus* daughter. And as these things were gratefull to the people, so went it against their stomachs, that *Sejanus* should be destined father in law to *Claudius* son, as a disparagement to their nobility: & that at their own motion they exalted *Sejanus*, who conceived over great hopes in his mind. In the end of that yeere dyed *L. Volusius* and *Sal. Crispus*, two noble personages. *Volusius* was descended of an ancient stocke, but never higher then a Pretors roome: himselfe obtained a Consuls roome, and was made Censor for the chusing of bands of horsemen; and the

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first gatherer of riches, whereby that house rose to that greatnes. *Crispus* was a gentleman born, and so called and adopted by that excellent writer of the Romane Historie *C. Sallustius*, because he was his sisters nephew. But he, although he had a ready entrance for obtaining of dignities; yet following the example of *Mecenas* never once being Senator, had greater authoritie and power, then many which had triumphed and bene Consuls. Yet differed from his ancestors in manner of life; as being neat, fine, and bountifull, very neere riotousnesse; and was of a great capacite, and in courage able to performe great matters: and so much the more lively, by how much in utter shew he seemed drouse and heave metled. Therefore whilest *Mecenas* lived, next unto him his credit was best: and after his death, trusted with greatest secrets of state; and privie to the murdering of *Posthumus Agrippas*; and growne into yeeres, held rather a shadow of the Princes friendship, then the substance: Even so fell it out with *Mecenas*: either so by the course of the heavens decreed, that the Princes favour is seldom everlasting; or because both have their fill: those when they have given all they can; these when there is nothing left to desire. Now followeth the fourth time that *Tiberius*; and the second that *Drusus* was made Consul: a thing worthy of remembrance, that the father and the son were fellow officers: for two yeeres before, *Germanicus* had the same dignitie with *Tiberius*: but that was no joy to the uncle; neither hee so neere in blood unto him. In the beginning of that yeere *Tiberius* went to Campania, under colour of getting his health; yet indeed by little and little to absent himselfe; or else that the father being away, *Drusus* might alone manage the whole Consulship. It fell out by mere chance, that a matter of small moment growing to waightie contention, brought the young man to great credit. *Domitius Corbulo*, who had bene Pretor, complained before the Lords of the Senate on *L. Sulla* a noble young man, that he gave him not the place at a play of fencers. For *Corbulo*, made his age; the custome of the country; and the favour of the ancient men: on the other side, *Mamercus Scaurus* and *L. Aruntius*, and other of his kindred, stuck unto *Sulla*. Orations were made on both sides: and examples of old times brought, sharply rebuking the irreverence of youth: untill *Drusus* qualified the matter with a fit discourse; and *Corbulo* satisfied by *Mamercus* the most excellent Oratour of his time, and uncle, and father in law to *Sulla*. The same *Corbulo* exclaiming that many high wayes of Italy were broken, and not passable; by reason of the fraude of the undertakers of the worke, and negligence of the Magistrates in great; accepteth willingly the finishing of that businesse. Which did not so much turn to a publike benefit, as the destruction of many: whose wealth and fame he tyrannized by condemning them, and setting their goods to sale.

VII. *Whether Captaines and Governours of Provinces should have their wives with them.*

NOt long after, *Tiberius* sent letters to the Senate; advertising them that by *Tacfarinus* incursions, Africk was again in arms: and that with the advise of the Lords it were needfull, that a Proconsull were chosen, skilful in matters of war; of an able body, and a sufficient man for this war. Which entrance *Sextus Pompeius* having gotten, of uttering his malice against *M. Lepidus*; accused him to be a coward, beggerly, and a dishonour to his ancestors; and therefore not to be admitted to lot, for the government of Asia. The Senators were on his side; who thought *Lepidus* rather meete then a coward; and the small wealth

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left him by his father; and his nobility past without reproach, rather they judged a credit, then an ignominie. And therefore he was sent into Asia. And touching Africa, it was decreed that *Cæsar* should chuse one himselfe for that charge. Whilest these things were a doing, *Severus Cæcina* was of opinion, that no Magistrate unto whom should fall the government of a Province, should have his wife follow him: having first often repeated the good agreement betwixt him and his wife: that he had six children by her: and that he propounded nothing publicly to be executed, which he had not observed at home: not suffering his to goe out of Italy, although he had had commanderie in wars fourtie yeeres in many Provinces. "It was not in vaine, said he, ordained in times past, that women should not be drawne to confederates and forreine nations. For it was incident where women followed, that in peace they were a hinderance by riot and sumptuousnesse: in warre by feare; and made the Romane armie, like the Barbarians going to war. That sex was not onely weak and unable to take paine; but if it got the bridle, cruell, ambitious and greedy of rule. To march among the souldiers, to have the Centurions at command, we have seen a woman of late: and to oversee the cohorts exercise, and the legions horse-races. That they should consider, that as oft as any were accused of extortion and polling, more was objected against their wives, then themselves. That the lowdest persons of the provinces, did by & by cleave unto them. They would intermeddle and conclude of all affairs: by this means two were courted, and two judgement feats. Women being wilfull, command proudly; and bridled by the Oppian and other lawes; now having gotten the reins in their hands, rule houses, places of judgements, and armies. This was heard but with the good liking of a few: many interrupting him, and saying, "That that was not the matter propounded, nor *Cæcina* a fit censurer to sway a matter of so great importance. *Valerius Messallinus*, son unto *Messalla*, in whom appeared the image of his fathers eloquence, answered immediately as followeth. "Many hard and irksome customes of our Predecessors have bin changed into the better and pleasanter. Neither was the citie besieged as in times past, or the provinces at defiance with us: and some few things are granted to womens necessities: which are so far from overcharging the confederates, that they are not burdensome to their husbands houses. Other things were common as well to the husband as the wife; and no hinderance at all therein to peace. True it is, that wars are to be undertaken by armed men: but unto such as return after their labours, what more honeste solace then a mans wife? But some have fallen into ambition and covetousnesse. What of Magistrates themselves, are not many of them subject unto sundry affections? yet it cannot be, that none should be sent into the Province. But oftentimes the husbands have bin corrupted by the naughtinesse of their wives: are therefore all single men uncorrupt? The Oppian laws were once in use, the state of the common-wealth so requiring; but afterward somewhat of their rigour was remitted and mitigated, because it was then expedient. It was in vaine to cover our cowardlinesse with new names; for it was the husbands fault, if the woman exceeded the mean. In fine, it were not well done for the weaknesse of one or two, to take from husbands their companion in prosperous and adverse fortune: and withal, a sex weak and fraile by nature, to be left alone, and exposed by her own licentiousnes, to the lust of others. Matrimonie could hardly be kept undefiled, their husbands being present: what would become of them, if they should be forgotten for many yeeres, as it were by divorcement? therefore they should so prevent faults committed abroad, that they forget not the dishonours of the citie. *Drusus* added somewhat of his owne Matrimony, and

and that Princes most often visite the remotest parts of their Empire. How oft had *Augustus* of famous memory gone to the East and West, accompanied with *Livia*? That himselfe, had gone to Illyrium; and if it were expedient, was ready to goe into other countries: but yet not alwaies willingly, if hee should be drawn from his most deare wife, and mother of so many children, common between them both. And so *Cæcinus* sentence took no effect.

VIII. What abuses were committed by running to the Princes images. Warres in Thrace.

THE next day that the Senate met, *Tiberius* having covertly rebuked the Lords of the Senate by letters, because they did cast all the cares on the Princes neck, nominated *M. Lepidus*, and *Iunius Blasus*, one of them to be chosen Proconsull of Africk. And both of them being heard, *Lepidus* very earnestly excused himself; pretending the feeblenes of his body, his childrens age, and a daughter marriageable: respecting also (though thereof he made no mention) that *Blasus* was *Sejanus* uncle, and therefore sure to carry it away. *Blasus* answered as though hee would have refused, but not with the like asseveration as the other; yet had a favourable hearing of flatterers. Then many secret complaints were made known: for every lewd companion, if he could catch hold on *Cæsar*s image, might freely, and without punishment, injury honest men without opprobrious speeches, and raise envie against them: yea, freed men, and bondslaves also, were feared, threatening with words and fills their patrons and masters. Whereupon *C. Cestius* a Senator uttered these speeches: "That indeed Princes were like unto gods: but yet the gods heard no supplications but just: neither had any refuge to the Capitol, or other temples of the city, that they should use that as a defence against all misdemeanour. That the lawes were abolished and utterly overthrowne: seeing that *Annia Rufilla* whom he had condemned of fraud before the Judge, did threaten, and use reproachfull speeches against him, in the place of assemblies and before the Curia, hee not daring to try the law with her, because she had *Cæsar*s image over against her. Others muttered the like, or bitterer speeches then these: and besought *Drusus* that he would shew exemplary punishment upon her: and being called and convicted, was condemned to prison. Likewise *Considius Aequus*, and *Cælius Cursor*, Gentlemen of Rome, were by commandement of the Prince and order of the Senate punished, for forging crimes of Treason against the Pretor *Magius Cæcilianns*. Both turned to *Drusus* commendation, because that by him who conversed in the citie with all companies, in familiar communication; the secret designments of his father were qualified. Neither did the young mans riot greatly dislike them; reputed it a lesser fault, to employ the day in buildings, and the night in banquetting; then given to no pleasures, alone heavily to passe the day in lewd practices and devises. For *Tiberius* and the accusers were yet not wearied. But *Ancharius Priscus* accused *Cæsius Cordus*, Proconsull of Crete, of polling the countrey: and added Treason, which was a supply when all other accusations failed. When *Cæsar* perceived that *Antistius Vetus*, one of the chief noble men of Macedonia, was acquitted of adultery laid to his charge: having rebuked the Judges, drew him in againe, to purge himselfe of Treason: as being seditious and a confederate with *Rhesus* in his counsels, when as having slaine his brother *Corys*, he intended war against us. Whereupon he was banished into an Iland; neither commodious for Macedonia, nor Thrace. For Thrace, the kingdome being divided betwixt *Rhæmetaces*

talces and *Cotys* children; unto whom by reason of their infancie, *Trebellienus Rufus* was made Tutor; through the strangeness of our manners, fell to rebell a fresh: no lesse blaming *Rhometalces* then *Trebellienus*, because they suffered injuries done to the people to escape unpunished. The *Coelaetæ*, and the *Odrufetæ*, all strong Nations; tooke armes under divers Captaines, for baseness of birth not unlike: and therefore could not grow to any cruell battell. For some troubled the present state, some passed the hill *Hæmus* to draw such to them as dwelt a farre off: most of them, and those of better government, besieged the king and the citie *Philippopolis*, built by *Philip* King of *Macedon*. Which when *P. Velleius* understood, who was Capitaine of the next army: he sent a certaine company of horsemen, and a band of footmen lightly appointed, against those which roamed about for pillage, or to seeke more succour: himselfe brought his strength of footmen to raise the siege: all ending prosperously; the forragers slaine, and a diffention growing among the besiegers: the king sallied out against these, the legions arrived in seasonable time. This deserved not the name of any armie or battell: in which a few unfurnished straglers were slaine without any blood shed on our side.

IX. *The Galli unable to pay their taxations rebell: Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir being their Captaines.*

THE same yere the cities of *Gallia*, by reason they were greatly indebted, began a rebellion: the chiefeest firebrand among the *Treveri* being *Julius Florus*, and with the *Aedui* *Julius Sacrovir*: both nobly descended, and whose auctors had atchieved valiant acts; and therefore made citizens of *Rome*: then a rare thing, and a guerdon onely of vertue. They by secret conferences, having drawne to them the most audacious; or such whose povertie or feare of punishments for their misdeeds, were ready to plunge themselves into any enterprise: resolved that *Florus* should stir up the *Belgi*, and *Sacrovir* the *French* neerer at hand. In their conventicles therefore and meetings, they began to cast out seditious speeches of their continuall tributes, the greatness of usury, the crueltie and arrogancy of governours; and that the souldiers fell together by the eares when they heard of *Germanicus* death. That that was a notable time offered, of recovering their liberty: if now in their flourishing estate they would weigh, how poore *Italy* was; how weak the city souldier, and no strength in the armies, but what was in strangers. There was almost no city which was not infected with the seeds of that commotion. The *Andecavians*, and the *Turonians* were the first which burst out: of which the *Andecavians* were subdued, by the Lieutenant *Acilius Aviola*; with a band of men which lay in garrison at *Lugdunum*. The *Turonians* were overthrowne by the legi-onary souldier, which *Visellinus Varro*, Lieutenant of lower *Germany*, sent under the same Capitaine *Aviola*: and certaine of the chiefe gentlemen of *Gallia*, which brought him aide, the better thereby to cloake their revolt, and when occasion served, rebell with more assurance. *Sacrovir* was seene to demand battell of the *Romanes* bare headed, as he said to shew his valour: but the captaines said he did it to make himselfe the better known; thereby to be spared from their darts. *Tiberius* being consulted upon that point, made no reckoning of the dis-clo-sing of it; but nourished the warre by doubting. *Florus* in the meane time held on his purpose; enticed a wing of horsemen, enrouled at *Trevers*, and trained up in our service and discipline; that having slain the *Romane Merchants*, which there used traffick; hee might begin the warre: few of the horsemen were corrupted, but most continued in their allegiance. Other rude indebted persons, or followers, tooke armes; and

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went toward the torrest called *Arden*: but the legions from both armies; which *Visellinus*, and *C. Silius*, had sent to crosse them, drove them back. *Julius Indus* being of the same citie; and an enemy to *Florus* (and therefore more forward to shew his valour) being sent before with a choice power; scattered and defeated that disordered multitude. *Florus* escaped the conquerours hands, by uncertaine lurking holes; and at last perceiving the souldiers to set on his places of refuge, slew himselfe with his owne hands. And that was the end of the rebellion of those of *Treveri*. It was a matter of great difficultie to suppress the *Aedui*; by reason their city was more wealthy; and the aide which should have subdued them farther off. *Sacrovir* had with certain armed cohorts, gotten possession of *Augustodunum*, the chiefe city of the countrey; and taken the noblest mens children of all *Gallia*, which there followed their studies; as a pledge to win and binde their parents and kindred; and withall, secretly distributed weapons which himselfe had caused to be made, to all the youth. They were in number fourty thousand; the fift part armed as the legions were: the others with hunting staves, hangers, and such other weapons as hunters use. To these were added certaine slavish fencers, covered according to the countrey fashion, from top to toe, in armour of iron, unapt and uneasy to strike: but to withstand impenetrable, whom they call *Crupellarii*. These forces were augmented, though not by any open consent of cities adjoyning, yet with every mans particular good will: the *Romane* captaine striving and doubting who should have the conducting of the warre, both desiring it. But *Varro* being old and feeble, yeelded to *Silius*, who was in his prime. It was currant in *Rome*, that not onely the *Treveri*, and the *Aedui*, but also that threescore and foure cities of *Gallia* had revolted, and the *Germanes* joynd with them, that *Spaine* was wavering: and all (as the nature of a report is) beleaved, more then it was. Every good man with the care of the common-wealth was greatly grieved: many disliking the present state, and desirous of alteration, rejoyced even in their owne harmes: and blamed *Tiberius* that in so great a hurlyburly, he would still spend all his labour in hearing accusers libels. What (said they) shall *Julius Sacrovir* bee condemned of treason in Senate? at last some were found, which with armes would suppress these bloody libels of accusers: that a miserable peace was well changed for warre. *Tiberius* so much the more composed to a carelesse securitie, changed neither place nor countenance, passed over those dayes after his accustomed wont, either through haughtinesse of courage: or because he knew the matter to be lighter then the report. In the meane time *Silius* marching on with two legions, having sent a power of allies before, wasteth the villages of the *Sequanes*, which were borderers and confederates with the *Aeduians*. Anon after he marcheth speedily with his armie towards *Augustodunum*: the standard-bearers striving who should make most haste: and the common souldier fretting, and chafing likewise, lest he should rest the night as hee was wont: onely that they may see the enemy, and bee seene, that would bee enough for the victory. Twelve miles off, *Sacrovir* appeared in the champion countrey: in the front he had placed his men covered with iron: his cohorts on the wings: and those which were halfe armed in the rereward: himselfe mounted on a goodly courser, amongst the chiefeest of the city; went to the souldiers and put them in minde of the ancient glory of the *Galli*; and how oft they had defeated the *Romanes*. How honourable a thing libertie was to the Conquerours: and how intolerable servitude would be, if they should be vanquished againe. This exhortation was not long nor pleasing: for the legions drew neere in battell array: the townesmen wanting discipline, and ignorant of service, did neither see nor

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heare what was best for them. *Silius* on the contrary side, although his hope had taken away all occasions of encouraging them, yet cried; "That it was a shame for them being conquerors over the Germanes, to be brought against the Galli, as against enemies: and that of late one cohort had vanquished the rebellious Turoni: and one wing the Treveri: a few troupes of horsemen of this same army, had put to flight the Sequans. By how much the richer the Aedui are in money, and abundance in pleasures, the lesser courage they had. Break then in upon them, and binde them, and flecto those which runne away. At that all of them giving an outcry, the horsemen compassed them in: the footmen set on the point; and the wings made small resistance. Those in complete yron harness, stuck somewhat to it; their plates resisting, and beating back the darts and swords: but the souldier snatching his hatchets and axes, as though he were to break through a wall, hewed their co-hives and carcases. Some with poles or forks overthrew this sluggish lump: leaving them for halfe dead lying on the ground, not once going about to rise. *Silius* goeth first to Augustodunum; then for feare left it should be yeelded, to the next village, with a few of his trustiest friends; where he slew himselfe with his owne hands, and the rest one another: and the village being set on fire over them, they were all burnt together. Then at last *Tiberius* wrote to the Senate, that the warre was begun and ended, neither adding nor taking away from the truth. And that the Lieutenants had behaved themselves faithfully and valorously; and himselfe directed them with counsell. And withall yeelded the reasons, why neither he nor *Drusus* went to the warre; magnifying the greatnesse of the Empire, and that it was not meet that Princes, if some one or other towne rebell, should forsake Rome; from whence all other government was derived. Now because there was no cause of feare, hee would goe see and settle the present estate of things. The Lords of the Senate decreed vowes and processions for his returne, with other convenient ceremonies. *Dolabella Cornelius* onely whilest he went about to exceed others, falling in to absurd flattery, thought it meet that he should from Campania enter into the city ovant. Whereupon *Cesar* wrote, that he was not so needy of renowne, that having vanquished most stout and proud nations; and received or refused in his youth so many triumphs; he would in his old age hunt after a vaine reward of a voyage neere the citie.

X. *Lepidus* maketh an Oration in defence of C. *Luturius*,
accused of Treason.

ABOUT the same time, he made request unto the Senate that *Sulpitius Quirinius* death, might be solemnized with publike funerals. *Quirinius* was not of the ancient patritian family of the *Sulpitians*; but borne at Lanuvium a free towne, a valiant Warriour, and forwards in all his charges, was Confull under *Augustus* of famous memory. Then having wonne by assault the fortreffe of the Homonadensians in Cilicia; the markes of triumph were awarded him; then given as a guide to *C. Caesar* in the regiment of Armenia, and when *Tiberius* was at Rhodes, shewed him all duties of love; which *Tiberius* did open in Senate, praising his dutifullnes towards him; and accused *M. Lollius*, to have perswaded *C. Caesar* to seditions and lewdnesse. But unto the rest, the memory of *Quirinius* was nothing pleasing, by reason, as I have said, of the danger he brought *Lepidus* into, and miserable niggingnesse, and powerable old age. In the end of the yeere carry-tale accused *C. Luturius Priscus* a Gentleman of Rome; who had composed notable funerall verses upon

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Germanicus death, and received money of *Cesar* for them: objecting that he had made them in honour of *Drusus* being sicke: to the end that if he had died, they should have bene published for greater reward. Those verses *Luturius*, upon vaine glory had read in *P. Petronius* house, in the presence of *Vitellia*, his mother in lawe, and many other noble women. As soone as the pick thanke had shewed himselfe; the rest forced by feare to give witness, onely *Vitellia* stood to it, that she had heard nothing. But more credit being given to such as testified to his overthrow: sentence of death was pronounced against him, by *Haterius Agrippa* Confull elect. Against whom *M. Lepidus* began to speake in this manner. If we consider, Lords of the Senate, with what a wicked tongue *Luturius Priscus* hath polluted his minde, and mens eares: neither prison, nor halter, nor any servile torments, could suffice to punish him. But if lewd and haynons facts bee without meane: yet the moderation of a Prince; your owne and your ancestors example doe mollifie the punishments and remedies of them: vaine things doe differ from wicked; and words from villainous deeds. And therefore judgement may be given; by which neither this mans offence goe free, and we not repent us, either of our clemency or severity. I have often heard our prince complaine, if any by killing himselfe hath prevented his clemency; *Luturius* life is yet in safety: who being kept alive, will neither breed danger to the common-wealth, nor put to death, serve for example to others. As his studies were full of folly and without sense, so they are likewise vaine, and quickly at an end. Neither is there any cause to feare any great or serious matter in him; who bewraying his owne imperfections, doth creepe not into mens, but womens breasts. Yet let him be expelled the city. Which I judge to be all one as if he had been convicted of treason. Among all the Consuls onely *Rubellius Blandus* agreed with *Lepidus*, the rest following *Agrippas* opinion: *Priscus* was led to prison, and immediately deprived of his life. The fact *Tiberius* with his accustomed ambiguitie of words, blamed in Senate: extolling the zealous affection of severe punishments of Princes injuries, though small: yet intreated them that they would not so rashly punish words: prayed *Lepidus*, and rebuked not *Agrippa*. Whereupon a Decree of Senate was made, that their orders should not be carried to the treasury before ten dayes were expired: and that so long the condemneds life should be prolonged. But the Senators had no licence to repent, and revoke their sentence; and *Tiberius* not to be pacified by tract of time.

XI. *Tiberius* letter touching reformation of abuses.

THE yeere following, *C. Sulpitius*, and *D. Haterius*, were created Consuls: all being quiet from forreine troubles: but severitie against superfluities suspected at home: which was growne to exceeding excess in all things, wherein money is lavishly spent. Some of their expences, although more unreasonable; yet were cloaked, by dissembling of their prices: but gluttony and bellicheere, every man commonly speaking of, put them in feare, lest the Prince should rigorously proceed according to the ancient provident frugality. For *C. Bibulus* beginning, the other Aediles shewed also, that the law concerning excess of expences, was nought set by, and the sumptuousnesse of moveables which was forbidden, daily increased, & that it could not be redressed by any reasonable meanes. And the Lords of the Senate being demanded their advice, referred the whole matter to the Prince. But *Tiberius* often pondered with himselfe, whether such exorbitant lusts could be bridled or not; whether the bridling of them would not bring more hurt, then benefit

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ness to the common-wealth: how unseemely and dishonourable it should be, to undertake that which could not be affected; or if it could, with the ignominy or infamy of noble men: and in the end he sent letters to the Senate to this purpose. It would be peradventure convenient, Lords of the Senate, that in other matters, I should be demanded my opinion in your presence: and speake what I thought to be behoveful for the common-wealth; but in this relation it was better to withdraw mine eyes; lest that you noting the countenance, and the feare of every one of such, which should be deprehended of this shamefull lavishing; I should also see them, and take them as it were in the fault. If the Aediles, vigilant and careful men, had before-hand asked my advise; I know not whether I should rather have perswaded them, to let passe strong and rooted vices, then go so farre, that it should be knowne how unable we be to redresse some kind of abuses. But they truly have done their dutie, and I wish that other magistrates would also fulfill theirs. To me it is neither honest to hold my tongue; nor easie to speake: because I have neither the office of an Aedile, Pretor, nor Consul. Some greater matter is required of a Prince, and of greater importance; and when as every man attributeth to himselfe the praise of things well done, the faults of all men in general redounde to the dislike of the Prince alone. What shall I begin first to forbid, and reduce to the ancient custom? your huge and spacious cuntry houses? the number of your servitors of divers nations? the quantitie of silver and gold? your painted tables, and brasen images of marvellous and exquisite workmanship? superfluities of apparell both in men and women? and those things which are proper unto women, as precious stones for which our money is transported to forreign nations or enemies? I am not ignorant that these things are blamed in banquets and meetings, and a meane wished for. But if any would make a law, or lay downe a punishment for them; those themselves which complain, will exclaime that the cite is overthrowne; that the ruine of the nobilitie is fought for: and that there is none free from this crime. But wee see that old inveterate diseases of the body cannot be cured, but by sharpe and rough remedies: the corruptor and the corrupted: the weak and burning desire, is to be quenched with no lighter remedies, then the disordinate appetites were, which kindled the minde. So many lawes invented by our ancestors; so many made by *Augustus*; those by oblivion, these (which is a greater offence) abolished by contempt, have caused all superfluities to be more bold and practised. For if thou wouldst doe that which is not yet forbidden, feare lest thou be forbidden it. But if thou hast without punishment transgressed things forbidden, there is neither further shame nor feare left. Why then in times past was provident sparing used? because every man did moderate himselfe: because we were citizens of one cite: and our dominions not reaching out of Italie, we had not the same provocations: by victories had against strangers, we have learned to consume other mens goods; by civil warres our owne. How small a matter is that, whereof the Aediles doe admonish us? how little to be reckoned of, if we regard other things? But truly no man doth put us in minde, that Italie doth want the aide of forreine nations; that the life of the people of Rome, is tossed with the uncertaintie of sea and tempest: and if the strength of the provinces should not ayde and succour the Lords, Slaves, and possessions: our woods forsooth, and our farmes, would they maintaine us? This burden, Lords of the Senate, the Prince doth sustaine: which being omitted, the common-wealth should fall to the ground. In other things, every man must give himselfe a law; let shame amend us; necessity the poore; satiety the rich. Or if there be any of the magistrates, which doth promise us so much industrie, and severity, that he

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"can prevent and redresse these things: I doe both praise him, and confesse that I shall be unburdened in part of my labour. But if they will accuse faults, and having gotten glory thereby, raise privie hatred, and leave it on me: beleieve me, Lords of the Senate, I am not desirous of displeasures: which although I runne into, and very greatly, and for the most part unjustly, for the common-wealth: yet by good reason, I refuse them, and intreate that those be not thrust on me, which will be neither profitable for me, nor you.

XII. Examples doe more then lawes in reformation of abuses: the Flamines are hindered for being governours of Provinces.

*C*AEsars letters being heard, the Aediles were discharged of that care: and the sumptuousnesse of their tables, which from the end of the war at Actium, untill the warres in which *S. Galba* got the soveraigntie for an hundred yeeres, lavishly used, began by little and little to be left off. The causes of this change it shall not be amisse to seek out. In times past, rich and great houses of noble men fell to decay through their magnificence; being then lawfull to winne the favour of the people of confederates, and Kings, to court and be courted. And as every man was most sumptuous in his house, furniture, and provision: so he was accounted most honourable; and followed with a greater traine. But after they beganne to murder one another, for private quarels, proceeding of this pompe; and that their greatnesse was their ruine; the rest took a wiser course. And withall, new men, which were often taken out of free townes, colonies, and provinces, and chosen to be Senatours, brought in with them the frugalitie, which they had used before in their owne houses. And albeit, many of them either by fortune, or their owne industrie, grew to wealth in their age: yet they kept the same mind and custome they brought with them. But *Vespasian* was the chiefest authour of this strict kinde of life; himselfe observing the ancient manner of living: for then a desire of pleasing and imitating the Prince, wrought more, then either punishment of lawes or feare. Unlesse peradventure, wee think that there is in all things a certaine change: and as there is an intercourse and change of time, so also an alteration of customes and manners. Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours; but our age hath left unto posteritie many things worthy of praise and imitation. But let such honest contentions betwene us and our predecessors, still continue amongst us. *Tiberius* having gotten the fame of moderation, by repressing the accusers: sent letters to the Senate, requesting the Tribuniciall authoritie for *Drusus*. That terme of highest dignitie *Augustus* invented, to avoide the name of King or Dictator: and yet under another title signified a soveraignty above other Magistrates. After this he chose *M. Agrippa*, as an associate of that dignitie: and after his death *Tiberius Nero*, left the succession should be unknown: thinking thereby to cut off others unlawful hopes: trusting to *Nero*s modesty, and his own greatnesse. By which example, *Tiberius* did then assure the soveraigntie to *Drusus*, when as whilst *Germanicus* lived, he held his judgement indifferent between them both, not preferring the one before the other. But in the beginning of his letters, having humbly prayed unto the gods, that they would prosper his counsels to the good of the common-wealth: he spake some few words, and those truly of the young mans behaviour; as that he had a wife and three children; and was of the age that he himselfe was called by *Augustus* of famous memory to undertake the same charge. Neither could it be

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said that hastily, but after eight yeers triall; having suppressed seditions, and settled the warres, and triumphed, and been twice Consul; he was taken to be an associat of a known labour. The Lords of the Senate conceived the drift of his oration; whereby their flattery toward him was the more artificall. Yet notwithstanding there was nothing newly invented: but ordained onely, that the images of the Princes, the altars of the gods, Temples, and arches, and such usuall honours should be erected for him. Saving that *M. Silanus* demanded and opened that in publike and private monuments, the Consuls name should not be prefixed; but theirs who had Tribunicall authoritie: a thing greatly dishonouring and debasing the Consulary dignitie. *Q. Haterius*, who had counselled that the decrees made that day in the Senate, should be written in letters of gold, was mocked for his labour: that an old man should use to his infamy such filthy flattery. Whilest these things were a doing, the government of Africa was continued in *Junius Blasius*. *Servius Maluginensis* a Flamen Dial, or *Jupiters Priest*; sued that he might draw lots for the government of Asia: saying, "That it was vainely spread abroad, that it was not lawfull for *Jupiters* Priests to goe out of Italy. And that they had no other law then the Priests of *Mars* and *Quirinus*. And if these had governed the Provinces, why was it unlawfull for the *Diales*? that there was no law of the people, touching that matter, found in the books of ceremonies. The high Priest had often celebrated *Jupiters* sacrifices: if the Flamin had been hindered by sicknesse or publike affaires. Seventy and two yeers, after that *Cornelius Nerula* was murdered, no man was put to supply the place; and yet the ceremonies never ceased. And if his creation could be omitted for so many yeers, without any hinderance to the sacrifices: how much easier might a man be absent, with the Proconsulary dignitie for a yeere? In times past they were forbidden to go out of the Provinces, through the private grudges of the high Priest: now through the favour of the gods, the high Priest was the foveaign above all men: not subject unto emulation, malice, or private affection. Against which when *Lentulus* the Augur, and others had diversly spoken; in the end they resolved to expect the censure of the high Priest. *Tiberius* having deferred the hearing of the Flamins right, moderated the ceremonies which were decreed in honour of *Drusus* Tribunicall dignitie: in rebuking by name the insolency of that sentence, which would have had the decree written in letters of gold, against the custome of the Countrey. *Drusus* letters were also read: which although they seemed to tend to modestie, yet were reputed most proud. "They complained that things were growne to that passe; that the young man having received so great honour, yet vouchsafed not to visit the gods of the Citie: nor shew himselfe in Senate; or begin at least his authoritie in his owne countrey. But forsooth, he is let by warre, or hindered in some strange countrey: when indeed he solaceth himself at his pleasure, in the shores and lakes of Campania. This lesson had the ruler of the world taught him; this did he first learne of his fathers Counsels. Although the old Emperour should disdain, to come and shew himselfe to the citizens: and pretend his yeers, and travell for an excuse: yet what impediment hath *Drusus*, but onely his arrogancy?"

XIII. A reformation of Sanctuaries.

BUT *Tiberius* strengthning in himselfe the soveraignty: left the Lords of the Senate a shadow of their ancient estate, by sending the requests of the provinces to their examination. The licence and impunitie of ordaining Sanctuaries,

aries, and priviledged places increased throughout the cities of Greece. The temples were filled with most lewd bondslaves: in the same refuges, were received debtors against their creditors, and suspected of capital crimes. Neither was there any authoritie able to bridle the sedition of the people; protecting all villanies, no lesse then the ceremonies of the gods. Whereupon it was concluded, that the cities should send their Embassadors with their priviledges, which some left off of their owne accord as falsly usurped: many trusted to old superstitions or pleasures done to the people of Rome. The pompe of that day was great in shew: in which the Senators considered of the prerogatives of their predecessors; the agreements of confederates; the decrees of Kings, which had been before the Romans had gotten such great power & authoritie: and the religions of the gods themselves, being yet in the disposition of the Senate, to confirme or alter all; as in times past they could have done. The first which shewed themselves in Senate, were the Ephesians; declaring that *Diana* and *Apollo*, were not born in the Iland *Delos*, as the common people did believe: and there was in their countrey a river called *Cenchrius*: and a wood called *Ortygia*, where *Latona* being great with childe, and leaning against an Olive tree which is yet in the place, brought forth these two gods: and that by the commandement of the gods, that wood was made sacred. And that *Apollo* himselfe did in that place flee from *Jupiters* anger, after he had slaine the Cyclopians. After that *Bacchus* the conquerour in warre, pardoned the Amazones, which humbling themselves there, caught hold on the Altar. And that the ceremonie of that temple increased by *Hercules* permission, when he enjoyed *Lydia*: which was not diminished when the Persians had dominion over it. After that the Macedonians; then we had maintained the same priviledges. Next unto those came in the Magnesiens, building their reasons on *L. Scipio*, & *L. Sullas* constitutions: the one driving out *Antiochus*; and the other *Mithridates*: and extolled the loyaltye and verue of the Magnesiens; and commanded that *Diana Leucophrynes* priviledges should not be violated. Then followed the Aphrodisienses, and Stratonicenses, alleading an order made by *Cesar* the Dictator; and another latter decree of *Augustus* of famous memory, for the pleasures done them, in taking part with their side, during the time of their faction, prailing them that they had sustained the assaults of the Parthians; nothing at all changing their constancy towards the people of Rome. But the Aphrodisienses maintained the priviledges of *Venus* temple: and the Stratonicenses *Jupiter* and *Trivias* ceremonies. The Hierocæsarienses fetcht their matter from a farther beginning, inducing their *Diana Persica*, and a temple dedicated by King *Cyrus*; and told a tale of *Perperna*, of *Isauricum*, and many other Emperours; which granted that holinesse not onely to the temple, but to two miles compass. Then follow the Cyprians, declaring that they had three temples: whereof the most ancient was builded by *Acris*, and consecrated to *Venus Paphia*, the second by his sonne *Amathus*, and dedicated to *Venus Amathusia*: the third to *Jupiter Salaminus*, built by *Tenex*, when he fled from his father *Telamon*. The Embassadors of other cities were heard likewise, with whose multitude the Lords of the Senate being wearied, some favouring one side, some another, and because they contended which had merited most, they referred the matter to the Consuls: that looking into the right of the cause, if they contained any secret abuse, they should bring the whole cause againe to the Senate. The Consuls besides those cities, which I have above named, spake of another priviledged place for malefactors, dedicated to *Aesculapius* at Pergamum: affirming that the reft were grounded upon obscure beginnings, in respect of their antiquitie. The Smyrniens alleaged

alleged an oracle of *Apollo*, by which they were commanded to dedicate a temple to *Venus Stratonice*: the Teneans a verse of the same *Apollo*, commanding them to offer an image and Temple to *Neptune*. The Sardians brought in matters of latter memory; that to be *Alexander* the conquerers gift: and the Milesians did the like, using king *Darius* name for their franchise; but both of these did worship *Diana* and *Apollo*. The Cretensians made request that the image of *Augustus* might have some privilege; and decrees of Senate were made, by which with great honour, yet moderation was prescribed unto all; and commandment given in those very temples to erect altars for a sacred memory: yet so, that under colour of religion, they should not fall into ambition.

XIII I. *Julia Augusta* fallen sick: *Sejanus* called into question.

ABout the same time, a grievous sickness which *Julia Augusta* fell into, caused the Prince (perfect amity being yet betwixt the mother and the son, or else secret hatred) to hasten his return to Rome. For not long before, when *Julia* had dedicated an image to *Augustus* of famous memory, not far from *Marcellus* theatre, she had set *Tiberius* name under her own: which he (as it was thought) taking as an under-valuing of the majesty of a Prince, smothered up with a great, but a secret heart-burning against her. But when the Senate had decreed, that there should be processions made to the gods, and the plays called *Magni*, exhibited by the chiefe Priests, the Augurs, the fiftene together with the seven, and those of the fellowship of *Augustus*, called *Augustales*; *L. Apronius* was of opinion, that the Heralds should be overseers of those plays: which *Cæsar* spake against, making a difference in the rights of the Priests, alleaging examples for it. For the *Feciales* or Heralds never had such high authority; and that therefore the *Augustales* were put to them, because it was a peculiar Priesthood of that house, for which the vows were made. My meaning is not to lay downe any other opinions; but such as are either notable for their honestie, or shamefull for their infamie: which I suppose, to be the chiefe point belonging to Histories; that vertues be not lightly passed over with silence; and that men have a feare of bad speaking and doing, lest they become infamous with posteritie. But those times were so corrupted with filthy flattery: that not only the chiefe of the city were forced in that servile manner to keepe their reputation; but all such as had bene Consuls; the greatest part of such as had bin Pretors: & also many pederay Senators rose up & strove, who should propound things most base and abject. It is written, that as *Tiberius* went out of the Curia, hee was wont to say in Greeke, O men ready to servitude! as though hee, who could of all things least suffer publique libertie; did yet abhorre such base and servile submission: falling by little and little from unseemly flatteries, to lewder practises. *C. Silanus* Proconsull of Asia, being accused for polling the Province; was also prosecuted by *Mamercus Scaurus*, who had bene Consul; by *Junius Otho* Pretor; by *Brutidius Niger* Aedile: all of them laying to his charge, that he had violated *Augustus* divinitie, and set nought by *Tiberius* majesty. *Mamercus* alleaged old examples, how *L. Cotta* had bene accused by *Scipio Africanus*: *S. Galba* by *Cato* the Cenfor: and *P. Rutilius* by *M. Scaurus*. A matter very unlikely, that *Scipio* and *Cato* should use any such revenge: or *Scaurus* great grandfather to this *Mamercus*, the dishonour and reproach of his ancestors, by so dishonourable and infamous a trade. *Junius Otho*es old occupation was to keepe a Schoole: then made a Senator by

Sejanus

Sejanus authoritie, brought his obscure beginning; into obloquie by impudent enterprises. *Brutidius*, a man well qualified; and if he had taken a right course, likely to have come to honourable preferment; over much haft pricked forwards: and at the first went about, to out-go his equals; then his superious; and last of all to flee above his own hopes, which hath been the overthrow of good men; who contemning that which by a little patience, is had with securitie; hasten to that which gotten before his time, breedeth their ruine and destruction. *Gellius Puplicola*, and *M. Piconius*, increased the number of informers: the one being *Silanus* treasurer, the other his Lieutenant. Little doubt but *Silanus* was blame-worthy for his crueltie, and ravenous dealing; but many other matters came together, dangerous even to the innocent: for besides that he had so many Senators against him; he was ranfwer alone, the eloquentest of all Asia: and for that cause chosen to accuse; being himself unskilfull, and appaled with his own danger; cause sufficient to have dashed the best practised out of matter. *Tiberius* himself not refraining to presse him with words and countenance, asked him many questions; nor giving libertie to re-fell or reply: yea oftentimes he must confesse, lest *Tiberius* should seeme to have asked in vain. And withall, the publike actor had bought *Silanus* bondmen, to the end they should be examined by torture. And because none of his kinsmen nor friends might help him in his danger, accusations of treason (a bond and necessitie to stop every mans mouth) were thrust among. Whereupon certaine dayes of delay being demanded; he let fall his defence: and taking courage sent letters unto *Cæsar*, interlaced with intreatie and odious termes. *Tiberius*, that the causes he charged *Silanus* with, might have an example of excuse, commandeth *Augustus* records, touching *Voleus Messalla*, Proconsull of the same Asia, to be recited; and a decree of Senate made against him. Then demanded *L. Pisces* opinion; who making a preamble of the Princes clemencie; was of advise that he should be banished to the Iland *Gyarus*. The rest gave the like verdict: saving that *C. Lentulus* thought it meet, that the goods which came by *Silanus* mother (for he was by another mother) should be separated from the rest, and given the sonne: *Tiberius* according therunto. "But *Cornelius Dolabella*, having rebuked *Silanus* for his behaviour; followed the vain of his flattery further; and added; That none who lived a reproachfull and infamous life, should draw lots for the government of any province; and that the Prince should be judge thereof. The laws did punish crimes committed; but how much better would it be for us, and our confederates, if we did provide that no offences should be committed? Against which, *Cæsar* himself spake, and said; That he was not ignorant what the speech had been of *Silanus*; but that no judgements ought to be given at the rumour of the people. Many had behaved themselves in the Provinces, better then was hoped for: and others not so bad as it was feared: for some by managing of waightie matters, have been stirred up to a better carriage and behaviour; and others have become more slouthfull and lasse. And that a Prince could not comprehend all things in his own knowledge; neither was it expedient that he should be drawn to this and that, by others ambition. That laws were ordained against facts already committed, because future things are uncertain. So it was ordained by our ancestors, that when the offences had gone before, punishment should follow; therefore they would not alter those things, which were invented by wisdom, and alwayes observed. That princes had charge sufficient, and power enough; if their power grew great, the laws grew weake. That absolute authoritie was not to be used; as long as the laws were open. By how much the seldomer *Tiberius* shewed any popular behaviour; by so much the more joyfully it was accepted.

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And being wife (if he were not carried away with anger) in moderating the rigorous censures of others: added that the Island Gyarus was barbarous, and uninhabited, and therefore that they would shew so much favour to the Junian family; and to one who had been of the same collidge with them; that he should rather be sent to the Island Cythera: which was also the request of *Torquata*, *Silanus* sister, a virgin of good life: unto which censure they all condescended.

XV. More accusations prosecuted. A decree touching Jupiters Priests.
Tacfarinas driven by *Blæsus* out of Africk.

AFTER this the Cyrenenses were heard: and *Cæsius Cordus* condemned of polling the provinces, at the suite of *Ancharius Priscus*. *L. Ennius* a Gentleman of Rome, accused of Treason; because hee had converted the image of the Prince, to common uses in plate; *Cæsar* forbade to be received amongst the criminal persons. *Atcius Capito* openly complaining, and by a kinde of libertie saying: "That power of determining such a matter, ought not to be taken from the Senate, nor so hainous a crime passe unpunished. That the Emperor might be as slow as hee lifted, in punishing injuries done to himself; yet that he ought not to pardon such as were done to the common-wealth. *Tiberius* understood these things as they were indeed, rather then as they were spoken: and so persisted in opposing himselfe. *Capito* was so much the more noted; because that knowing what appertained to divine and humane lawes; discredited the common good: and the commendable arts hee had learned at home. Then there grew a scruple: in knowing, in what temple the gift should be placed, which the Gentlemen of Rome had vowed to fortune *Equestris*, for the health of *Augustus*. For although there were many temples in the City, of that goodnesse: yet there was none which bare that surname. In the end there was one so called found at Antium: and all the ceremonies in the townes of Italy, and temples, and images of gods, to be under the right, and Empire of Rome: and therupon the gift was placed at Antium. And seeing the matter was debated touching the religions; *Cæsar* declared the answer: which not long before he had deferred, against *Servius Maluginensis*: and recited the decree of the chiefe Priests; which was, "That as oft as the Flamen, Dial, or Jupiters Priest, fell into any sickness, he might be absent from the Citie, with licence of the chiefe Priest: so as it were not above two nights; or in dayes of publike sacrifice, nor oftner then twice in one year. Which being ordained in *Augustus* time, did manifestly shew, that the absence for a year, or administration of Provinces, was not granted to the *Diales*. And the example of *L. Metellus* the high pontife, was alledged, who in the like case had kept *Anulus Posthumus* the Flamen in the citie. And thereupon the lot of Asia was bestowed upon him; who of the Consuls was next unto *Maluginensis*. At the same time *Lepidus* made request unto the Lords of the Senate, that the might at his owne charges, reedifie, and adorne *Paulus AEmilius* Temple, the ornament of his memorie: for at that time publike munificence was in use: neither did *Augustus* blame *Tamius*, *Philippus*, *Balbus*, for bestowing spoiles taken from enemies: or the overplus of their wealth to the ornament of the citie, and glorie of the posterity. By which examples *Lepidus* although he had no great store of money, did renew the honour of his ancestors. *Pompeius* theatre, consumed by casual fire; because their was none left of the family, of ability to performe it; *Cæsar* promised to build at his owne charges, and leave it still the old name. And withall he highly extolled *Sejanus* as though through his labour and watchfulnesse, the violence of that fire had bene staide;

staied; from hurting any more then that one thing: and the Senate ordained an image to be erected in honour of *Sejanus* in *Pompeius* theatre. And not long after when *Cæsar* had honored *Innius Blæsus*, proconsull of Africk, with the ornaments of triumph: he said that he attributed that to *Sejanus* honour, whose uncle he was. Yet *Blæsus* owne acts deserved that honour. For although *Tacfarinas* had been often put to the worst: yet renewing his aide in the middle of Africk, he grew to that arrogancie, as to send Embassadors to *Tiberius*, and require a place for himselfe, and his army to inhabit: or else threatened an endlesse warre. It was reported that *Cæsar* never more grieved at any disgrace done unto himselfe, or the people of Rome; then that a traitor, and thiefe, should deale like an enemy. There was never so much granted *Spartacus*; after he had defeated so many armies of Consuls; and burnt Italy unrevengeed: yea when the common-wealth was greatly weakened by *Sertorius* and *Mithridates* great warres: that he should be received by covenant into safe conduct: and therefore much lesse that *Tacfarinas* a thiefe; the Romane Empire being in most flourishing state, should be hired with a peace and lands to inhabit. He committed the whole matter to *Blæsus*, with charge that he should induce the rest, to lay down their armies; with warrant that they should sustain no hurt, yet that he should lay hold on the Captaine by all means possible: through which pardon many came in. Not long after they used the same maner of fight against *Tacfarinas*; as he had used against others: for because he, inferior to the Romanes in strength, though better in theeuerie; made many inrodes; by scattered company deceived his enemy: and laid many traines to intrap him. Their companies were therefore set in order, and marched against him: of which the Lieutenant *Cornelius Scipio* was the chiefe: who lay in waite in that coast where *Tacfarinas* did waste and trouble the *Leptins*, and the *Garamantes*, places of refuge: On another side *Blæsus* sonne lead his owne power; left the Cirtensian villages should be enticed to take part with *Tacfarinas*. In the middle, placing fortresses and strong holds, in convenient places with choice souldiers: the Captaine himselfe brought the enemy to a narrow straight, and disadvantage: because that which way soever he should bend; some of the Romane souldiers were in his face; some in his side; and often some in his back, and so, many slaine and intrapped. Then divideth the three armies again into many other companies; with Centurions of known valour over them. Neither did he as the custome was, retire his forces in the end of summer; or put them in standing cimpes of the old province: but as it had been in the beginning of warre; his fortresses well manned, by light-horsemen, and skilfull in those deserts; he gave *Tacfarinus* often changing his cabbins small rest: untill his brother being taken, he retired in the end with more speed, then was for the allies profit: such being left behinde, by whom the warre might rise againe. But *Tiberius* taking this to be an end of this warre, gave *Blæsus* that honour, that he should be saluted Emperour by the legions: being an old custome towards such Capitaines, as had shewen valour for the common-wealth, with joy and acclamations to be saluted by that name by the conquering armies. There were many Emperours at one time; but none above another. *Augustus* had granted that name to some; and *Tiberius* at that time to *Blæsus*. That yeer died two notable men, *Asinius Saloni*, nephew to *M. Agrippa*; and *Pollio Asinius*, and brother to *Drusus*: and destined to be *Cæsars* neeces husband; and *Capito Atcius* of whom we have spoken before; by the studies of the civill lawes risen to the highest dignity in the city: but his grandfather *Sullanus* was but a Centurion, and his father Pretor. *Augustus* hastened the Consulship upon him; that by the dignitie of that office, he might be preferred before *Labeo Antistius* skilfull

skilfull in the same study: for that age had at once two ornaments of peace. But *La-beo* was more desirous of incorrupted libertie; and therefore held in great estimation: and *Capitoes* pleasing humour better accepted of Princes. To him, the injury of not being higher then a Pretor, was a commendation: to this, because he got the Consulship, grew of envy hatred. And *Iunia*, whose uncle was *Cato*, and was *C. Cassius* wife, and *M. Brutus* sister, died threescore and foure years after the *Philippensis* warre. Her Testament was much talked of among the people; because that being very wealthy, when she had named all the Peeres and Noble men, and bestowed some legacy upon them, she omitted *Cæsar*: which he took in good part; not hindering but that her funerals should be solemnized with an oration before the people assembled, with other ceremonies. The images of twenty noble houses, were carried before her; and the names of the Manlians, the Quinctians, and others of like nobility. But *Cassius* and *Brutus* did shine above the rest, because their images were not scene.

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THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. of *Sejanus* beginning; his qualities; and by what means he
aspired to the Empire.



Asinius, and *C. Antistius* being Consuls, *Tiberius* had nine yeeres managed the affairs; and advanced his house to a flourishing estate: (for the death of *Germanicus* he reckoned amongst his prosperities) when as fortune began on a sudden to work alteration: in him waxing cruell; or giving authoritie to such as were. The beginning proceeded from *Aelius Sejanus* Captaine of the garde; of whose power and authority I have before spoken. I will now lay downe his beginning, and qualities: and by what sinister meanes hee went about to clime to the Sovereigntie. He was borne at *Vulfinium*, sonne of *Seius Strabo*, Gentleman of Rome; and in his first youth followed *C. Cæsar*, *Augustus* nephew: not without a rumour, that for money he had suffered his body to be abused by *Apicius*, a rich man and a prodigall. Then by many slights he had so wrought *Tiberius*, that being close and secret towards others: yet to himselfe he had made him open and uncircumspect. Not so much by his cunning and fraud (for such devises were his owne overthrow) as by the anger of the gods against the state of Rome; by whose ruine and rising it fell alike. He was of body able to endure labour; of minde bold; in his owne actions secret; an informer against others; as proud as flattering; in shew modest; but inwardly greedy of aspiring: for which cause he used sometime largesse and lavishing; but more oftner industrie and diligence; meanes dangerous alike, when they are dissemblingly used to winne a kingdome. His forces, which at the first were small, he augmented by reducing the cohorts into one campe, which before were scattered abroad in the citie; that they might receive their charge together, and by their number and strength, and seeing one another, breede a confidence to themselves; and a feare to others. He pretended that the souldiers living scattered, grew riotous: and if any sudden attempt should be enterprised, their strength would be greater united, then separated, and that they would live more severely, if their garrison were lodged farre from the wanton allurements of the citie. As soone as his trenches were finished, he began to creepe into the souldiers mindes by going unto them, and calling them by their names; withall made choice himselfe of Centurions and the Tribunes. Neither did he abstaine from ambitiously courting the Senators; advancing his followers with honours, and rule of Provinces; *Tiberius* being so facile and prone to allow of his doings; that not onely in private speeches; but in Senate also and before the people, extolled him as an associate of his labours: and suffered his image to be set in the Theatres, and publike places of assemblies, and ensignes of the legions. But *Cæsars* house being full; a young sonne; nephewes of full age; hindered his plots: And because it was not safe making away of so many at once by violence; his treachery required time to accomplish his wickednesse. He resolved then to use the covertest way; and begin with *Drusus*; against whom through fresh quarrels hee was

greatly incensed. For *Drusus* being impatient of a concurrent, and therefore easily moved: a contention rising by chance between them, bent his fist to strike *Sejanus*; and he is to save himselfe; *Drusus* daunt him on the mouth. Hereupon leaving nothing untried, he thought it the readiest way to addresse himselfe to *Livia Drusus* wife. She was *Germanicus* sister, in her youth of a hard favour, but afterward excelled in beauty. Her *Sejanus*, counterfeiting an ardent and burning love, enticed to adultery: and after he had obtained the first breach of honesty (for a woman having once lost her chastitie, what will she refuse to do?) put her in hope of marriage, and fellowship in the Empire; and perswadeth her to kill her husband. Thus shee who was *Augustus* neece, and *Tiberius* daughter in law; and had children by *Drusus*; defiled her selfe, her ancestors, and posteritie with adultery by a meane man; leaving an honest and present estate for the hope of a wicked and uncertaine. *Eudemus* a friend and Physician of *Livias*, was made privie to these plots; who under colour of his art was often used in secret conferences. He putteth away *Apicata* his wife, by whom he had three children, lest his lemmon should have her in jealousy. But the greatnesse of the enterprise drove them into feare; bred prolongings; and sometimes divers sorts of counsels. In the meane space in the beginning of the year, *Drusus* one of *Germanicus* children was come to mans estate; and those things renewed upon him, which the Senate had ordained for *Nero* his brother. *Tiberius* made an Oration tending to the great commendation of his sonne; because he tendered his brothers children with a fatherly affection. For *Drusus* (although it be a hard matter for rule and concord to dwell together) shewed himselfe indifferent to the young men; or at least, was not an enemy to them.

II. A survey of the legions and souldiers: *Drusus* poisoned by *Sejanus*.

Tiberius old, but fained determination of going to the Provinces, is put on foot againe: pretending that there were a great number of old souldiers; and that the armies were to bee supplied with a new muster. For voluntary men now wanted: or if there were any, they were not of so vertuous and modest carriage: because that for the most part, they were needy and vagrant persons which voluntarily follow the warres. Withall, he took a short view of the legions, and what Provinces they defended: which giveth me occasion to declare, what strength the Romanes had then in armes; what kings their confederates; and how much lesse the Empire then was. Italy had in both Seas two navies; the one at Misenum, and the other at Ravenna, and certain Gallies called rostrate to defend the coast adjoining to Gallia: which *Augustus* had taken in the victory at Actium, and sent to Porcijulenie, well appointed with Sea-men. But the principall strength consisted of eight legions neere unto Rhene; a stay as well to the Germanes, as Galli. Spaine newly subdued had three legions. King *Inba* had the Mauritanians, as a gift given him by the people of Rome: the rest of Africk had two legions: and Egypt the like number. Then all from the beginning of Syria unto the River Euphrates which containeth a great country, receiveth foure legions: *Hybero*, and *Albanus*, and other Kings being borderers, which by our greatnesse are protected against forraign kings. Thrace was under the government of *Rhemetacles*, and *Cotys* children: and the bank of Danubium, two legions guarded in Pannonia; and two in Masia. The like number was in Dalmatia, which by the situation of the countrey lye behinde them: that if on the sudden Italy should need aide, they were at hand. Albeit the citie had her proper souldiers; three citie cohorts, and nine Pretorian; almost all chosen out of

Etruria

Etruria, Umbria, old Latium, and old Romans, sent thither to dwell. The galleys of confederates lay in the most commodious places of the provinces: the companies of horsemen, and ayds of cohorts, not much inferiour in strength, though not easily layd downe, through their uncertaine sitting hither and thither; sometimes moe, sometimes lesse, as time and necessity required. I thinke it also expedient to describe the other parts of the common-wealth, and how they had bene governed untill that day: being the yeere, in which the state began to decline, by *Tiberius* growing worse and worse. In the beginning, publike and private affaires of greatest importance, were handled before the Lords of the Senate: and the chiefeest licenced to opine and debate matters. *Tiberius* himselfe rebuking them if they fell to flatterie. In bestowing of offices he had regard to their ancestors merit in service abroad, or laudable acts at home: such onely preferred; due authoritie reserved unto the Consuls and to the Pretor: the meane officers, each one exercising his owne function: and the lawes, (matter of treason excepted) duly executed. But for provision of corne, and levying of tributes, and other publike commodities, certaine societies of gentlemen of Rome had charge of. *Cesar* committed his owne affaires to honest and tried persons: and to some unknowne, if they were well spoken of: and such as were once chosen, continued still, and grew old in the same charge. The people were distressed with a great dearth of corne; yet no fault thereof in the Prince: but with as great care and diligence as he could, remedyed the sterility of the ground, and rough passages of the sea: and gave order that the provinces should not be oppressed with new taxations; and the old be borne, without covetousnesse and crueltie of magistrats. *Cesar* had small possessions in Italy; and a reasonable number of servitors; and in his house a few freed men; and if he had a suit against any private person, he tried it by law in the place of judgement: all which he maintained, not with any courteous and mild course, but sternely and feared, untill by the death of *Drusus* all was turned upside downe. For whilest he lived there was no alteration; because *Sejanus* beginning to rise, sought means to winne credit, and feared least *Drusus* would revenge, who never dissembled his hartburning, but often complained: That his sonne being alive, he had another coadjutor in the Empire: and what wanteth that he is not his companion? That the first steps to soveraigntie are hard, but once entered into, there will want no favourers, nor followers: for he had built as he liked best: charge given him over souldiers; his image was placed amongst *C. Pompeius* monuments, and that he should have his nephewes common to the *Drusian* familie: that hereafter Modesty must be prayed unto, that he would be contented with his greatnesse. He did not utter these speeches seldome or to a few, and his wife being corrupted, his secrets were betrayed. *Sejanus* therefore thinking it time to make haste chooseth a slow working poison: the better to father his sicknesse upon some casuall disease: which was given *Drusus* by *Lygdus* an Eunuch, as eight yeers after it was knowne.

III. Germanicus children are in Senate recommended to the Lords by *Tiberius*, *Drusus* funerals, and how hee was empoisoned.

BUt *Tiberius* all the time of *Drusus* sicknesse, shewed no signe of feare; perhaps because he would shew his constancie: yea being dead, but not buried; he entered into the Senate, and put the Consuls which sate on a low seate, as

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a token of their sorrow, in mind of their honors and calling. And having mastered his owne griefe, comforted the Lords of the senate, which poured downe teares with a continuall speech, saying: That he knew well he might be blamed, for shewing himselfe in Senate, in so fresh a griefe: when the communication of deereft friends and kinsfolks was scarce seene, nor hardly the day, by many which lamented and mourned. Neither were they to be condemned of weaknesse, yet he for his part had sought for stronger comforts, out of the bosome of the common-wealth. And having compassion on the Empresse old age, and tender yeeres of her nephewes, and of his owne decaying age, intreated that *Germanicus* children, the onely comfort of present miseries, might be brought before them. The consuls went out and emboldening the young men in that which they should say, brought them before *Tiberius*, who taking hold of them, said, Lords of the Senate, I delivered these fatherlesse children to their unkle, and besought him, although hee had issue of his owne, that he would bring them up and cherish them, as if they were his owne blood: and make them worthy for himselfe and posterity. *Drusus* being taken from among us, I turne my prayers to you, and beseech you in presence of the gods, and our country, that you would receive, and governe *Augustus* nephewes sonnes, descended of worthy progenitours, and accomplish therein my duty and your owne. These *Nero* and *Drusus*, shall be in stead of fathers unto you. You are so borne, that all your good and evil appertaine to the common-wealth. With great weeping were these words heard, and prayers made that the young men might prosper: and if he had then ended his oration, he had filled the hearts of the hearers with compassion towards himselfe, and glory. But being fallen into vaine discourses, as such as had bene often laughed at, of yeelding up the government: and that the Consuls or some other should take the care upon him, he discredited that which was both honest and true. The same solemnities which were ordained for *Germanicus* were appointed for *Drusus*; and as the manner is of the last flattery, some things added. His funerall in pompe of images was very magnificent: having before him in a long procession *Aeneas*, the beginning of the Julian family: all the kings of the Albani: and *Romulus* the founder of the Citie. After him followed the nobilitie of the Sabines, *Appius Claudius* and the images of the rest of the Claudians. In delivering *Drusus* death, I have followed that which many true Writers have uttered; but I will not omit a very strong report of those times, yet current in every mans mouth, which is, that *Livia* being already corrupted to all dishonesty of body by *Sejanus*: he was said to have abused *Lygdus* body likewise: in age and beauty highly pleasing his master, and of all his servitors of best credit, who being made privie to the practise, the place and times agreed when the payson should be given, grew to that audaciousnesse, that hee turned all upon *Drusus* head: and by secret advertisement, accused him to have gone about to poison his father; and gave *Tiberius* warning, to take heed of the first drinke his sonne should offer him at the Table. Whereupon by that fraud, the banquet being begun, the old man presented *Drusus* the cup which he had received; who ignorant of the practise, like a raw young man dranke it up, increasing thereby the suspicion, as though for feare and shame, hee had swallowed that death which hee had prepared for his father. This was the common rumour, which wanting a ground, and certaine author, thou maiest easily refuse: for who is he though but of meane wisdom, much lesse *Tiberius*, experienced and beaten in waightly affaires, not hearing his defence, would have offered his sonne his death, and that with his owne hands; a thing remedies if he should repent it? Why had he not rather tortured the minister of the payson? fought

fought out the author, and used that delay; which usually he did even against strangers toward his owne sonne; never before detected of any lewd fact? But because *Sejanus* was thought to be the inventer of all bad actions, through the great good will *Cæsar* bore him, and the hate which the rest bare to both; things were beleev'd although fabulous, and uncredible; report speaking alwaies the worst of Princes deaths. The order of this fact hath been otherwise discovered by *Aspasia Sejanus* wife, and by torturing of *Eudemus* and *Lygdus*: and no writer found so great an enemy to *Tiberius*, although all hath bene sought that may be said, and enforced against him, that hath objected any such matter. The cause why I laid downe and blamed the common rumor, was, that under a manifest example, I might discredit false reports; and pray such into whose hands our labours shall come; that they would not esteeme more of common, uncredible tales, greedily received, then of truth not fallisied into miracles.

II II. *Sejanus practises to destroy Agrippina, and Germanicus children: stage-players expelled Italy.*

But whilest *Tiberius* praised his sonne before the people assembled; the Senate and the people rather for a show, then from the heart, put on a mourning countenance: yet in their minds joyced, that *Germanicus* house began to flourish againe; which beginning of favour, and *Agrippina* their mother not well dissembling her hope, hastened their overthrow. For when *Sejanus* perceived that *Drusus* empisoners escaped unpunished; and no publike mourning of the people for his death; emboldened in wicked actions, because his first attempts had good successe, began to cast with himself, by what means he might extinguish *Germanicus* children, the undoubted successors to the Empire. For all three poison he could not, by reason of their keepers faithfulness, and *Agrippinas* invincible chastitie. He beganne therefore to inveigh against her obstinacie, and stirre *Augustus* hating her of olde, against her; and incensed *Livia* with the memory of her late fact; suggesting that her pride; bearing it selfe upon her fruitfulness in children, by the favour of the people gaped after the soveraigntie. This plot of his he prosecuted by the helpe of crafty accusers; amongst whom he had chosen *Iulius Posthumus* a man noted of infamous life with *Mutilia Prisca*, a principall favourite of the grandmother, and fit instrument for his practises, being highly in *Augustus* bookes: an old woman of her owne disposition desirous of rule, and therefore easily estranged from her daughter in law *Agrippina*. He had likewise inveigled *Agrippinas* neere kindred, to puffe up her haughty spirits; and use hard speeches of *Augustus*. But *Tiberius* intermitting no care of publike affaires; and embracing businesse for solace; heard the causes of citizens, and the suites of confederates: and by his perswasion, decrees of Senate were made, that the city of Cibyritica in Asia; and Aegiris in Achaia, damaged by an earth-quake, might be relieved by remitting them three yeeres tributes. And *Vibius Sereenus* Proconsul of farther Spaine, being condemned for publike violence, through the crueltie of the time, was banished into the Iland Amorgus. *Carsus Sacerdos* accused; as though he had helped the enemy *Tacfarinus* with corne, was quit: and *C. Gracchus* for the same crime. This *Gracchus* being very young, was carried by his father *Sempronius* to the Iland Cercina, as a companion of his exile: where growing to mans estate among banished men, and ignorant of liberall Artes, by turning and winding base marchandise in Africa and Sicilia, he gained his living: and yet he escaped not the dangers of greater fortune. And if *Ac-*
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lius Lamia, and *L. Apronius*, which governed Africk, had not defended his innocency: through the noblenes of his unfortunate stocke, he had tasted of his Fathers calamities. That yeere came Embassadors from cities of Greece; requesting that the ancient right of privileged places, might be confirmed at *Luno's* Temple at *Samium*, and *Aesculapius* Temple, at *Cois*. The Samians grounded themselves on a decree of *Amphyctions*; to whom belonged the principall examination of all matters: when the Grecians building cities through Asia, were Lords of the Sea coasts. The antiquitie of the *Coi* was not unlike: having withall the merit of the place: for when by King *Mithridates* commandement, all the Romans were slaine throughout all the cities and llands of Asia: they saved in the Temple of *Aesculapius* as many as they found. After this the Pretors having made many complaints, though in vaine, against the stage-players; at last *Cesar* spake of their unrulines and immodest behaviour; as having feditiously attempted many things in publike, and many undecently in private houses. And the Oscan play, a light sport pleasing the peoples humour, grew to such infolency, that the Lords of the Senate were faine to interpose their authority, for the suppressing of it: & then the stage-players were expelled Italy. *Cesar* had further griefe in the same yeere, partly by the death of one of *Drusus* children, and partly by the death of *Lucillus Longus* his friend, and partaker of all his fortunes, prosperous or adverse: and among the Senators, his onely companion, when he withdrew himselfe to Rhodes. In regard wherof, the Senate ordained, that although he were but of meane parentage, yet that he should have the funerals of a Censor, and an Image in *Augustus* forum, at the charge of the common purse. For at that time the Senate managed all the affaires; in so much, that *Lucillus Capito*, Procurator of Asia, the Province accusing him, was forced to purge himselfe before them; the Prince assuredly avouching that he had given him no authority: but over slaves, and money matters betweene party and party. But if he had usurped the authority of a Pretor, or used the strength of souldiers, he had therein contemned his commandment, & therefore that they should heare the allies: and so the matter being heard, he was condemned. For which cause, and by reason that the yeere before *C. Silanus* was punished: the cities of Asia decreed that a Temple should be built in honour of *Tiberius* his mother, and the Senate; which they performed after they had licence. And for the same cause *Nero* gave thanks to the Lords of the Senate, and to his grandfather: with the joyfull acceptance of the hearers; as representing *Germanicus*, yet fresh in memorie, to their mindes: thinking that him they had both heard and seen. The young man was of great modesty, and comelinesse, worthy of a Prince; the more gratefull, through the danger he was in; by *Sejanus* known hatred against him.

V. How Jupiters Priests were chosen: *Tiberius* small affection to *Germanicus* children.

ABOUT the same time of chusing a Flamen Dial, in *Servius Maluginensis* place, who was dead; and of making a new law, *Cesar* himselfe spake. For the old custome was, that three patricians should be named together; borne of parents which had been married with a solemnitie called confarreation; of which one should bee chosen for the Priest. And it fell out that that just number could not be found; the use of confarreation, or marriage with a cake of Wheate, either not used, or onely of a few: wherof he alleadged many reasons, though the

chiefest

chiefest was, the carelesnesse of men and women: and withall the difficulties of the ceremonies, which were willingly let slip. And when should he goe out of his fathers authority, which should obtaine that priesthood, or see who was married unto him? therefore that was to be redressed by decree of Senate, or by a law, as *Augustus* himselfe had changed somewhat of that rude antiquitie, and reduced it to the present use. Those things therefore being debated which touched the ceremonies, it was determined that nothing should be altered in the makings of those Priests: but a law was ordained, that see who was married unto a Flamen, by reason of the sacrifices, should be under the power of her husband: and that in other cases shee should be as others were: And *Maluginensis* sonne was chosen in his Fathers place. And that the Priestly dignitie should better be regarded, and they the readier to undertake the ceremonies; it was ordained that *Cornelia* the virgin, who was chosen in *Scantias* place; should be given* *L. L. S. x. sesterces*: and that as oft as *Augusta* entered the theatre, she should sit among the Vestalls. *Cornelius Cetegus*, and *Visellius Varro* being Consuls, when the pontifes, and following their example, the other Priests, made certaine vows for the health of the Prince, they commended *Nero* and *Drusus* to the same gods: not so much for love of the young men, as for flattery, which in corrupt times is dangerous alike; either not at all, or too much. For *Tiberius* never a friend to *Germanicus* house, grieved impatiently that the young men should then be equalled unto him in his olde age: and sending for the chiefest Priests, asked them whether they had done that at *Agrippinaes* intreaties or threats; and although they denied it, yet were somewhat rebuked; the greatest part being his neere friends, and kin, or chiefest gentlemen of the city. Neverthelesse in Senate he admonished them in an oration, that none should hereafter puffed up the fickle minds of the young men to pride, by untimely and over-hasty dignities. *Sejanus* urged eagerly, that the city was no lesse divided into factions, then in time of civill warres, some terming themselves to be of *Agrippinaes* side; and more would if they were not prevented: and no way to redresse a waxing division, but by cutting off some one or two of the forwardest. Hereupon he began with *C. Silus*, and *Titus Sabinus*, *Germanicus* friendship being dangerous to both: to *Silus*, because that having had charge of a great army seven yeeres together, and vanquished *Sacrovir* in Germany, and obtained the ornaments of triumph, the higher his fall, the greater the feare in others would be. Many were of opinion that *Tiberius* was the more vehemently incensed, by reason of his owne lavishing tongue, overmuch vaunting that his souldiers had alwaies continued dutifull, when as others had grown to mutinies: and that *Casars* state had beene shaken, if those legions had beene desirous of innovation: which *Cesar* construed as an enbasing to his greatnesse, and disabling him of abilitie to requite: for good turnes are no longer well taken, then they may be recompensed; when they grow greater, then hope of requittall, in stead of thankfulness they breed hatred and ill will. *Sofia Galla* was *Silus* wife; badly thought off by the Prince, because she loved *Agrippina*. It was therefore thought convenient to begin with these two, and not meddle with *Sabinus* for a time. The Consul *Varro* being thrust in, to accuse them, under colour of a quarell betwixt his father and *Silus*, became an instrument to gratifie *Sejanus* with his owne discredit. The defendants intreating some delay, untill the accusers Consulship were expired, *Cesar* denied it, affirming it to be a usuall matter for magistrates to call private persons into question: and that the authority of the Consul was not to be infringed, through whose watchfulness the common-wealth was kept without danger. That was a common trick with *Tibe-*

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* About seven score and fiftie sesterces pound, and five shillings.

rius, alwaies to cloake new coyned milchiefe with old words. Therefore with great protection, as though he had proceeded with *Silius* by order of law; or the matter belonged to *Varro* as Confull, or therein consisted the safety of the common-wealth: the Senate was called, the party accused not once opening his mouth; or if he began to purge himselfe, sticke not to utter by whose malice he was oppressed. He was accused to have had intelligence with the beginners of the war: that he had discredited his victory by his covetousnes; and other things against *Sofia* his Wife, nothing a long time spoken of *Sacrovir*. And doubtlesse the accusation of polling the province, could not have served their turne, had they not prosecuted all under treason: but *Silius* prevented his imminent condemnation, by his owne voluntary death. Nevertheless that contented not, but were greedy his goods should be confiscate, not to pay the stipendiaries, for none of them demanded ought: but because *Augustus* liberalitie was at an end, he tooke a particular account of all that was due to a publicke treasure: which was the first time that *Tiberius* shewed himselfe greedy of other mens money. *Sofia* was driven into banishment by *Asinius Gallus* Confull, who also adviced, that part of the goods should be confiscate, and part left unto his children. But *Lepidus* contrarily, that the fourth part of the goods should be given to the informers, according to the law; and the residue to his children. I find that this *Lepidus* was in those dayes a grave and wise man: who altered into the better many things which others by cruell flattery had ordained: which he did with such moderation, that he kept in with *Cæsar* in no lesse favour then authority. Which causeth me to doubt, whether it happen as in other things by fatall destinie and nativity, that princes are favourably enclined to some, and to others hardly bent; or whether anything consist in our counsels, to single out a course free from ambition and danger, betwene selfe-will stubbornesse, and filthy flattery. But *Messalinus Cotta* being no lesse nobly descended, differing from *Lepidus*, was of opinion, that by decree of Senate it should be ordayned, that governours of provinces, though faultlesse themselves, yet should be punished for their wives crimes, no lesse then for their owne.

V I. Calphurnius Piso accused and condemned. The last warre with Tacfarinas, and his death.

After this, they debated *Calphurnius Pisos* case, a noble man and of a fierce courage. He, as I have said, seeing what credit pickthanks were in, openly protested in Senate that he would depart the city: and little regarding the authoritie of *Augusta*, was so bolde as to summon *Vrgulania*, out of the Princes house: which *Tiberius* for the present seemed not to take in evill part. But bearing it in minde, although the heat of displeasure was cooled, yet he forgat it not. *Granius* also accused *Piso* of secret speeches, used against the majesty of the Emperour: adding that he had poyson in his house, and that he entered the Senate house with a weapon. This of the weapon was past over as not credible: but for other things aggravated against him, he was arraigned, but not convicted; because he was prevented by death. Afterward *Cassius Severus* cause was handled; a banished man of base parentage and lewd life, but a great Oratour. Who had raised so many enemies against him, that by the judgement of the Senate sworn, he was confined to *Creet*: where following the like practises, drew on his head old and new hatred: and at last being deprived of all his goods, and banished; spent the rest of his life in the Island Seriphium. About the same time, *Plautius Silvanus* Pretor; the cause why, not known

knowne; threw his wife *Apronia* downe headlong from a high place. And being brought before *Cæsar* by *L. Apronius* his father in law, as a man troubled in minde, answered as though he had killed her selfe, when he was a sleepe, and wholly ignorant of the matter. *Tiberius* goeth forthwith to his house, and searcheth the chamber; where he perceived by the print of her feete, tokens of her striving against him, and the thrusting of her forward: which he reported to the Senate: and Judges appointed to examine the fact. *Vrgulania Silvanus* grandmother, sent her nephew a poniard to dispatch himselfe: which some thought to have been done by the Princes counsell; by reason of the league of friendship betwixt *Augusta* and *Vrgulania*. *Silvanus* having tryed in vaine to kill himselfe with the poniard, in the end caused his veins to be cut. Not long after, *Numantina* the first wife accused, by charmes and witchcrafts to have put her husband out of his wits, found innocent, is quit by the Prince. That yeer the people of Rome was delivered of a long warre against *Tacfarinas* the Numidian. For the Capitaines which till then had bene sent against him, having obtained the marks of triumph: sought no further how to extinguish the enemy. For there were now three images in the citie crowned with baies: and *Tacfarinas* still continued spoyling and foraging Africa; and augmented his forces by the aide of the Moores: which under *Ptolomey*, Inbaes sonne, a carelesse youth changed their servile state, and government of freed men, into war. The king of the Garamantes was a receiver and partaker of his booties, and pillages: not that hee marched with an army, but onely by sending light horsemen, which a farre off were thought to be more then indeede they were. And in the Province it selfe, some for need; and some of a turbulent humour joyned with him: because *Cæsar* considering how well *Blasius* had bestirred himselfe, called home the ninth legion; as though there had bene no enemies left at all in Africa. And *Dolabella* Proconsull for that yeer, durst not stay them, fearing more the commandment of the Prince, then the incertaintie and danger of the warre. Upon this, *Tacfarinas* gave it out, that the Romanes had their hands full; were distracted with other Nations: and therefore purposed by litle and litle, to retire out of Africk. And then that the rest might easily be overcome, if all which preferred libertie before servitude, would joyn and courageously bend their forces against them: and gathering more strength, encampeth before *Thubuscum*, and layeth siege to it. But *Dolabella* drawing all the forces he could make into one: partly the name of the Romanes striking a terror into their hearts; partly because the Numidian is not able to endure the force of the footemen: at the first encounter, levied the siege, fortified the most convenient places; and withall, beheaded the chieftest of the Mesulani, which began to revolt. In the end taught by experience of so many battels, that this fleeting enemy was not to be pursued with a maine campe; *Dolabella* sent for King *Ptolomey* with his countrey men; and divided his forces into foure companies; under the charge of severall Lieutenants and Tribunes. The out-riders and forragers were conducted by certaine chosen Moores: himselfe at hand to give direction to all. Not long after tydings came that *Tacfarinas* had encamped and erected cabins at an old ruinous fort, which himselfe had once burnt, called Auzea; trusting to the place being invironed with mighty great woods. Then the light horsemen and wings; not knowing whither, were led away with all speed. And at the dawning of they day, with the sound of trumpets, and a dreadfull noise set on the enemies, halfe sleeping, halfe waking; their horses unready, or dispersed abroad at pasture. The Romanes footemen were close ranked; the troopes of horsemen in good order; all things in a readinesse for battell. The enemy on the other side in all things unprovided; had neither

neither weapon, order, nor counsell among them: but were haled, taken, and slaine like beasts. And every souldier irked with the remembrance of his labours; and how oft desirous to copewith the enemy hee had beene deluded; fil'd himselfe with revenge and blood. Advertisement was brought from one company to another, to pursue *Tacfarinas* well knowne to them all; and that there would bee no end of that warre, if the Captaine were not slaine. But he with a chosen guard about him, seeing his sonne already taken, and the Romanes on every side of him, rushing in among their weapons, with the losse of his life, escaped captivitie. And that was the end of that warre. *Dolabella* desiring the honour of triumph, *Tiberius* denied it him: and gave it to *Sejanus*, left his uncle *Blasus* commendation should be obscured. But *Blasus* was never the more esteemed; and the denying of the honor to *Dolabella*, augmented his honour: because that with a lesser army he had taken many notable prisoners, slaine the Captaine, and carried away the fame of ending the war. The Embassabours of the Garamantes, a people seldome seene in the city, came after the death of *Tacfarinas*, all astonied, as being of the conspiracie to satisfie the people of Rome. After this, *Tiberius* understanding of *Prothomans* diligence in his warres, renewing the old custome, sent one of the Senators to him with an Ivory staffe, and embroidered or wrought gowne, which were wont to be the ancient gifts of the Lords of the Senate; and to give him the greater honour called him king, companion, and friend of the people of Rome.

VII. A rebellion of bond-slaves suppressed: *Serenus* accused by his owne sonne.

THE same sommer beginnings of warre attempted in Italy by bond-men, were suppressed by meere chance. The beginner of this tumult was *T. Curtius*, sometimes a souldier of a Pretorian band; who at the first in secret conventicles, in Brundisium and towns adjoyning, then by writings publikely spred abroad, tolled to libertie, the rude and fierce bond-slaves dispersed in the woods: when by the favour of the gods, there arrived three Gallies for the use of passengers in that sea. And *Curtius Lapius* rent gatherer in those countries; unto whom by lot fell the Province Cales; according to the ancient custome, having in a readinesse a power of sea souldiers; discomfited the conspirators, who then did but begin their enterprise. *Cesar* sent out of hand *Statius* a Tribune, with a strong Power; who brought the Captaine himselfe, and the ringleaders of this bold attempt to the citie; greatly afraid of the multitude of bond-men, which increased to a huge number; the free borne decreasing daily more and more. The same men being Consuls, there happened a bloody example of calamitie and crueltie, the sonne accusing the father: both called *Vibius Serenus*; both brought before the Lords of the Senate: the father out of banishment deformed, poore and unhandsome, bound in chaines; and his sonne pleading against him: who finely and featly attired with a cheerefull countenance, affirmed that secret practises had been wrought against the Prince; and certaine firebrands of warre sent into Gallia to raise a rebellion; himselfe being both accuser and witnesse. He charged *Cacilius Cornutus* once Pretor, to have furnished them with money: who through the wearisomnesse of trouble accounting the danger his bane, hastened his owne death. And contrarily the defendant, stoutly turning towards his sonne; shaking his irons, called the gods to revenge; praying that they would fend him to exile againe; to leade his life far from such customes; and inflict condigne punishment upon his sonne. And affirmed constantly that

that *Cornutus* was innocent, and frighted with a false accusation; which should easily be perceived if some others were appeached also; for himselfe could not practise the death of the Prince, and an innovation with one onely companion. Then the accuser named *Cn. Lentulus*, and *Seius Tiberio*: *Cesar* himselfe being ashamed to heare the chiefe of the citie, and his dearest friends, *Lentulus* very aged, and *Tiberio* of a weake body, accused of raising a rebellion, and disturbing the common-wealth: and therefore both were incontinently acquitted. The fathers bondmen were put to the racke, which made against the accuser: who through the wickednes of his fact, growing halfe frantick, and terrified with the speech of the people, which threatened either to cast him headlong from the Robur*, or draw him in peeces; or punish him as a paricide, departed the citie: but brought back from Ravenna, was forced to end his accusation; *Tiberius* nothing at all dissembling the old grudge he bare *Serenus* the banished. For after *Libones* condemnation, by letters he upbraided *Cesar*, that his service onely was recompensed; with some other things, more pe-remptorily, then safely, to proud eares, and ready to take offence. Eight yeeres after, *Cesar* cast this in his dish, many waies carping his actions in the meane space: although contrary to his expectation, through the constancie of his bondmen, the rack could extort nothing against him. When all had given sentence that *Serenus* should be punished according to the ancient custome; *Tiberius* to beare their eyes and dissemble his grudge, would not allow of the sentence. *Gallus Asinius* was of opinion that he should be confined in Gyrum or Donusa; which he misliked also saying, that both those Ilands wanted water: and that to whom life was granted, things necessary for life ought to be granted: whereupon *Serenus* was carried backe to Amorgum: And because *Cornutus* had slaine himselfe, it was propounded in Senate whether the informers should lose their rewards; if any arraigned onely of treason and not condemned slew himself. Which they had all followed, if *Cesar* had not sharply and openly, contrary to his accustomed manner, complained in defence of the informers, saying: that by that means the lawes would be brought to nothing, and the common-wealth run to ruine, and that it were more tolerable to abolish the lawes themselves, then take away the keepers of them. By this means the promoters, a race of men found out for a common overthrow and destruction and never duely punished, were allured with rewards. These continuall causes of sorrow, were sauced with some small contentment: for *C. Comminius* a Gentleman of Rome, convicted of scandalous verses against *Tiberius*, was pardoned at the intreatie of his brother a Senator. A strange case, that knowing what was best (for fortifor fenceles he was not) and what fame followed clemency; yet he desired rather cause of heaviness and sorrow. Neither is it a matter of deepe insight to know the peoples affection, when they extoll Princes actions from the heart; and when from the teeth outward. And *Tiberius* himselfe at other times, cunningly premeditating his words, and with staggering and flammering delivering his minde: yet when he meaneth good intend unto any, findeth his tongue ready and loose. But when *P. Suihus* sometimes rent gatherer to *Germanicus* was convicted for taking of money for giving judgment, & therefore expelled Italy: his opinion was that he should be banished into some Iland, and that with such vehemency, that he bound it with an oath to be profitable for the Common-wealth. Which for the present time was taken for a rigorous sentence; but after *Suihus* returne, turned to his commendation; whom subsequent times saw mightie, but a slave to money; a long time as he lasted, but never as he ought using Prince *Claudius* friendship. The same punishment was ordained against *Caius Firmus* a Senator, as falsely accusing his sister of treason.

* A place in the prison from whence the captives were taken to the stocks.

treason. *Catus* as I have already sayd, had inveighed *Libo*; then betrayed him and brought him to destruction. Which service *Tiberius* not forgetting, though pretending other causes, intreated that he might not be banished; but that he should be depofed from the Senate, he hindred not. I am not ignorant that many of those things which I have rehearsed, and which I shall rehearse hereafter, will seeme of small moment, and not worthy the writing. But I wish not that any should compare our Annales with the writings of the ancient Historiographers of the people of Rome: for they reported with a free discourse, of mighty great warres, winning of townes, of Kings taken and slaine: or if they come to domestick affaires, they recorded the discords betwixt the Consuls and the tribunes; lawes concerning distribution of lands among the common people; and jarres betwene the communitie and nobilitie. But the scope of our discourse is streight, and our labour inglorious: the times I write of being peaceable and quiet, or no greater warres: the state of the Citie dolefull, and the Prince carelesse in dilating the Empire. Yet it shall not be lost labour to looke into those things which at the first seeme light, oft yeelding instruction of great matters. For all nations and Cities are governed by the people, or Peeres, or alone. A forme of common-wealth constituted of one of these, may better be praised, then found: or if it chance to be found, it cannot long continue. Therefore as in times past the people bearing sway, or the Lords of the Senate, the humour of the communitie was to be knowne: and the meanes how with greatest discretion they were to be dealt withall: and they judged most wise and experienced, who had deepest entred into the disposition of the Senators and Nobilitie: so the state being now changed, and the regiment consisting in one alone, it shall be convenient to note those things, which unto that forme of government doth best appertaine. For there are but few, which by wisdom distinguish honest things from dishonest, and profitable from hurtfull: but most men are taught by others events. And my writings bring more profit then delight, for situation of countreys; varietie of battells; the death of famous Captaines doe feed and recreate the readers mindes. But wee heape up bloodie commandements; continuall accusations, deceitfull friendships; the overthrow of innocent persons; and causes bringing the like end; matters tedious for want of varietie. The old writers had also this advantage, that they had no detractors of their writing, or few: not being materiall to any; whether he had praised African or Roman armies. But many are yet alive, whose predecessors suffered punishment or infamie under *Tiberius* government. And although their family be extinguished, yet thou shalt finde many, which for conformitie of manners, thinke that others misdeeds are objected against themselves. Glory and vertue have enemies likewise, according to the disposition of every mans minde; framing reasons contrary to that which his owne inclination is neereft unto. But I will returne to my first purpose.

VIII. An Oration of *Cremutius* in defence of his Annales:
*Tiberius would not suffer the Spaniards to build a
 Temple in his honour.*

Cornelius Cossus, *Asinius Agrippa* being Consuls; *Cremutius Cordus* was accused of a new crime never before heard of, that in certaine Annales by him published, he had praised *M. Brutus*, and said that *C. Cassius* was the last of the Romans. His accusers were *Saturnus Secundus*, and *Pinarius Natta*, *Sejanus* clients,

ents, which was his overthrow. *Casar* had a sterne look hearing his purgation; which *Cremutius* being assured to lose his life, began in this manner. "I am accused for words (Lords of the Senate) because in deeds I am innocent. But they were neither against the Prince, nor his father, whom the law of treason doth comprehend. I am said to have commended *Brutus* and *Cassius*; whose acts many have written, and all in honourable termes. *T. Livius* an excellent writer, as well for eloquence as truth, did so much extoll *Cn. Pompeius*, that *Augustus* called him a Pompeian; yet that no breach of friendship at all. *Scipio Africanus* did never call this selfe same *Cassius*, this *Brutus*, theeves and patricides, as now a daies they are termed, but often worthy and famous men. *Asinius Pollux* writings do deliver an honorable memory of them. *Messala Corvinus* extolled *Cassius* as his Captain: and both flourished in wealth and honour. When *M. Cicero* had in a book extolled *Cato* to the heavens; what did *Casar* the Dictator, but answer him in an oration as if he had been before the judges? *Antonius* epistles, *Brutus* oration, have, I confesse, many untrue and bitter speeches against *Augustus*. Men read *Bibaculus* and *Catullus* verses, which are stuffed with reproches against the *Cæsars*. But yet *Julius* and *Augustus* of famous memory winked thereat, whether with greater moderation or wisdom, I know not: for things of that quality neglected vanish of themselves; but repined and grieved at, argue a guilty conscience. The Grecians, whose not onely libertie, but unrestrained license escaped unpunished, I speak not of; or if any felt himselfe grieved, he revenged words with other words. It hath bin alwaies a matter of free liberty, and least subject unto detraction, to speak of those whom death had exempted from hatred and favour. Do I incense the people by orations to civil war, with *Cassius* and *Brutus* already in arms, and masters of the Philippian fields? Do not they (who ended their lives above seventy yeeres agoe) as they are knowne by their images which the Conqueror himselfe hath not pulled down, so retain some remembrance of them by writings? Posteritie doth render unto every man the commendation he hath deserved. Neither will there want some if I be condemned, which will make mention, not onely of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, but of me also. Having thus said, he went out of the Senat, and ended his life by abstinence. Order was given by the Senators, that the Aediles should burn his books, which notwithstanding were still extant, some secretly, some publicly: which maketh mee the willinglier to laugh at the wicklesse uncircumspection of such as thinke with the power and authoritie they have in their owne time, they can also extinguish the memory of future times. But it falleth out contrary, that when good wits are punished, their credit groweth greater, neither have forein Kings, or such as have used the like crueltye purchased any other thing, then discredit to themselves, and to such wits, glory. This yeer accusations were so hotly pursued, that even on the festivall dayes of the Latines, *Calphurnius Salvanus* went to accuse *Marius* before *Drusus*, Provoost of the city; as he was entering into the Tribunal to begin his charge: for which cause *Salvanus* being publicly blamed by *Tiberius*, was sent into banishment. Great negligence was openly laid to the Cyziceniens charge, in not solemnizing *Augustus* sacrifices; and that they had used violence against the Citizens of Rome. For which cause they lost the freedome which they had gotten in the warre when they were besieged by *Mithridates*, chasing away the King, no lesse by their owne manhood, then *Lucullus* aide. But *Frontinus Capito* who had beene Proconsull of Asia, was quit of the accusation falsly forged against him by *Vibius Sereanus*. And yet *Sereanus* escaped unpunished, being odious generally to all, and therefore in greater safety. For the more bitter an accuser he was, the lesse touched, and as it

were a sacred person; but the light and base were punished. At the same time farther Spaine sent Embassadors to the Senate, requesting that by the example of Asia they might build a Temple in honour of *Tiberius* and his mother. *Tiberius* taking hold of this occasion, though otherwise not greedy of honours, thought it convenient to answer those who had rumored abroad that he was carried away with ambition, as followeth. "I know (Lords of the Senate) that many will accuse me of unconstancy, for not denying the same request unto the cities of Asia. I will therefore now declare unto you the defence of my former silence, & what I would have done hereafter. Seeing that *Augustus* of famous memory did not hinder those of Pergamum to erect a Temple in honour of himselfe, and the city of Rome: I who observe all his deeds and words in stead of a law, did the willinglier follow that approved precedent; because the honour done unto me, redounded likewise to the Senate. But as it deserveth pardon, I once to have accepted that honour: so throughout all the Provinces with images like unto gods to be revered, favour-eth of ambition and pride: and *Augustus* honour would come to nought, if it should by flattery used every where be made common. I for my part (Lords of the Senate) protest before you all, and desire that posterity know, that I am mortall and do like unto men; and take it for honour enough to be Prince. And they shall attribute enough to my memory, which will believe that I have not degenerated from my ancestors; that I have been careful in your affairs, constant in dangers, not fearful of displeasure for the profit of the common-wealth. These things shall be for me temples in your mindes; these beautiful and lasting images: for those which are built of stone, if in judgement of posterity they become odious: are contemned for sepulchres. Therefore I pray your allies, citizens, gods and goddesses; these that they would give me until the end of my life, a quiet minde with the understanding of divine and humane laws; those, that whensoever I shall depart out of this life, they would have me in remembrance with an honourable memory of my deeds, and renowne of my name. And in private places afterward disliked such adoration, which some interpreted to proceed of modesty; many of distrust; and some for baseness of minde and want of courage; because of mortall men the best aspire highest: so *Hercules* and *Bacchus* among the Grecians; *Quirinus* among us, were added to the number of the gods. *Augustus* had done better in hoping to be one. Princes have all other things at will: one thing they should insatiably seek for, which is to leave a happy memory after them; for by contemning of fame, they contemne the virtues which engender it.

IX. *Sejanus requested of Tiberius that he might marry Livia, Drusus widow. And perswaded Tiberius to withdraw himselfe from the City.*

BUT *Sejanus* sottishly mad with over great fortune, and enflamed with a burning desire of *Livia*: importunately demanding a performance of a promised marriage, inditeth and sendeth letters to *Cæsar*: because the custome was, that although the Prince were present, yet to present their petitions by writing; the contents were as followeth. "That the good will of his Father *Augustus* was such towards him, and *Tiberius* also by divers signes did shew him such favour, that he would not sooner offer his hopes and vows unto the gods, then unto the eares of Princes. That he never thirsted after high and eminent dignities, but chose rather to watch and travell like a common fouldier for the safety of the Emperour: notwithstanding

"notwithstanding that he had obtained that which seemed to be of all other the greatest honor: that is, that he should be thought worthy of *Cæsar's* alliance; from whence sprang the beginning of his hope. And because he had heard that when *Augustus* in the bestowing his daughter, had thought even of gentlemen of Rome; so he besought him, if a husband were thought upon for *Livia*, that he would have him as a friend in minde, who would be content with the glory only to be allied to him, never purposing thereby to give up the charge imposed upon him, nor relinquish his usuall care: but would hold himselfe satisfied, if his house might be assured against *Agrippina's* wicked malice, and that in regard of his children: and as for himselfe he desired to live no longer then he could employ himselfe in the service of his Prince. *Tiberius* having praised *Sejanus* great love and zeale, and chiefly run over the benefits that he had received of him, demanding time as it had been fully to deliberate on the matter, added; That other men consulted of that only which was for their profit: but the conditions of Princes was of different quality, whose speciall drift was to direct their actions to fame: and therefore would not fall into that which was easie for him to have written. That *Livia* could determine with herselfe whether she would marry againe or not, or remaine in the same family: that she had a mother and grandmother as neerer counsellors: he therefore would deale more simply, and speak first of *Agrippina's* enmities, which would be farre more incensed, if *Livia's* marriage should divide *Cæsar's* house as it were into parts, and breede emulation between the women; and consequently the overthrow of his nephewes. What if any variance arise in that marriage? Thou art deceived *Sejanus*, if thou thinkest to continue in the state thou art now in, if thou marry *Livia*, who hath been wife unto *C. Cæsar*, and afterward to *Drusus*; and imagine that she beareth the mind to passe the rest of her life with a Gentleman of Rome. And if I should agree unto it, dost thou think that they would suffer it, who have scene her brother, her father, our ancestors in greatest dignities? Thou wilt continue in the calling thou art now in; but those magistrates and noble men which maugre thy teeth mount to authority, and determine of all matters, do report it, and that not in higger murther, that a long time since thou hast climed higher then the degree of a gentleman, and gone beyond my fathers friendship; and for the hatred they beare unto thee, blame me. But *Augustus* thought once to marry his daughter to a gentleman of Rome. Truly it was to be marvelled, that being distract with so many cares, and foreseeing that he who should match in that place, should by that alliance rise to great advancement, he would in familiar conference think upon *Proculeius* and some others, which lived a notable quiet life, not meddling at all with matters of estate. But if we be moved because *Augustus* did doubt, only whether he should bestow her upon a gentleman, how much more ought we to consider that he gave her to *M. Agrippa*; and then after unto me. These things I would not hide from thee for the friendship which is betwixt us: but I will not be against thine nor *Livia's* designements: and will forbear at this time to speak what I had cast in mind, and how neerly I purposed to linke thee unto me. I will onely say, that there is nothing so excellent, but thy virtues and good will towards me doth deserve it: and when opportunity shall serve, I will utter it either in Senate, or before the people. *Sejanus* hearing this answer was nothing pleased, not so much in regard of the marriage, as because he feared *Tiberius* secret suspitions; the rumour of the people; and envy which grew fast upon him. Yet fearing if he should cast off those great troupes which daily came to court him, he should weaken his authority; and by entertaining them, minister matter of crime: the marke he shot at was to per-
swade

swade *Tiberius* to lead his life in some pleasant place far from Rome; wherein hee foresaw many things, as that there could be no access to the Prince but by him; that all letters being conveyed by souldiers which were at his devotion, should passe through his hands: that *Cæsar* declining now to age, and growne slothfull and effeminate through the quietnesse of the place, would disburden himselfe of cares of state, and commit them to another: and that the envy borne to himselfe should bee diminished, access to the Prince being lesse: and by that means all vaine shadows removed, he should grow mighty in true power and authoritie. Therefore by little and by little he findeth fault with the busines of the citie, the concourse of people, the flocking together of multitudes; extolth highly a quiet and solitary life; a life without anguish of minde, and free from envie, most fit to think on important and weighty affaires. And falling out by chance that *Votienus Montanus* cause was to be heard, a man of a ready wit, *Sejanus* perceiving *Tiberius* not resolved to leave the citie, perswaded him to be a very inconvenient matter to be present at the assemblies of the Senate; lest hee should heare railing and reprochfull speeches, but yet true, uttered of himselfe in his owne hearing. For *Votienus* being accused of contumelious words against *Cæsar*, whilst *Aemilius* a witnes and a souldier laboured earnestly to prove his assertion, rehearsed from point to point, though the hearers buzzed and made a noise about him, all *Votienus* words: in which *Tiberius* heard many spightfull and reprochfull speeches backbitingly uttered in secret against himselfe: which so moved him, that he cried he would either presently, or when the cause was heard, purge himselfe; and was hardly pacified either with intreaty of his nearest friends, or flattery of all; and so *Votienus* was punished as for treason. *Cæsar* persisting fitly and using hard and rough dealing, though that was one of the crimes objected against him, condemned to exile *Aquila*, for adultery with *Varus Ligur*: although *Lentulus Getulicus* Consull elect, had already condemned her by the Julian law: and put *Apidius Mernula* from his Senators roome, because he had not sworne to oblerve *Augustus* acts.

X. A controversie betwixt the Lacedæmonians, and Messenians touching the rights of the Temple of Dana: Piso, Pretor of Spaine, slaine by a villagais.

After that were heard the Embassies of the Lacedæmonians and Messenians concerning the right of the Temple of *Diana Limenætidis*; which the Lacedæmonians avowed by the records of their Annales, and prophecies to have beene dedicated by their predecessours in their countrey: but taken from them by *Philip* of Macedon, with whom they warred; and afterward restored unto them by the sentence of *C. Cæsar*, and *M. Antonius*. The Messenians on the contrary side alleged an old division of *Peloponnesus* between *Hercules* successours; and that that territory Dentheliate wherein the Temple was, fell to their King, whereof there remained ancient monuments engraven in stones and brasie. And if it were necessary to produce the testimony of Poets and Chronicles, they had more then they of good credit: neither had *Philip* to done by force, but according to equitie. King *Antigonus*, and the Captaine *Mummius* gave the like judgement. So the Messenians being publickly made arbitrators of the cause; and last of all, *Atidius Geminius* Pretor of Achaia determined the same. Whereupon judgement was given on the Messenians side. The Segestani likewise demanded that Venus Temple built on the hill Eryce, and false down with age, might be redified: calling to remembrance many

many things of her beginning pleasing unto *Tiberius* eares, which moved him to undertake willingly the charge, as being of her blood. After that the Massiliens requests were heard, and the example of *P. Rutilius* allowed, who, having by law been expelled Rome, the Smyrnæans received and made a Citizen in their citie. By which right also, the Massiliens received *Vulcatius Mosechus* a banished man, who left all his goods to their Commonwealth, as to his countrey. Two noble men *Gn. Lentulus* and *L. Domitius* dyed the same yeere. It was to *Lentulus* a great honour, over and besides that he was a Consull, and triumphed over the Getuli, that he endured his povertie patiently; then that having gotten great riches without injuring of any, he used them temperately. *Domitius* credit grew by his father, who was lord of the sea in the civill wars; untill he thrust himself into *Antonies* faction, and after that into *Cæsars*. His grandfather was slaine in the Pharsalian battell, taking part with the nobilitie: and himselfe chosen to marry *Antonio, Octavius* youngest daughter. After that he passed over the river *Albis* with his host, and entered farther into Germany, then any other before him; for which cause he obtained the honour of triumph. *L. Antonius* of great, but unfortunate nobilitie died likewise, for his father *Julius Antonius* being put to death for committing adultery with *Julia: Augustus* sent him being very young, and his sisters nephew, to Marfilles, where he cloaked the name of banishment with the pretence of study. Notwithstanding he had great honour done him at his funeralls, and his bones buried in the tombe of the *Octavians* by decree of the Senate. The same men being Consuls, a bloody fact was committed in hither Spaine by a peasant of *Termetine*, who assailing upon the way *L. Piso* Pretor of the Province, at unawares and unprovided, as being carelesse by reason of peace, killed him with one stroke; then fled in post to the woods, and forsaking his horse, stealing by dangerous by-ways, beguiled his followers, though not long: for his horse being taken and brought to the next villages, it was knowne whole he was. And being found and put to the racke to bewray his complices, cried aloud in his countrey language, that that was a vaine question to aske him; and that his companions might boldly come, and behold him on the torture, for no torment or griefe should be able to draw the truth from him. And being the next day brought againe to the torture, by violent force breaking from his keepers, so daunt his head against a stone, that immediately he yielded up the ghost. Some were of opinion that *Piso* was slaine by the treachery of the *Termetines*, by reason he exacted more of those barbarous people, then they were able to beare.

XI. Poppæus Sabinus defeateth the Thracians: and their obstinacie.

Lentulus Getulicus and *C. Calvisius* being Consuls, triumphall ornaments were awarded *Poppæus Sabinus* for defeating certaine Thracians, which wildly lived in high mountains; and therefore more savage and fierce. The cause of their rebellion, besides their naturall dispositions, was, because they would not that any muster should be made of their strongest and ablest men for service: never accustomed to obey their Kings farther then themselves listed; or if they did send any ayde, they appointed the conductor of them; and would make no warre but against the borderers. There was also a rumour then spread, that they should be dispersed and brought into other nations and mingled with them. But before they began to beare armes, they sent Embassadors to *Sabinus* declaring their amitie and obedience to the people of Rome; and that they would so continue if they were not oppressed with

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new taxations: but if like vanquished men they should live in servitude, they had both weapons and youth, and a resolute courage either to die or live in libertie. And therewithall, shewed their fortresses built on rocks, whither they had conveyed their parents and wives, and threatned an intricate, hard and bloody warre. But *Sabinus* giving milde answers, untill he had gathered his forces together; and when *Pomponius Laeas* was come with a legion out of *Moesia*, King *Rhamatals* with the ayde of his countrey men, which continued still in their allegiance; with the forces he had at hand, he marched toward the enemy possessed of the straights of the woods; some of the forwardest shewing themselves in open place; which, the *Romane* captaine having stole upon, were easily put to flight, with small bloodshed of the barbarians, by reason of their refuges at hand. Then fortifying in the same place, seaforth on the mountaine, which was narrow and even ridged unto the next fort: guarded with great, but unorderly and confuse strength; and immediately sendeth before of his choise archers against the fiercest of them before the trench, as the manner of the country is, singing ditties and verses. They wounded many with shot a farre off, and drawing neerer, by a sudden irruption of the enemy had been driven to the worst, if the *Sugambrian* cohort which lay not far off, in dangers venturous; and no lesse fierce and dreadfull in noise of songs & clattering of arms, had not received them at a pinch. After this, *Sabinus* encamped neerer the enemy, leaving the *Thracians*, which (as I have already said) came to our side at the first fort, with warrant to waste, burne, carry away booties, so as they took no longer time then the day, and returne at night to set a sure watch and a vigilant over the camp. Which at the first was observed, but afterward through riot, wantonnesse, and desire of riches, neglecting their wardes, hunting after belly cheere, and overtaken with wine, fell heavily all to sleep. The enemy understanding their retchlesse negligence, divided his men into two squadrons; the one to set on the forragers, and the other to assaile the *Romane* camp, not with hope of any surprise, but by their clamors, and clashing of weapons, every man intente to his owne danger, they should not heare the noise of the other skirmish: chooing the night withall to make the feare the greater. But those which assayed the trench of the legion were easily repulsed: the aid of the *Thracians* in the other fort terrified with a sudden assault; part of them lying asleep within the trenches; and part seeking provision and stover abroad, were so much the more cruelly slain, because they were reckoned to be as fugitives and traitours, which bare armes to bring themselves and their countrey into servitude. The next day *Sabinus* sheweth himselfe in a place without advantage to either side to see whether the barbarians, glad of the nights successe, durst venter a battell. But seeing they went not out of their fortresses or hills adjoining, he began to lay siege to them with a strong company, casting a trench, and a parapet four miles compasse about them: after that by little and little, to barre them of water and forrage, straightned his enclosure, the first environing the last; and raising up a bulwarke so neere the enemy, that from thence they might throw stones, darts, and fires into the enemies camp. But nothing annoyed the enemy more then thirst, a huge multitude of raw fighting souldiers, having but one fountaine left them for their use: withall, their cattell (as the custome is among barbarous people) shut up with them, died for want of stover: dead carcasses of men lay along, as well with wounds as thirst, all corrupted with putrefaction, stench, and infection. And to make their troubled state more miserable, they fell at discord among themselves: of all calamities, the full measure: some ready to yeeld, some to die, some to strike and kill one another: some perswading courageously to fall out, and not perish without revenge.

venge; and these not of the basest alloy, though divided in opinions. But among the captaines, *Dinys*, a man stricken in yeers, and who by long experience had tried as well the strength as clemency of the *Romanes*, counselled them to lay downe their armes, as the onely remedy in their distresse: and was the first which yeelded himselfe with his wife and children to the conquerors: the rest which were weake, either through age or sexe, and desired rather life then renown, did the like. But the youth betweene *Tarsa* and *Turefis*, both resolved to die with libertie, were doubtfully distracted, but *Tarsa* crying that death was to be hastened, and hope and feare to be cut off at once, and giving example unto others, thrust himselfe through the breast, many following the same death. *Turefis* with his company expected the night: our Captaine not being ignorant thereof, and thereupon reenforced the watch. The night being stormy and tempestuous, the enemy now making a fierce outcrie, and on the sudden using a marvellous silence, drove the besiegers into uncertainties; when as *Sabinus* went about from one place to another, exhorting them not to lay chance open to such as by their doubtfull clamours, and fained silence, laid traines to intrap them; but that every man should keepe his standing, and take heede he threw no dart in vaine. In the meane space the barbarians clustering together by troops, now threw handstones against the rampier, javelins burnt at the end, and troncheons of oake, now filled up the ditches with shrubs, hurdles, and dead carkasses. Some of them having before made bridges, and ladders, planted them before the bulwarks, caught hold of them, laboured to pull down the defence, graped, fought hand to hand with such as resisted: contrarily the *Romane* souldier beate them down with spears, thrust them back with the pikes of their bucklers, lanced darts, and rowled heapes of stones from the wall upon them. The hope of victory already gotten, and that if they should now faint and be overcome, shame and reproach put life and courage into our, in them desperate hope of life; many having their mothers and wives bewailing and lamenting about them. The night animated some to boldnesse, drove some into feare: blowes flew on all hands; wounds given and taken unlooked for; no man knowing his fellow from the enemy, and the sound of the voyces as if it were an echo rebounding behinde them in the turning and winding of the mountaine, brought such a confusion, that the *Romanes* abandoned their standings and holds, as though they had beene battered and broken downe: howbeit, a small number of the enemies escaped alive; the residue, (the most courageous either slaine, or wounded) at the opening of the day, were chased to their fortresses, and at length forced to yeeld; willing to accept the first conditions the winter would offer: to the rest, a cruell and timely winter by reason of the hill *Hæmus* was a safeguard, that they could neither be subdued by force; nor siege.

XII. The sharpe words which *Agrippina* used to *Tiberius* for accusing *Claudia Pulchra* her cousin: what good will was borne the *Smyrneans* above the other towns of *Asia*, and the cause.

But at Rome, the Princes house being greatly troubled, to begin the course of *Agrippinae* future ruine, *Claudia Pulchra* her cousin german was called into question by *Domitius Afer*: who having beene lately *Prætor*, of small reputation, and eager by what meanes soever to winne credit, laid to her charge that she led an unhoneest life with *Furnius*, and practised to poyson, and used inchantments

ments against the Prince. *Agrippina* being of a fell and haughty disposition, and then more then ever kindled through the danger of her neere cosin, hasteneth to *Tiberius*, whom by chance hee found sacrificing to his father: and taking hold of that occasion, told him: "It was two mens office to offer sacrifice in memory of *Augustus*, and persecute his posteritie: that the divine spirit was not transfused into dumbe statues and images: but the true image descended of celestiall bloud felt the smart of his posterity: and therefore he would take upon her the person of the party accused: that it was in vaine to take exceptions against *Pulchra*, whose onely ruine was, that unconsiderately she had loved and revered *Agrippina*: forgetting what had salne to *Sosia*, for the same cause. Those words provoked *Tiberius*, although seldome using to open the secrets of his breast: and rebuking her in a Greeke verse, said, that therefore she was displeased, because she could not reigne. *Pulchra* and *Furnius* are condemned: and *Asper*, the excellency of his wit knowne, and *Caspar* attributing unto him praise of eloquence, held among the chiefe orators. After this practised in accusing and defending of parties; he was better knowne for eloquence, then honesty of life: saving that when his eloquence in his latter age decayed, and his spirits failed; yet was never quiet when his tongue walked not. But *Agrippina* frowardly persisting in anger, and incumbered with sickness, when *Caspar* went to visit her, powring downe in a long silence many teares, at last burst into envie and intreatie; that he would redresse her solitary life; and being yet but a young woman, provide her a husband: Marriage being the only comfort of minds honestly given; that there were some in the citie which would vouchsafe to receive *Germanicus* wife and his children. But *Caspar* not ignorant of what importance this request was to the common-wealth; yet lest he should openly seeme to displease or feare her, gave her, though most earnestly demanding, no answer at all. That I finde not in the Writers of Annales, but in the Commentaries of *Agrippina* her daughter, who being *Neroes* mother, had delivered to posteritie her life and calamities which fell to her friends. But *Sejanus* in this dumpe, sent her a message unlooked for, and under colour of friendship, which was, that there was poison prepared for her; and that she should avoide to eate or drink with her father in law. But shee not knowing how to dissemble, sitting by him at table could not be wonne to looke cheerefully, or speak a word, or touch any meate: untill at last *Tiberius* marked it either by chance, or because he had had some inckling of it. And to trie that more certainly, praying certaine apples as they were served in, gave of them with his owne hand to his daughter in law; which augmented *Agrippinas* suspicion, and not once tasting of them, delivered them to the waiters. Yet openly *Tiberius* spake not one word; but turning to his mother, said, that it was no marvell, if she had proceeded severely against her, seeing she had an opinion, he went about to poison her. Thereupon a rumour was spread, that her destruction was sought for; and that the Emperour durst not openly attempt it; and therefore sought secret meanes to compass it. But *Caspar* to stop that rumour shewed himselfe often in Senate, and gave the Embassadors of Asia audience many dayes together, when they doubted in what citie they should erect a Temple in honour of him. Eleven cities of different power strove with like ambition for that honour; alleading that there was not any great difference betwixt them; in antiquitie of time; love and affection to the people of Rome; in the warres against *Perfus* and *Aristonicus*, and other Kings. The *Hypæpeni* and *Trallians*, together with the *Laodiceni*, and *Magnetians* were sent away as not sufficiently grounded. No, nor the *Ilienses* producing that *Troy* was the mother of Rome, had any foundation of their reason saving onely antiquitie. But

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some doubt was made of the *Halicarnassi*; because that for the space of a thousand and two hundred yeeres; their cities had never been shaken with any earthquake; and that the foundation of their Temple was built upon lively strong stone. The *Pergamini* were answered that they had received honour enough, in that they had *Augustus* Temple amongst them; seeing that thereon they grounded their reason. It seemeth that the *Ephesians* and *Milesiens* had their cities occupied, the one in the ceremonies of *Apollo*, and the other of *Diana*: In so much that all the contentions rested betwixt the *Sardinians* and *Smyræans*. The *Sardinians* recited a decree of the *Etrurians*, as being of their blood: for *Tyrrhenus* and *Lydis* King *Atys* sons, divided the land betwixt them, by reason of the increafe of the people. And *Lydis* remained in his countrey, and *Tyrrhenus* went to seeke new countries to inhabit; which were called by the names of their Captaines: they in Asia, and these in Italy: and in progresse of time the *Lydians* growing to farther wealth, sent people into Greece, which were afterward called *Peloponnesiæns*. They told also of letters sent them by our Captaines, of treatise made with us in the warre of Macedonia; of the number of rivers; the temperature of their countrey; and what a rich territory they had round about them. But the *Smyræans* fetching their antiquitie a farre off, either that *Tantalus* from whence they came, was descended from *Jupiter*; or from *Theseus*, issued also from the stock of the gods; or else that some one of the *Amazons* had founded them: alleaged further the service they had done to the people of Rome; in which they most of all relyed, and that they had given them succour by sea; not onely against forreine wars; but also the wars of Italy. And that they first of all had dedicated a Temple in honour of Rome, *M. Porcius* being consull. The people of Rome indeede then flourishing; but yet not lifted up to the height of their greatnes: the Citie of Carthage yet standieg, and many strong Kings living in Asia. They brought in *L. Sulla* for a witnesse, whose army being fallen into great danger through the roughnes of the winter, and want of apparell, when newes was brought thereof to the *Smyræans* as they were assembled upon occasion; all which were present sent the apparell from their own backs unto our legions. Thereupon the Lords of the Senates opinion being demanded, the preferred the *Smyræans*. And *Vibius Marfus* counselled farther that over and above his charge, *M. Lepidus* unto whom the government of that Province fell, should have a deupute appointed to take care of that Temple. And because *Lepidus* through modesty refused to accept it, *Valerius Nafus* who had been Pretor, was by lot chosen and sent.

XIII. Why *Tiberius* absented himselfe from the Citie.

VV Hilest these things thus passed, *Caspar* having deeply thought upon, and after protracted his determination, at last goeth into Campania, under colour of dedicating a temple to *Jupiter* at Capua, and another to *Augustus* at Nola: but indeed resolved to lead his life farre from the Citie. The occasion of his departure although following some authors, I have attributed unto *Sejanus* wiles, yet because that after *Sejanus* death he continued fixe yeeres in the like retired life, I am often induced to doubt, whether the cause be more truly to be referred to himselfe, as going about to cloake by the place, his crueltie and loose behaviour. Some were of opinion, that being through age, slender, tall, and crooked, bald headed, and his face spect with plaisters and ointments, was therefore ashamed to shew himselfe in publike. And at Rhodes he was wont to shun company,

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live secretly, and hide his lascivious dissolute life. Some gave out that his mothers insupportable infolency drove him away, whom as a companion in state he could not endure; nor yet be rid of her, because the sovereignty it selfe was her gift. For *Augustus* was determined to leave the Empire to *Germanicus* his sisters nephew, who had a good report of all men: but being overcome by his wives importunate intreatie, he adopted *Tiberius*; and *Tiberius*, *Germanicus*; which *Augusta* did upbraide unto him, and demanded the Empire againe which she had bestowed upon him. He departed with a small traine with him: one Senator who had been Consull, which was *Cocceius Nerva*, skilfull in the lawes; one gentleman of Rome besides *Sejanus*; and of noble men onely *Curtius Atticus*. The rest were men indued with liberall sciences, most of them Grecians, with whose conference he purposed to passe the time. Some Astrologers gave out that *Tiberius* departed Rome under such a constellation, that he should returne no more; which was cause of manies overthrow, which conjectured and divulged that he had not long to live: for they could not foresee so incredible a matter, as that he should want his countrey willingly eleven yeers together. Wherein did appeare not long after how neere counfins their art and falsehood are; and how truth is disguised and hidden under obscuritie. For it was not spoken at a venture that he should not returne againe, although they were ignorant of other things which should happen unto him: or whether he should quickly die, or not, which was not signified by those words of theirs; because hee ended his latter yeers in some village not farre off, or on the sea shore, or neere unto the walles of the citie. At that time a doubtfull and dangerous perill, which by meere chance *Cæsar* fell into, augmented the vaine rumour already sowne; and gave him occasion to put more trust in *Sejanus* friendship and constancy, then ever hee had done before. For as they were eating in a countrey house called *Spelunca*, between the sea *Amuclanum*, and the hills of *Fundani*, in a naturall grot or cave, certain stones falling suddenly from the mouth of it, slew some of his servitors; which so affrighted the rest, that they fled all away. But *Sejanus* with his knees, his face and hands leaning and hanging over *Cæsar*, set himselfe against the other stones which were falling, and in that plight was found by the souldiers which came to succour them. This made him greater then he was: and although he should have given most pernicious counsell, yet should have had favourable audience, as one nothing caring for ought which might happen to himselfe. He took upon him the office of a judge against *Germanicus* issue, suborning some to play the parts of accusers, and inveigh especially against *Nero* next in succession; although a modest young man, yet oftentimes forgetfull of that which was requisite for the present time, pricked forward by his freed men and followers, which thought it long till he were Emperour, to shew himselfe bould and stout of courage: perswading him that the people of Rome desired, the armie coveted, and that *Sejanus* durst doe nothing to the contrary; though now hee insulted alike over the patience of the old man, and sloth and cowardliheesse of the young. *Nero* hearing these or the like speeches, yet dreamt of no bad practice: although some wilfull and unconsiderate speeches slippt now and then from him: which when the spies set over him had augmented and carried to *Cæsar*, and *Nero* not suffered to purge himselfe, drove many into sundry doubts. Some shunned to meet him; some having saluted him, turned presently from him; many brake off abruptly their talke. *Sejanus* favourers on the other side laughed in their sleeves to see it. *Tiberius*, whether the young man spake unto him, or held his tongue, cast a malicious eye, or smiled dissemblingly upon him: and whether he spake or held his tongue, it was always a crime

crime in him. Neither was he secure from treason in the night; his wife bewraying his watchings; his dreames; his sighes to *Livia* her mother, and she to *Sejanus*: who drew *Drusus Neroes* brother, to his side with hope of the Empire, if he could remove his elder brother which was already downe and out of credit. *Drusus* was of a cruell and fell disposition; and besides the desire of rule, and hatred which usually reigneth betwixt brothers: he was incensed with envie to see *Agrippina* their mother readier bent to doe *Nero* good, then himselfe. And yet *Sejanus* did not so much tender *Drusus*, but that he projected in his minde some meanes of his ruine: knowing well that he was very fierce and headstrong; and therefore easily entrapped: In the end of this yeere two famous men died, *Asinius Agrippa*, rather of a renowned then ancient stocke, himselfe not degenerating from them; and *Q. Haterius* descended from Senators, whilest he lived greatly esteemed for eloquence: but monuments of his wits there are none; because he was esteemed rather for vehemencie and quicke delivery, then diligence and premeditation. And as others industries and labours are had in estimation after their daies; so *Haterius* fluent vaine was extinguished with him.

XIIII. The falling of an Amphitheatre, and the hurt which ensued: *Tiberius* reedifieth certaine houses; burnt in the hill *Calvus*.

VHen *M. Licinius*, and *L. Calphurnius* were Consuls a sudden and unlooked for mischance as soone ended as begun, might have been compared to the calamity of mighty wars. For an Amphitheatre begun at *Fidena*, one *Attilius* a freed man to set forth a play of fencers, as one having neither abundance of wealth, nor ambitious in winning favour of the people; but by niggardly sparing to make a base gaine in the workmens hire; did neither lay a sound foundation, nor fasten the timber frame erected upon the same. Thither flocked many, very desirous of such shewes, both men and women of all ages; partly by reason it was so neere unto them; and partly because that, during *Tiberius* Empire, they were barred from such pastimes; whereby the mischief was the greater. For the pile being great, and filled full with the throng of people, then falling a funder, whether it fell inwards or spread outwards, it carried downe headlong, and overwhelmed a huge multitude of people, intentive on the shew within, or gazing round about. Those which at the beginning were cruell to death by that hap, escaped languishing torment. They most of all were to pitied, which being bruised and broken, yet lived and in the day knew their wives and children by sight, and in the night by lamentable howling & crying. Those which were absent moved with this report, one lamented his brother, another his neere kinsmen, another his parents: yea they were afraid if their friends and cosens were out of the way, although for other occasion; doubting still they had beene there; and because it was not certainly knowne whom that violent ruine had beaten downe, the uncertaintie spread the feare the farther. As soone as they began to remove the frame, they flocked about the dead bodies, some kissing, some embracing them; and fell often at debate, in mistaking one for another, by reason they were disfigured, through some resemblance of countenance, and likeness of yeeres. Fifty thousand persons were slaine or maimed by that mischance: and a decree laid downe by the Senate, that from thence forward no man should exhibit the play of Fencers, who was lesse worth then * foure hundred thousand sesterces: nor that any Amphitheatre should be built but in a firme and sound

place : and *Attilius* was banished. After that fresh calamity, the houses of the chiefe Gentlemen were open; medicines and Physicians appointed for the bruised and mangled : and the Citizens, although heavy and sad, yet then were like their ancestors, which after great battels, did relieve and comfort the wounded with all care and liberalitie. That misfortune was scarce past, but the rage and violence of a fire consumed the City more then ever, and burnt the hill *Caelius*. That was reported to be an unlucky yeere, and that the Princes absence was begun in a dismall houre, as the manner of the people is, to draw casuall mishaps to blame, if *Cæsar* had not prevented them, by bestowing of money to every man according to his losse. For which liberality, thanks in Senate were given him by the noble men: and the people gave him a good report, because that without ambition or intreaty of friends, he had of his owne motion helped and called strangers unto him. And divers were of opinion, that the mount *Cælius* should after that be called mount *Augustus*, because that when all was waisted with fire round about; onely the image of *Tiberius* which was in *Iunius* a Senators house, remained untouched. The same happened in times past to *Claudia Quinta*; and therefore her image twice escaping violent rage of fires, our ancestors did consecrate in the Temple to the mother of the gods: an argument that the Claudians are accounted sacred, and received among the number of the gods: and therefore the ceremony ought to be augmented in the place, where the gods have shewne so great favour towards so mighty a Prince. It shall not be amisse to shew, how that hill was in old time called *Querquetulan*, because it was fertill and abundant with oakes: then *Cælius* of *Cæle Vibenna*, who being Captaine of the Etrurian nation, and succoured the Romans, obtained that seat of *Tarquinius Priscus*, or of some other King; for in that point writers doe vary. As for the rest, it is without controversie, that those great companies of souldiers did inhabit also the plaines, and places adjoyning to the place of assemblies: and thereupon that was called the *Thuscian street*, of the name of the strangers which came thither to inhabit. But as the benevolence of noble men, and largesse of the Prince, was a great comfort to their adversity; so the credit and authority of informers more and more increasing, wrought the overthrow of many. *Domitius Afer* accused *Varro Quinctilius*, a wealthy man and neere kinne to *Cæsar*, having before condemned *Claudia Pulchra* his mother: no man marrelling that being long a needy companion, and having wastfully consumed his late recompense, should arme himselfe to farther mischief. But that *P. Dolabella* was his fellow pick-thank issued of noble kinned, and allied to *Varus*, was a miracle, overthrowing by that action himselfe, and distained his nobilitie and blood. Yet the Lords of the Senate would not agree thereto, but thought it convenient to expect the Enterprours coming: which for the time was the onely shift against imminent mischiefs. But *Cæsar* having dedicated his temples in Campania, albeit he had given warning by edict, that no man would disturb his quietnes; & hindred the concourse of townsmen by placing of souldiers in the way: yet being weary of townes & colonies, and all places situated in the continent, withdrew himselfe to the Iland *Capreas*, three miles distant by sea from the farthest part of the promontory of *Surrentum*. I easily beleve that Iland did fit his humor, having neither haven nor commodities, & those conveyed in very little vessels: no man landing but the watch was presently acquainted with it. The temperature of the aire is in winter milde, by reason that a hill opposite unto it, beateth backe the force of the winds. In the summer season it is open to the western wind, and hath very pleasantly the sea on every side, and a goodly prospect towards the hill *Vesuvius*, until by fire the face of the place

place was changed. The report goeth that the Greeks did possesse that place, and that the *Theleboians* inhabited the Iland *Capreas*. But at that time *Tiberius* occupied the place, and seated himselfe in twelve countrey houses of pleasure: and how much more in former times he was earnestly bent upon the publike good, so much the more now secretly he abandoned himselfe to loose life and naughtie idleness. He was never more suspicious and credulous then now: a qualitie which *Sejanus* whilst he was abiding in the citie whetted on; and which did now more then ever disquiet him: and no longer using secret treachery to intrap *Agrippina* and *Nero*, put over them souldiers as it were to record in Chronicles what messages they received, who resorted to them, what they did either secretly or openly. Farther there were others suborned to counsell them, to fly to the armie of Germany; or when the place of assemblies was best replenished with people catch hold of *Augustus* image, and cry for succour of the people and Senate. And albeit, they gave no eare to those devises; yet they were laid to their charge, as though they had intended them.

XV. A treacherous practise of three Senators to intrap *Sabinus* a Gentleman of Rome, and *Agrippina*s friend: the death of Julia, *Augustus* neece.

Iunius Silvanus, and *Silius Nerva* being Consuls, the yeer had a foule beginning; by reason *Titus Sabinus* an honourable gentleman of Rome was drawn to prison, onely because he was a friend to *Germanicus*: never omitting to shew all tokens of dutie to his wife and his children; and of all *Germanicus* followers the onely man which visited them at her house, and accompanied them abroad: and therefore commended by the good, and disliked by the bad. Against him *Latinius Latarius*, *Porcius Cato*, *Petritius Rufus*, and *M. Opius*, who had beene sometimes Consuls, bent their malice, through a greedinesse of the Consulship; which they could not obtain but by *Sejanus* means; and *Sejanus* liking could not be purchased, but by some notable peece of villany. They had so conspired betwene them, that *Latarius*, who was somewhat allied to *Sabinus*, should lay the snare, and the rest be present as witnesses, and then begin the accusation. Hereupon *Latarius*, at the first began to cast out speeches at randon; then to extol his constancie, that he did not as others did, fawne in prosperitie, and shrinke from a house in adversity; with other honourable speech of *Germanicus*, and bewailing and pitying *Agrippina*s estate. And seeing *Sabinus* (as mens minds are soft and tender in calamitie) to powre downe teares and complaints; *Latarius* began more boldly to touch *Sejanus* cruelty, pride, & the hope he gaped after: not forbearing unreverent speeches against *Tiberius*. These speeches as though they had beene fauced with some what which durst not be avouched made shew of straight friendship betwene them: so far that *Sabinus* often times sought out *Latarius*, frequented his house, uttered his grifes unto him, as to a most trustie and faithfull friend. Those whom I spake of before, consulted of some meanes how these speeches might be heard of many, for the place of their two meeting must be private: and if they should stand behinde the doore they were afraide of being scene, or of a noise; or lest some suspition should grow by some chance. Betwene the rooffe and the ceiling, the three Senators (the place no lesse unseemely then the treason detestable) hid themselves, and laid their eares close to holes and chinkes to listen what was said. In the meane space *Latarius* having found *Sabinus* in the market place, as if he had some new matter to tell him, draweth him home, and into his chamber, beginneth to rip up things past and present, which

yeelded store of matter, and inforceth new occasions of feare, *Sabinus* doth as much, and more at large: the nature of griefes being such, that when we once enter into them hardly can we finde an end. This done, they began immediatly their accusation, and sent letters unto *Cæsar*, declaring the order of their owne lewd practise, and shamefull act. The citie was never in greater perplexitie and feare, then at that time: every man estranging himselfe even from his neereft kindred and acquaintance: they avoyded all meetings, conferences, eschewing as well known friends, as strangers: yea they have an eie to mute and senselesse things, and searched the roofes and wals of ther houses. But *Tiberius* requesting by writing that the solemnities of the new yeer might be celebrated in the Kalends of January; turned his talke to *Sabinus*, charging him that he had corrupted some of his freed men, to attempt somewhat against his person; and therefore boldly demandeth a revenge, which without delay was granted; and being condemnd, he was drawne and haled with his garment turned over his head, and almost throtled, cried aloud; "Is this the beginning of the new yeer? be these the sacrifices which are flaine in *Sejanus* honour?" which way soever he did cast his cies, or unto whom soever he directed his speech, "they all fled: the place of assemblies and the streets were empty, some came back and shewed themselves againe, as feard that they were seene to bee as feard. For what day was past free from executions; if betwixt the sacrifices and the vowes, at what time the custome was to abstaine from prophane speeches, fetters and cords are spoken of? And it was said that *Tiberius* could not through ignorance incurre this hatred; but contrary, that he sought to have it known, that without any let, new Magistrates might as well open the prisons, as Temples and Altars. After that he sent letters of thanksgiving, that they had punished an enemy to the State; adding with all, that he stood in feare of his life, and was jealous of his enemies practises, though naming none: yet no man doubted but he aimed at *Nero* and *Agrippina*. If I had not purposed to declare the occurrents of the yeers as they fell out, I could willingly in this place have set down before his time, what ends *Latinus*, and *Opisius*, and the other contrivers of that lewd practise had come unto; not onely after that *C. Cæsar* was come to the Empire, but whilest *Tiberius* was yet alive: who, as he would not suffer the ministers of his wickednesse to be punished by others; so oftentimes having had of their service his fill, and fresh offered to continue the trade; hee sought all means to extinguish the old, as persons odious unto him. But what punishment these, and others of the like conditions endured, shall be declared in his place and time. Then *Asinius Gallus* whose children *Agrippina* was ant unto, thought it convenient that *Tiberius* should utter unto the Senators of whom he stood in fear, and suffered them to be removed. But it was thought *Tiberius* of all his vertues was fond of none so much as of his dissimulation; and therefore disliked much that he should be urged to disclofe that which he went about to conceale. But *Sejanus*, tempered the matter; not for any love he bare *Gallus*; but because he would have the Princes lingering delays come to light, knowing well that he was slow in his deliberations: but if he had once set them abroach, that his bad speeches were joynd with cruell deeds. The same time *Iulia* died, whom *Augustus* having convicted of adultery, had exiled into the Iland *Timerus*, not farre from the Apulian shores: where she endured twenty yeers exile, sustained by *Augusta*; whose manner was by secret practises to subvert her sons in law when they were in prosperitie, and openly shew them pity when they were in misery.

XVI. The Frisians rebell against the Romans: Agrippina, Germanicus daughter is married to C. Domitius.

THE same yeere the Frisians beyond Rhene forooke their obedience, rather through out covetousnesse, then impatience of living under our subjection. *Drusus* in regard of their small abilitie, had imposed a small tribute on them which was a certaine of oxe hides for the warre, no man respecting what strength or largenesse they were of: untill *Oleennius* a Captaine of a principall ensigne and governor of the Frisians made choice of the skins of the beast called *Urus*, and of that bignes. As that had bene a heavy burden for other nations; so the Germans could least of all others endure it: whose woods although full of huge savage beasts; yet at their houses have but small heardes, first therefore they delivered these oxen; then their possessions; and lastly the bodies of their wives and children into bondage. From hence grew their griefe and complaints: and seeing that no man relieved them, they sought a redresse by warre; layd hands on such souldiers as received the tribute, and hanged them up. *Oleennius* escaped the fury of the enemy by flying to a Castle called *Flevus*, strengthened with no small power of citizens & confederates, which held the coasts of the Ocean in subjection. Which when *L. Apronius* Proprietor of low Germany, understood, he sent for the chieft ensignes of the legions of higher Germany, and aids aswell of the horsemen as footmen, & brought both the armies over Rhene, into the Frisian land: the rebels forsaking the siege of the castle to defend their own. Then *Apronius* maketh caueys and banks, & strong bridges over the next arme of the sea, for the huge army to passe over. And in the mean time having found some foords, commandeth the wing of the Caninates, & such footmen as served under us, to hemme in the enemy behind. Who ranged into battell aray to fight, drove back the confederates, and legionary horsemen sent as an aide. After that were sent three cohorts lightly armed; then two more: and a little after a strong company of horsemen. Strength sufficient, if they had charged courageously together; but coming some after some, and dropping in by companies; they neither gave courage to the fearefull, but carried away themselves with like feare, ran all away for company. The residue of the aides he committed unto *Cethegus Labeo*, Lieutenant of the fift legion: who perceiving things to go doubtfull on his side, sent to demand more ayde of the legions. The fift legion courageously issuing first out with a hot skirmish, put the enemy to flight; received into them the wounded and wearied cohorts. The Roman Captaine sought neither to revenge, nor bury the dead bodies; although there had bene slaine many Tribunes, Prefects, and divers Centurions of marke and fame. It was after known by the fugitives, that the fight held on untill the next day, and that there were nine hundred Romanes slaine in a wood called *Baduhenna*: and that another power of foure hundred which had taken the village of *Cruptorix*, (which sometime had received pay of the Romanes) fearing treason, slew one another. This got the Frisians great renown among the Germanes: *Tiberius* dissembling his losses, lest he should commit the charge to some other: and the Senate, being possessed with domestick feare, regarded not much whether the remote part of the Empire went dishonourably to wrack or not: but stricken (as I have said) into a feare, sought a remedy by flattery. And albeit they had propounded many matters to deliberate on, yet they decreed, that all laide aside, there should bee two Altars erected, one unto Clemency, and another unto Friendship: and that *Cæsars* and *Sejanus* images should bee set

about them: and intreated most earnestly they would vouchsafe them so much favour as that they might see him. Nevertheless they went neither to Rome, nor any place thereabout, but thought it sufficient if they went out of the Iland, and bee seene in Campania next adjoyning unto it. Thither resorted the Lords of the Senate, Gentlemen, and many of the common people, heaue for *Sejanus*; unto whom access was hardliet obtained; and that with great crouching, by approving and participating his designments. It well appeared his arrogancy grew greater, seeing he blushed not to see such open, base, and filthy servilitie used. For at Rome it was usuall matter for men to walke the streets, and by reason the city is great, no man knew anothers businesse: but there some lying night and day in the field, some on the sea shore, without any difference, endured either the pride of the porters, or had favour as pleased them, untill that that was also denied them. Then they returned to citie with discontented feare, and *Cesar* not having vouchsafed either to looke, or speake unto them: and some, whose unfortunate friendship with *Sejanus* portended their imminent death, were glad in an ill time. *Tiberius* having publicly given his neece *Agrippina Germanicus* daughter unto *Cn. Domitius*: commanded that the marriage should be solemnized in the city. He made choise of *Domitius*, as well for the antiquity of his stocke, as neerenesse in blood to the *Cesars*: for *Octavia* was his grandmother, and by her, *Augustus* his unkle.

THE



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The death of Julia. Tiberius cruelty increaseth his practises to make away Nero, and Agrippina.*



When *Rubellius* and *Fufius*, both of them surnamed *Geminus*, were Consuls, *Julia Augusta* died, being very aged, and of the noble family of the *Claudians*; and besides, into the house of the *Livians* and *Julians* adopted. She was first married unto *Tiberius Nero*, and had children by him: who being driven out of his countrey in the warre of *Perusium*, and a peace after confirmed betwixt *Sext. Pompeius* and the Triumviri returned to the Citie again. After that *Augustus* ravished with her beautie (whether against her will or not it is uncertain) took her from her husband, shewing himselfe so lustful of her, that not giving her time to be delivered of her first husbands childe, brought her great as she was to his own house. After that she had no issue, but being united to *Augustus* bloud, by the marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, they had nephewes children common to them both. Her behaviour was, according to the carriage of ancient times, yet more courteous than women of former ages could well allow; an intolerable mother, a tractable wife, with the subtiltie of her husband, and dissimulation of her sonne, well medled and composed. Her funerals were not sumptuous, her testament long voided. She was praised in a funerall oration before the Rostra by *C. Caesar* her nephewes sonne, who not long after succeeded in soveraigntie. But *Tiberius* omitting no part of his pleasures, excused by letters his absence from his mothers obsequies, as though he had been hindred by important affaires; and under colour of modesty, cut off many honourable ceremonies, which the Lords of the Senate had decreed should be done in memory of her; and especially that no divine ceremony should be ordained for her, because said he such was her will. And in part of the same letters he found fault with such as went about to win womens favour and good will: therein covertly carping the Consul *Fufius*, a man highly in *Augustus* grace, and his crafts-matter in winning of womens favour, a jesting mate, and oft accustomed bitterly to scoffe at *Tiberius*; a thing which great potentates kept long in memory. But now *Tiberius* began to grow worse and worse, and his rule tyrannous: for whilst his mother lived, there was some refuge left, because he had a long time accustomed to shew himselfe dutifull unto her; and *Sejanus* durst not crosse her: but then having as it were the bridle in their own hands, they brake loose at once, and letters were sent against *Agrippina* and *Nero*; which the common people judged to have been sent before, but kept backe by *Augusta*: for not long after her death they were read in Senate, containing bitter and sharp words; yet never objected that he had borne armes, or stirred any rebellion against him, but only unnatural loves to young men, and incontinent life. But against his daughter in law he durst not object so much, but onely her arrogant and proud speeches, and obstinate minde. The Senators were stricken into a feare and silence, untill some few whose hopes depended

pended not an honest meanes, but made publike calamities occasion of private benefites, demanded that the matter might be referred to voices: *Cotta Messalinus* shewing himself most forward with a cruell sentence. But the other chiefe Gentlemen, and especially the magistrates were afraid; for although *Tiberius* had angrily inveighed against them, yet he left other things in doubt. There was in the Senate one *Iunius Rusticus*, chosen by *Cesar* to set down the acts of the Senators (and therefore was thought to know best his intent and purpose) who either by fatall destiny (for before he had given no token of his constancie) or subtil device, forgetting imminent perils, whilest he seareth uncertainties, thrusteth himself among the Consuls yet wavering and doubting what to do; and adviseth them not to put the matter to deliberation, saying: that greatest matters might be turned in a moment: and that some space of time ought to be given the old man to repent himselfe: and the people withall carrying *Agrippinae* and *Neroes* images with them, environ the Senate house, and wishing all prosperous fortune to *Cesar*, cry, that those letters were false; and that the overthrow of the Princes house was intended against the Princes will: and so there was nothing concluded that day in prejudice of the parties. Certaine counterfeit judgements were spread abroad against *Sejanus* under the Consuls names. Some men secretly, and therefore the more faulcily practising their wits as their fancy led them, which yeelded *Sejanus* farther matter of calumnyation, and kindled his anger: saying that the Princes displeasure was nothing regarded: that the commons were at jarre with the Senate: that new orations and new decrees of Senate were heard and read now adaies. What remaineth but to take armes in hand? and chooseth those of their Captains and Emperours, whose images they had followed for their ensignes? Whereupon *Cesar* reiterating his injurious speeches against his nephew and daughter in law, and rebuking the people by edict, complained to the Senate, that the imperiall majesty had been openly deluded and scorned through the fraud of one of the Senators: and therefore required that the hearing of the cause might be reserved wholly unto himself. They consulted no farther on the matter, but condemned the parties, but not to death, because they were forbidden: and protested they were ready to execute revenge, if the Prince had not hindred them*.

* There wanteth very much of the story in this place, which hath perished through time.

II. The death of *Sejanus*; of his friends and children.
One saitheth himselfe to be *Drusus Germanicus* sonne.

“VV Hether it be a more lamentable case to be accused for breach of friendship, or to accuse his friend, I cannot well judge: * no mans crueltie or clemencie will I try: * but free and bearing myselfe on my owne conscience, I will prevent danger. I beseech you, that you would not have me in remembrance rather in mourning and sad then joyfull manner and cheerefull, reckoning me in the number of those which have escaped publike calamities by an honorable end. Then talking now with one, now another, as by chance the were neere unto him, he spent a great part of the day either in entertaining, or taking leave of them. And having many about him, which noted how resolute and assured he was in countenance, no man dreaming any such matter, with a sword which he had hidden under his garments, slew himselfe: and after he was dead, *Cesar* used no such reprochfull

prochfull and injurious speeches, nor objected any such hainous matter against him, as he did against *Blasius*. After this, *P. Vitellius*, and *Pomponius Secundus* cause was heard. *Vitellius* they accused, that he had offered the coffers of the publicke treasury wherof he had charge, and the money which was in them forouldiers pay, to stirrers up of new broiles. The other *Considius*, who had been once Pretor, accused for having had great friendship and amitie with *Vellius Gallus*, who after that *Sejanus* was punished, fled to *Pomponius* gardens, as to a place of safe refuge: both of them in their distresse having no other comfort left but the constancy of their brothers; who became baile for their life. Shortly after, *Vitellius* through many delays betwixt hope and feare wearied out, under colour of using it in his studie, asking for a penknife, lightly prickt a veine, and ended his life with grieve and anguish of minde. But *Pomponius* being a Gentleman of agallant carriage and excellent wit, bearing adverse fortune patiently, overlived *Tiberius*. Then was there ordertaken though the peoples anger were mitigated, and many others pacified with the former punishment, that the rest of *Sejanus* children should be punished. Whereupon they were carried to prison, the son having some feeling of the danger which hung over his head; but the daughter was so simple, that she often asked, whither they would leade her, and for what? that she would dono more so; and that it was sufficient to chastise her with the rodde like a childe. The Writers of that time affirme, that because it was never heard of before, that a virgin should be put to death according to the custome of the Triumviri: that she was deflowred by the executioner immediately before the haltar was put about her neck: and both strangled. The bodies of these young and tender children were cast into the Gemonies, a place where condemned persons were thrown downe headlong. About the same time, Asia and Achaia were put into a very great fright, though it continued not long, with a rumour that *Drusus Germanicus* sonne, had been seene first in the Ilands Cyclades, and afterward in the continent. But it was a young man of like age, whom some of *Cesars* freed men by a subtil practise followed, bearing men in hand, they knew it to be him. Such as knew him not, were drawne by the fame of his name, and the Greeks especially, prone to all new and strange wonders. It was reported he had escaped out of prison and fled to his fathers army, some both saying and beleeving withall that he would invade Egypt or Syria. Youth flocked already to him very cheerefully; many signes of love publicly shewne him, feeding themselves with the present vaine hope of what might happen. When as *Poppaeus Sabinus* had tydings thereof, who was then occupied in the affairs of Macedonia, had charge also over Achaia: he therefore, were the report true or false, to prevent all things, hastening over the Toronian and Thermean cut, and passing by Euboea, an Iland of the Aegean sea, and Piræum a coast of Attique, the Corinthian shore, and the straits of Isthmus; by another sea came to Nicopolis, a colonie of the Romans: and there after a carefull examination understandeth who hee should be. Hee said he was *M. Silanus* sonne, and that many of his followers having forsaken him, hee embarked himselfe, as though he meant to travell into Italy. These things he signified to *Tiberius* by writing: neither have we found any thing more of the beginning or end of this matter. Towards the end of the yeer a quarell of certaine Consuls burst forth, which had beene a long time a breeding. For *Triolitus* regarding what enemies he procured, and well practised at the barre, under hand carped *Regulus*, as being carelesse in oppressing *Sejanus* ministers. *Regulus*, unless greatly provoked, of a temperate and

and cold humour, did not onely answer and quail his fellow Consull, but brought him within the compasse of conspiracie, and to be examined for it. And although many of the Lords of the Senate intreated them that they would surcease their quarell, which would grow to their owne overthrow; yet they continued their grudge and menaces one against the other, untill they went both out of office.

The end of the fifth Booke.

THE

THE SIXTH BOOKE
OF THE ANNALES OF
CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. of Tiberius lascivious life. Pursuing of Livia and Sejanus.
Cotta accused.



N. Domitius and *Camillus Scribonianus* entered the Consulship, when *Cæsar* having passed the straight betwixt Capreas and Surrentum, coasted Campania, doubtfull whether he should enter into the Citie or not: perhaps because he had otherwise resolved in his mind, though making shew he would come: oftentimes approaching neere the Citie, and to the gardens along Tiber, and returning back againe to the rocks, and desarts of the Sea, to cover the shame of his lascivious life: which so unstayedly hee wallowed in, that, as the manner of the Kings was, hee defiled and abused noble mens sons under age; and not onely the wellfavoured and comliest, but the modest and well nurtured, and whose modest behaviour shewed the stock from whence they grew, served him for provocation of filth. Then first of all were those unknown words of Sellaries and Spintries found out of the filthinesse of the place, and sundry sorts of sufferance of abuse. Some of his slaves had charge to seek them out, and bring them to him; alluring such by gifts as shewed themselves willing and readie; and threatening such as refused: and if either their neer friends or parents went about to detain them, and used violence, and carried them away perforce; and exercised their wils on them as if they had beene captives. But at Rome in the beginning of the yeer severe judgements were given against *Livia*, and against her images, and other memories consecrated in her honour; as if her lewdnesse had then first come to light, and had not bin already punished. The *Scipios* gave their opinion that *Sejanus* goods should be taken from the publike treasury, and put in the Princes private cofers. The *Silanians* and *Cassians* were of the same opinion, and urged it with the same termes, or not greatly changed: when on the sudden and unlooked for, *Togonius Gallus* among those Noblemen, thrusting himselfe forward, being but of base and low calling, had the hearing given him, as a matter to laugh at: for he desired the Prince to choose twentie by lot out of a certaine number of Senators, to garde and defend his person with weapon, as oft as he went to the Senate. He beleevved peradventure that *Tiberius* had meant good earnest when he required that one of the Consuls might conduct and aide him from Caprea to the Citie. *Tiberius* neverthelesse accustomed sometimes to interlace serious matters with skoffes, thanked the Lords for their good will: yet demanded whom hee might omit? or whom he might choose? whether alwaies the same, or sometimes others? in their stead? such as had borne office, or young men? private persons or Magistrates? what a goodly sight it would be to see them take a sword in hand at the entrance of the Counsell house? neither would he make such account of his life, if hee were to maintaine it by armes. This he answered to *Togonius*, tempering his words, and perswaded no farther the disallowing of that opinion. But he rebuked *Iunius Gallio* very bitterly, who propounded that the souldiers of the garde after their

service was ended, might have a roome in the fortieth ranke of seats: and asked him as it had been in their presence, "What he had to do with souldiers? for whom it was not lawfull either to receive commandement or gift, but of the Emperour: "or whether he had found out that which *Augustus* of famous memory could not provide for? It was rather a matter of discord and sedition, fought for by one of *Sejanus* followers, to stirre up rude mindes under title of honour to corrupt the cu-
 "some of service. This was the reward which *Gallio* received for his artificiall flatterie; and anon after was driven out of the Councell-houfe, and then out of Italy. And because it was objected that he could easily indure exile, having made choyce of the famous and noble Ile of Lesbos, he was recalled to the City, and kept in the Magistrates houses. In the same letters, to the greet contentment of the Lords of the Senate, *Cæsar* touched *Señius Pagonianus*, who had been sometimes Pretor, to the quick: audacious, malignant, and prying into all mens secrets; beloved of *Sejanus*, and by him employed to lay snares to intrap *C. Cæsar*: which being once laid open, all the hatred a long time hatched against him burst forth; and sentence of death decreed against him, if he had not promised to bewray the complices. But when *Arcus* had accused *Latinius Latarius* hated both alike, it was a most gratefull spectacle unto all. *Latarius*, as I have rehearsed before, was the principall agent of circumventing *Titius Sabinus*; and then the first that received punishment for it. Among these accusations *Haterius Agrippa* setteth upon the Consuls of the last year, asking them why they are now so still, and cease from the accusations begunne the one against the other? it was feare, and guilt of conscience which made them friends; but the Lords of the Senate would not so put up that which they had heard. *Regulus* said, he would stay for a time of revenge, and that he would prosecute the matter before the Prince. *Tris* answered, that emulation and envie betwixt colleagues were better forgotten, and injurious words, if any had passed. *Agrippa* urging on still, *Sanquinus Maximus* one of the Consuls, desired the Senators that they would not increase the Emperours cares by hunting after matter of dislike, and that he himselfe was able to redresse these things; and so *Regulus* life was saved, and *Tris*es ruine deferred. *Haterius* was so much the more odious, because that withered and unlusty with sleepe, or lascivious watchings, and through his dull drouishe disposition, nothing fearing the Prince, though cruell, even in his brothell houses, and loosest lasciviousnes, dreamt of nothing but how to subvert the nobilitie. After that, *Cotta Messalinus*, the author of every cruell sentence, and hatred of old, as soone as occasion was offered, was accused to have uttered certain things against *Cæsar*: and among others, that he was in his secret parts both man and woman, and after a banquet on the birth day of *Augusta* among the Priests, he tearmed that a Novendinnall supper, or belonging to a mortuary: and that repining at *M. Lepidus*, and *L. Aruntius* power and authoritie, having a suite depending against them for a money matter, he should say, that them the Senate would defend, but me my little *Tiberius* will support. The chiefe of the citie convicted him without any delay, and pursuing him eagerly, he appealed to the Emperour. And not long after letters were brought from *Tiberius*, in which in manner of a defence, calling to minde the beginning of friendship between him and *Cotta*, and his many good turnes and services, requested that words might not be hardly wrested, and that the simplicity of table talk might not be imputed to him as a crime. The beginning of these letters of *Cæsar* was worth the noting, which was this: "What I shall write unto you Lords
 "of the Senat, or how I shal write, & what I shal not write at all, at this time the gods
 "and the goddeses confound me worse then I feel & know my selfe daily to perish,
 "if I know. So farre his villanous demeanour turned to his own scourge and punishment.

ment. And therefore that most deepe wise man did not say without cause, that if Tyrants miuds were layd open, a man should see them torne and rent in sunder: for as the body is rent with stripes; so the mind is tormented with cruelty, wanton affections, and evill counsels. For neither his great fortune, nor solitary places could defend *Tiberius*, but that himselfe confessed the torments and punishment which lay adden in his breast. Then the Senators having received authority to determine *Cæcilianus* according to their wills, who had uttered many things against *Cotta*: their judgement was that he should receive the same punishment, that *Aruseius* and *Sanquinus* had, who were *L. Aruntius* accusers. Then the which nothing ever appenened more honourable to *Cotta*: who being indeed of noble birth, but through riot needy, and infamous for his vices, in honourable punishment is made equall to *Aruntius*, a man of sincere and honest life.

II. Terentius defences, why he should not be punished like unto others of Sejanus friends,

*Q*uintus Servus after this, and *Minutius Thermus* were brought in. *Servus* had beene Pretor, and *Germanicus* companion. *Minutius* a Gentleman, and who in *Sejanus* friendship had carried himselfe modestly, and therefore both the more pitied. But *Tiberius* contrariwise blaming them as principall agents, commanded *C. Cæsius* an old Senator, to report unto the Senators what he had written unto him: whereupon *Cæsius* undertooke the accusation: a miserable calamitie of those times that the chiefeest of the Senators, some openly, some secretly played the part of base promoters: and further, no man able to know the stranger from the kinsman, nor friends from such as he never saw before, nor things lately committed from such as through continuance of time were almost forgotten. They were accused of all they had spoken wheresoever, either in the place of assemblies, or at their table; every man making hast to prevent, and be before another in carrying of tales; some of them to save themselves, other some infected as it were with a disease gotten by conversing with others. But *Minutius* and *Servus* were condemned, and their goods given the accusers. *Iulius Africanus* borne at Santon a towne in Gallia, and *Seius Quadratus* were drawne into the like mishap; but the occasion why, I have not found. I am not ignorant that the dangers and punishment of many have beene omitted by writers being over-weared with multitude; or fearing lest those things should be tedious to the Readers, which seemed superfluous and lamentable to themselves in rehearsing. There have come many things to our eares worthy the knowledge: although other have not once touched them. For at the selfe-same time that the rest colourably seemed to shake of the amitie they had with *Sejanus*, *M. Terentius* a Gentleman of Rome, although arraigned for his labour, durst avouch it, beginning his speech for his defence before the Lords of the Senate in this manner. It would be peradventure lesse behoovefull for my estate to acknowledge: then deny the crime I am charged with: but hap what hap may, I will confesse that I have beene *Sejanus* friend, and that I desired so to be; and that after I had obtained his friendship I was glad of it. I had seene him joynt Officer with my father in the government of the Prætorian Cohort, and not long after in managing of citie affaires and matters of war. His kinsmen and allies were advanced to honor: as every man was inward with *Sejanus*; so was he graced by *Cæsar*. And contrariwise, such as were not in his favour, lived in feare and distressed with povertie. Neither doe I alleage any man for an example of this: all of us who were not privy to his last attempts, with the danger of my onely estate I will defend. Not *Seja-*

“*nus* the *Vulfinienfis*; but a part of the *Claudian* and *Julian* family, which by alliance he had entred into; thy sonne in law *Cesar*, thy companion in the Consulship, and him who tooke upon him thy charge of administering the common-wealth, wee did reverence and honour. It is not our parts to judge of him whom thou doest exalt above the rest, nor for what considerations. To thee the highest judgment of things the gods have given; and unto us the glory of obedience is left. Wee looke unto those things which wee see before our eyes; whom thou doest enrich; whom thou doest advance to honours; who have greatest power of hurting or helping; which *Sejanus* to have had no man will deny. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he goe about any secret drift, it is not lawfull to sound, and dangerous: neither shalt thou in the end reach unto them. Thinke not onely (Lords of the Senate) of *Sejanus* last day but of sixteen yeeres; in which we did likewise fawne upon, and court *Satrius* and *Pomponius*; and to be knowne unto his freed men and partners, was reckoned as a high favour. What then? Shall this defence be generall, and not distinguished, but a confusion made of times past, and his latter actions? No: but let it, by just bounds and termes be divided. Let the treasons against the common-wealth; the intentions of murdering the Emperour be punished: but as for the friendship, duties, pleasures and good turnes, the same end shall discharge and quit thee (O *Cesar*) and us. The constancy of his Oration, one being found to deliver that, which they all thought in their minds: prevailed so much, that his accusers by ripping up their old faults, were punished, either with exile, or death.

III. The cause of making a Prefect at Rome: an examen of some of the Sibyls bookes.

After that *Tiberius* sent letters against *Sext. Vestilius* sometime Pretor, and welbeloved of *Drusus* his brother, & chosen to be one of his gard. The cause of displeasure against *Vestilius*, was either because he had composed certaine writings against *Cesars* uncleane life, or falsly fathered upon him, gave credit to the reporters: & thereupon being banished the princes court & familiarity, having first gone about with his owne old feeble hand to slay himselfe bound up his veines: and in the meane space having intreated the princes favour, and received a rigorous answer, did at last open them. Then at once were accused of treason, *Annius Pollio*, *Appius Silanus*, *Scaurus Mamercus*, *Sabinus Calvisius*, and *Vienianus* also brought in with his father for company, all of them well descended and some in authority. The Lords of the Senate quaked for feare; for how many was there which was not either allied, or a friend of one of those noble men? But *Calvus* Tribune of the citie cohort, and then an informer delivered *Appius* and *Calvisius* from danger. *Cesar* deferred *Pollios*, *Vicinianus* and *Scaurus* cause, that himselfe might have the hearing of it with the Senators: having given out already tokens of heavy displeasure against *Scaurus*. Not so much as women but were partakers of danger: and if not attained for attempting to aspire to the Empire; yet brought in question for their teares: and *Vitia* an old woman *Fusius Geminus* mother was put to death, because she bewailed the death of her sonne. These things were done in Senate. And where the Prince was, the like was practised: *Vesularius Atticus*, and *Iulus Marinus* two of his most familiar friends, which accompanied him to Rhodes, and at Capreas never departed from him, were put to death. *Vesularius* was the messenger to and fro when the treacherie was wrought against *Libo*. *Marinus* was of *Sejanus* counsell when he put *Curtius Atticus* to death; most men being glad to see them taken in the snare they laid

laid for others. About the same time *L. Piso* high Priest died a naturall death, which was a rare matter in those times in a man of so great nobility: He never of himselfe propounded any matter which smelled of flattery or base mindes; and if he were forced thereto, he used great moderation in doing it. His father, as I have already said, had been Censor; he lived to the age of fourescore, having in Thrace deserved the triumphall ornaments. But his greatest credit rose in that, that being newly created Provost of the Citie, he did governe exceeding moderately all the time of his continuall rule: irkesome through unwontedness of obedience. For in times past when the Kings or Consuls went out of the City, lest she should be left without government, there was one chosen for a time able to give every man right, and provide for all sudden accidents. And it is said that *Dentres Romulus*, had the same charge given him by *Romulus*; after that, *Numa Marcus* by *Tullus Hostilius*, and *Spurius Lucretius* by *Tarquinius Superbus*. Then that the Consuls had the charge of committing this office; and a shadow of it continueth unto this day; as oft as the Latine feastes are solemnized, one is appointed over the rest to exercise the room of a Consul. But *Augustus* in the time of civill warres, made *Cilnius Meceenas* a Gentleman, Provost over Rome and all Italy. Then being Lord and master of the Empire by reason of the greatnes of the people, and slow aide which the Laws afforded; he chose out one, of such as had bene Consuls, to bridle the bond-men and such Citizens as through audaciousnesse would grow troublesome, unlesse they stood in awe. The first that received that authoritie; but kept it but a while, was *Messalla Corvinus*, as unable to discharge it. Then *Taurus Statilius*, although he were very good, went through it with great commendation. After that *Piso* was well liked for the space of twenty yeeres, and by order of the Senate honoured with publike funerals. It was afterward propounded before the Lords of the Senat by *Quintilianus* Tribune of the people, concerning the Sibyls book, which *Caninius Gallus* one of the fiftene, requested might be received among other books of the same propheteffe; & demanded it might be so established by decree of Senate: which being given by common consent, *Cesar* sent letters somewhat reprehending the Tribune, as ignorant of the old custome by reason of his youth; and upbraided *Gallus* that being old and practised in the science and ceremonies; neverthelesse had demanded the opinion of the Senators not fully assembled; the author being uncertain and before the Colledge had yielded their judgement; neither as the custome was, the verses having bene read and weighed by the Masters. Withall he advertised them, because that many vaine things were published under the name of famous men, that *Augustus* had under penaltie set down a day, within which such books should be brought to the city-Pretor; and that it was not lawfull for any to have them in their private possession. The like decree was established by our Predecessours also; and after that the Capitoll was burnt in the civill warre, their verses were sought in Samum, in Ilium, Erythrum, through Africk also, Sicily, and the Colonies of Italy, whether they were one or many: the businesse being committed to the Priests to distinguish the true Prophecies from the false, as well as might be by the judgement of man. And then also the book was referred to the examination of the fiftene. When the same men were Consuls, through a dearth of corne and other provisions, they grew almost to a commotion: and many things for many dayes together were in the Theatre more licenciously demanded with greater eagernesse, then the manner had bene to demand things of the Emperours. Whereat being moved, he blamed the Magistrates and Senators that they had not by publike authoritie bridled the insolencie of the people: and added withall, how far greater quantity of corne he had caused to bee brought

brought then *Augustus*, and out of what Provinces. Whereupon a decree of Senate was enacted, to reſtrain the people, according to the ancient ſeveritie, the Conſuls being no leſſe forward to publiſh it: his owne ſilence in the cauſe was not conſtrued to be a point of civilitie as he looked it ſhould be, but was imputed to his pride. In the end of that yeer, *Geminus*, *Celſus*, *Pompeius*, Gentlemen of Rome, were put to death for conſpiracies; among which, *Geminus* through prodigalitie and looſeneſſe of life, and a friend to *Sejanus*, was a man of nothing. And *Julius Celſus* a Tribune, looſing the chaine he was bound with at large; then winding it about and forcing himſelfe a contrary way, brake his owne neck. But *Rubrius Fabatus* deſpairing of the Romane affairs, and fleeing to the Parthians, and brought back late from the ſtraights of Sicily by a Centurion, had keepers appointed him, not able to alleadge any probable cauſes of his long voyages; yet he eſcaped unpuniſhed, rather through forgetfulneſſe then clemency.

IIII. Tiberius marrieth his neeces. *Uſurers accuſed, and the inconvenience that enſued.*

SEr. *Galba*, and *L. Sulla* being Conſuls, *Tiberius* having a long time bethought himſelfe what husbands he ſhould provide his Neeces, whoſe age now came on, made choiſe of *L. Caſſius*, and *M. Vinicius*. *Vinicius* kindred came out of a ſmall towne, himſelfe borne at Calles: but his father and grandfather were Conſuls: the reſt of his kindred were Gentlemen: he was of a milde diſpoſition, and very eloquent. *L. Caſſius* was deſcended of one of the common people at Rome, but ancient and noble, and brought up under the ſevere diſcipline of his father; and often commended for his courteſie then induſtrie. To him he giveth *Drufilla*, to *Vinicius* *Iulia*, both Germanicus children: and writeth to the Senate touching that matter, with a light commendation of the young men. Then having yeelded ſome cauſes of his abſence, but very extravagant, came to matters of greater moment, and the diſpleaſures and diſlikes he had incurred for the Common-wealth: and requeſted that *Macro* the Provost, and ſome few of the Tribunes and Centurions, might aſſeſſe him as he came to the Senate, enter into the Curia with him. And albeit the Senate made a decree very generall, without preſcribing any number, or qualitie of perſons, he was ſo farre from coming to any private Counſell, that he never came ſo much as to the Citie, coaſting about it, and for the moſt part in by-ways, and ſtill avoiding his Countrey as much as he could. In the meane ſeaſon, a great rabble of informers roſe up againſt ſuch Uſurers as took more for conſideration of their money, then they might by the law made by *Cæſar* the Dictator concerning the manner of lending, and holding poſſeſſion within Italy; long neglected heretofore, becauſe the publique good is leſſe ſet by, then private commoditie. Uſurie in very deepe hath bene an old diſeaſe in the Citie, and often a cauſe of ſeditious and diſcords; and for that cauſe hath been reſtrained in ancient and leſſe corrupt times. For firſt it was ordained by the law of the twelve tables, that no man ſhould take above one in the hundred; when as before that time, it was as pleaſed the monied men. After that, by a Tribunitian law it was brought unto halfe one in the hundred; and in the end Uſury was wholly forbidden: and many lawes made by the people to cut off all fraude; which often reſpreſſed, revived againe by ſtrange ſlights and deviſes. But then *Gracchus* being Pretor, unto whom the examining of that queſtion fell, conſtrained by the multitude of ſuch as were indangered thereby; propounded the matter before the Lords of the Senate: who

daunted

daunted thereat (for there was not one of them free from that fault) craved reſpite of the prince: he granted them a yeere and fixe moneths: within which time, every man according to the preſcript of law ſhould ſettle his eſtate, and make up his domeſtickall accompts. Hereupon every man calling in his debts, on a ſudden enſued a great want and ſcarcity of money; and by reaſon ſo many were condemned, and their goods ſold, all the money ready coyned went either to the Princes, or publique treaſurie. Beſides this, the Senate ordaind that two parts of the uſury money ſhould be beſtowed upon lands in Italy: but the creditours diſliked that, and urged the payment of the whole, as a matter impaying the credit of the parties convented, to goe from their word. So at the firſt there was great running hither and thither, and entreaties: then they flockd about the Pretors tribunall: and thoſe things which were found for a remedy, as ſelling and buying of ſuch mens goods; turned to a contrary effect, becauſe the Uſurers had hoorded up all their money to buy land. And becauſe the multitude of ſellers, was cauſe that the value of lands was rated at a very low and vile price: how much the more a man was indebted, the lother he was to ſell. And many were thruſt out of all they had: and the decay of their wealth carried their credit and fame headlong after, untill *Tiberius* releevd them, by putting a * hundred million ſeſterces in banke, and lent it for three yeeres ſpace without conſideration or intereſt, if the debtor could give ſecurity to the people of Rome in lands double the value of the debt. By that meanes their credit was reſtored, and other particular creditors by little and little found: neither was the buying of lands practiſed according to the forme of the decree of Senate, hotly at the beginning purſued, as almoſt all ſuch things are; but in the end careleſly neglected.

V. C. *Cæſar* marrieth *Claudia*, daughter unto *M. Silanus*: what prooffe *Tiberius* made of *Traſullus* ſkill.

After that, the old feares returne againe, *Conſidius Proculus* being accuſed of treaſon: who celebrating his birth day not doubting any thing, was drawn to the Curia, and at the ſame time condemned and put to death; and his ſiſter *Sancia* baniſhed, *P. Pomponius* being accuſer, who being of an unquiet and buſie diſpoſition, pretended he had done this and that, and all to currie favour with the Prince, thereby to ſteed his brother *Pomponius Secundus*, who was then in danger. Baniſhment is likewiſe decreed againſt *Pompeia Macrina*, whoſe husband and father in law, the one of Argos, and the other of Lacedæmon; men of mark and reputation among the Achæans, *Cæſar* had already afflied and brought to ruine. Her father likewiſe, a famous gentleman of Rome, and her brother, who had been Pretor, ſeeing that their condemnation was at hand, flew themſelves. It was imputed unto them for a fault, that *Gn. Magnus* made reckoning as of a ſpeciall friend of *Theophanes Mytilenæus* their great grandfather: and that the Grecian flattery after his death, had given him divine honour. After theſe *Sext. Marius* the richeſt man of all Spaine, was accuſed to have committed inceſt with his daughter, and was caſt headlong from the Tarpeian rock. And little doubt but his exceeding wealth was his overthrow: for although his gold mines were confiscated, yet *Tiberius* releevd them for himſelfe, and by much blood ſhedding growing more bloody, commanded all thoſe to be executed which were in priſon, and accuſed of confederacy with *Sejanus*. The butchery was great in all ſexes, and all ages, noblemen, common people, ſcattered here and there, or gathered into heapes. Neither was it lawfull for neere kinfmen

* Above
781250. pound.

kinmen and friends to be present, to bewaile their case; nor yet to come oft to see them: but there were watches and spies on every side, intente to pricke what lamentation every man made, which followed the purrified bodies, until they were throwen into the river of Tiber. And if any of them were found floating on the water, or driven to the banks, no man durst burne them nor touch them: all familiarfocie and intercourse of humanitie was lost throw feare and violence; and how much crueltie increased; so far pity was banished. About the same time *C. Caesar* bearing his Grandfather company from Capreas, tooke to wife *Claudia* daughter of *M. Silanus*, cloaking his cruell and bloody disposition with a counterfeit modesty; not once uttering so much as a word of the condemning of his mother; the banishing of his brothers: but whatsoever minde *Tiberius* had put on, of the like habite hee shewed himselfe; and not much differing from him in words. Whereupon a witty saying of the Orator *Pasienus* was commonly applied to him: That there was never better servant then he, nor worser master. I will not omit *Tiberius* prophesie of *Sergius Galba* then Consull: who having sent for him, and sounded him of set purpose with divers speeches, at last in Greck uttered unto him this sentence. And thou *Galba* at sometime shalt taste of the Empire. Signifying that his rule should be long a coming, and dure but a short time; as learning that skill of the Chaldeans Art; for attaining of which he had idle time at Rhodes, and *Trafallus* for his master, whose cunning he tried by this meanes. As oft as he would consult with them touching any matter, he went up to the highest part of the house with onely one freed man in his company, unlearned, but of a strong and able bodie, whom he caused to leade him the way over hard and difficult passages and broken rockes (for his house did hang over the rockes) whose cunning and Art *Tiberius* did purpose to trie: that in returning backe, if any jealousie of vanitie or treachery had entered into his minde, he would throw him headlong in the Sea which was under him, lest he should bewray his secrets. *Trafallus* being then brought into those rockes, and moving *Tiberius* which moved him many questions, and foretelling him very skilfully future things, and that he should be Emperour; *Tiberius* asked him farther, whether he had found out the houre of his owne nativitie; and what should happen to himselfe that yeere, and that same day. Who having considered the aspects of the Starres, and measured their distances, began first to doubt; and then to feare: and the more he viewed them; so more and more he was surprisid with admiration and feare; and at last cried out, that he was ready to fall into most doubtfull and imminent danger. Then *Tiberius* embracing him rejoiced that he had foreseene his owne dangers, and promised he should escape them; and taking those things which he had said for Oracles, held him afterward among the number of his dearest friends. When I heare of these and the like things, I can give no certaine judgement, whether the affairs of mortall men are governed by fate and immutable necessitie; or have their course and change by chance and fortune. For thou shalt finde, that as well those which were accounted wise in ancient times, as such as were imitators of their sect, doe varie and disagree therein: some doe resolutely beleeve that the gods have no care of mans beginning or ending; no, not of man at all. VVhereof it proceedeth that the vertuous are tossed and afflicted with so many miseries; and the vicious and bad triumph with so great prosperities. Contrarily others are of opinion, that fate and destiny may well stand with the course of our actions, yet nothing at all depend of the Planets and Starres, but proceed from a connexion of naturall causes as from their beginning. And these grant withall, that we have free choise and election what course of life to follow: which being

once

chosen, we are guided after, by a certaine order of causes unto our end. Neither doe they esteeme those things to be good or bad which the vulgar sort doe so call; for many which seeme to be oppressed with misery, are happy if they endure their adversitie with constancie: and many which flow in wealth, in most miserable estate, if they use their prosperitie unadvisedly. And yet of some it may be said, that their destinies are known at their birth: and if they fall out otherwise then hath been foretold, it proceedeth of the ignorance of the deceitfull reporter; and so the art is discredited, whose cleare and evident proofes, former and present times have tried: for by the sonne of the same *Trafallus*, *Neroes* Empire was foretold, as in convenient time it shall be declared, because I will not now digresse from my purpose.

V I. *Tiberius* crueltie against *Drusus*: the death of *Agrippina* and others: *Julia*, daughter unto *Drusus*, is married unto *Rubellius Blandus*.

THE same men being Consuls, *Asinius Gallus* died; and no man doubting, but for want of taking sustenance; but whether willingly or of necessitie, that is uncertaine. And *Cesar* being asked, whether he would suffer him to bee buried, was not ashamed to permit it; and further to accuse chance and fortune, that had taken away the criminall person before he had beene openly convinced; as though that in three yeeres space there wanted time of proceeding to judgement against an old Consull, and father of so many Consuls. After that, *Drusus* was made away, having sustained himselfe the space of nine dayes with a miserable food, by eating the flocks of his bed. Some have written, that *Macro* had order sent him, that if *Sejanus* should attempt to take arms, the young man should bee fetcht out of prison (for he was kept in the Palace) and made Captaine over the people; but because it was incontinently rumored that *Cesar* would be reconciled to his daughter in law, and nephew, he shewed that he desired rather cruelty, then to: sorry for that he had done: yea and having inveighed against him after he was dead, objected he was loose of life, hurtfull and dangerous to his, and evilly affected toward the Common-wealth: and withall commanded all that to be recited, which he had caused day by day to be put in writing, both of his words and deeds: a thing so cruell that nothing more, that he should so many yeeres have appointed spies to observe his countenance, his lamentation, yea private murmurings: and scarce credible, that the grandfather could endure to heare it, reade it, and publish it, were it not that the letters of *Actius* the Centurion, and *Didymus* his Freed-men did declare the names of such bondslaves, which had either stricken *Drusus*, or put him in a fright, as he went out of his chamber. Yea the Centurion added his owne words, full of cruelty against *Drusus*, as a matter worthy praise; and *Drusus* answer againe as he fainted and drew towards his end: in which, taunting as though he had been distracted of his wits, wished *Tiberius* all ill luck and mistfortune: and then seeing himselfe past all hope of life, cursed him most deadly, praying the gods, that as he had slaine his daughter in law, his brothers son, and his nephewes, and filled all his house with blood; so they would revenge and punish him for an example to his name, his stock, predecessours, and posterity. The Lords of the Senate were troubled with these speeches, making shew of detesting them, but they were stricken into a feare and admiration; that hee, who had been so cunning and crafty heretofore in cloaking his lewdnesse, should now become so confident, that (as though the wals were throwne downe) he durst shew that his nephew beaten by his Centurion and stricken by his slaves,

slaves should ask for meat in vaine to save his life. This griefe was scarce gone, but the next news were of *Agrippina*, whom I think since *Sejanus* death untill now lived with hope; and seeing that crueltie was no whit remitted, willingly ended her life; unlesse that famished for want of sustenance, it was falsely given out shee died that death of her selfe. For *Tiberius* layd grievous crimes to her charge, accusing her of uncleannesse of life; and that *Asinius Gallus* was the adulterer; and that seeing him dead, shee loathed any longer to live. But in very deed *Agrippina* not contented with reason, and greedy of rule, taking upon her cares fit rather for men then women, had shaken off all vices incident to her own sexe. Shee died the selfe same day that two yeers before *Sejanus* died; which *Cæsar* thought worthy of record, and vaunted that shee had neither been strangled, nor throwne headlong from the Gemonies. For this hee had thanks given him by the Senate; and order taken that the fiftene Kalends of November, which was the day they both died, some gift should be offered up to *Jupiter*. Not long after *Cocceius Nerva*, who was continually at the Princes elbow: a man very expert in divine and humane lawes, being in perfect disposition of body, resolved with himselfe to die: which when *Tiberius* understood, he went to visit him, fate by him, and inquired the causes of his intention, and untreated him; confessing at last that it would be a burden to his conscience, and a discredit, if the chiefest of his friends should without cause of death shew himselfe weary of life. But *Nerva* disliking his speech, would take no more sustenance. Those which best knew his meaning, gave out, that deeply seeing into what calamities the common-wealth was like to fall into, moved with anger and feare, whilest his credit was untouched, and his person unattempted, would end his life with that honest death. *Agrippina*es ruine driven with it (which is scarce credible) *Plancia*es destruction. Shee had been once wife unto *Gn. Piso*, and rejoyced openly at *Germanicus* death; and when *Piso* was slaine, shee was saved no lesse by *Augustus* prayers, then ill will the bare *Agrippina*. As soone as hatred and favour failed, right took place; and being accused of known crimes, with her owne hand received rather late then undeserved punishment. Among other griefes in a dolefull and sad city, this was one; that *Lelia*, daughter unto *Drusus*, once *Nero*es wife, married againe into *Rubellius Blandus* family, whose grandfather *Tiberius* was a gentleman of Rome most men knew. In the end of this yeer, the death of *Aelius Lamia* was celebrated with funerals proper to a Censor, who at last being discharged of the Government of Syria which hee had shew onely, was made governour of the city. Hee was descended of a noble stock, and was a strong lively old man, and the government of the province denied him, augmented his worth. Then *Flaccus Pomponius* Propretor of Syria being dead, *Cæsar*es letters were recited, in which hee complained, that if there were any notable man, and fit to rule an armie, he refused the charge: and therefore hee was forced through that necessitie to intreat such as had been Consuls, to take upon them the rule of the provinces; forgetting that *Arruntius* had been hindered ten yeers from going into Spaine. The same yeer died *M. Lepidus*, of whose moderation and wisdom I have spoken sufficient in other books; and his nobility needeth no farther proofe: for the *Aemilian* family hath brought forth many good citizens; and although some of them have been of corrupt manners, yet lived in good and honourable estate.

VII. *Aphænix scene in Egypt: how Getulicus escaped Tiberius cruelty.*

VHen *Paullus Fabius*, and *L. Vitellius* were Consuls, after many ages were past the birde Phoenix came into Egypt, and ministred matter to the most learned of the countrey, and also Greekes, of disputing many things concerning that miracle. Of which it seemeth good unto mee to lay downe such things as they agree of, and many which rest doubtfull, yet notwithstanding worthy the knowledge. That that birde is consecrated to the sunne, and that it differeth in the beake, and variet of feathers from other birds; all do accord which have described her shape and forme; but of the number of her yeeres there are divers reports. The common opinion is, that she liveth five hundred yeeres; some affirme that shee liveth a thousand foure hundred threescore and one yeere. And the first of these kindes of birds flew to the citie called Heliopolis, with a great multitude of other birds with her, wondering at her new shape in *Sesostris* time, after that in *Amasis* and *Ptolemæus* reigne, which of the Macedonians was the third king of Egypt. But antiquity is darke and obscure. Betwixt *Ptolemæus* reigne and *Tiberius* there were scarce two hundred and fifty yeeres. Whereupon some thought that this was no true Phoenix, nor come from the land of Arabia, and that it had nothing of that which antiquity hath attributed and confirmed to bein that kind. For when they have ended the number of their yeeres, and that their end approacheth, they build their nest in their countrey, and in it cast seed of generation, of which a young one doth rise, whose first care is, being growne to ripenessse, to bury the old. And that not at all adventures, but having taken up a certaine weight of the stone Murrha, and tried the carrying of it along journey: when she perceiveth her selfe able to indure and carry such a burthen, and to accomplish the voyage, she lifteth up her fathers body, and carrieth it to the Altar of the Sunne, and there doeth burne and sacrifice it. These things are uncertain, and fabulously augmented. But that that bird is seene sometimes in Egypt is not doubted. But murders continuing at Rome, *Pomponius Labeo*, whom as I have said, was governor of *Mæsia*, by cutting his veins, let out with his blood his life, and *Paxæa* his wife followed his example. The feare they had of dying by the hand of the hangman, did cause them thus so readily to kill themselves: because such as were condemned, lost their good and wanted buriall: but their bodies which flew themselves were buried, and their testaments good; which was the gaine and reward of making haist. But *Cæsar* sent letters unto the Senate, declaring it to be a custome among the ancients, that when they intended to breake of friendship with any, they forbade them their house, and that then the friendship ended, which hee had done to *Labeo*: who blamed forevill government in the province, and other matters, covered his fault by accusing others, vainly putting his wife in feare, who was out of danger though not without fault. After this *Mamercus Scaurus* was accused againe, of a noble house, and a great Orator; yet of reprochfull life. His friendship had with *Sejanus* did nothing hurt him, but the hatred which *Macro* bare him was his overthrow, who practised the same arts that *Sejanus* had done, but more covertly. The accusation was an argument of a Tragedy written by *Scaurus* containing verses which might be wrested against *Tiberius*. But *Servilius* and *Cornelius* his accusers objected against him, that hee had abused his body with *Livia*, and offered magicall sacrifices. *Scaurus* as a thing worthy of the ancient *Aemilian* family, preventeth his condemnation

tion by killing himselfe at the encouragement of his wife *Sexittia*; who was both an encourager and partaker of his death. Notwithstanding if occasion were given he punished the accusers likewise: as *Servilius* and *Cornelius* famous by the death of *Sejanus*, because they had taken money of *Varius Ligur*, to desist from the accusation, were perpetually banished into certaine Ilands. And *Abudus Ruso* once *Edile*, whilst he went about to procure danger unto *Lentulus Gericulus*, under whom hee had charge of a Legion, because he had purposed to marry his daughter to *Sejanus* sonne, was condemned without accusation, and driven out of the City. *Gericulus* at that time had charge over the Legions of higher Germany, and had gotten exceeding love for his clemency and small severity; and of the next Army well beloved by meanes of *L. Apronius* his father in law. Whereupon the constant report was that he was to be sold as to write unto *Cæsar*: That the affinity between him and *Sejanus* was begun, not of his owne motion and desire, but thorow *Tiberius* counsell, and that as well he as *Tiberius* might be deceived; and that the selfe same error could not be to him alone dangerlesse, and to others utter ruine; for his part that his loyalty was trusty and sure, and so would continue; if snares had not bene layd to introp him; that he would accept of a successor in his charge no otherwise then of a messenger of death; and therefore that they should strike as it were an agreement, by which the Prince should be master of the rest, and that he would keepe and hold the Province. Although these things seeme very strange; yet were they beleev'd, because he alone of all *Sejanus* lieftmen escaped without danger, and continued in great favour and grace. The reason why, was, because *Tiberius* thought with himselfe being now aged and hated of all men, that his estate would rather continue by fame, then force.

VIII. *The Parthians complained on Artabanus; in whose roome Tiberius placeth Phrahares: Phraasmanes gaineth a battell against Orodes King of Armenia.*

VHen *C. Cælius*, and *M. Servilius* were Consuls, certaine Noblemen of Parthia came to Rome, without the privy of *Artabanus* their King. He for feare of *Germanicus* was faithfull to the Romans, and just towards his subjects: but after *Germanicus* death became proud toward us, and cruell towards his Subjects; confident by reason of prosperous success in warres had against his borderers, and despising *Tiberius* as weak, old, and unfit for warres, and greedy also of Armenia, into which after the death of King *Artaxia*, he put his eldest sonne *Artaces* as governour, injuring them with contumelious speeches. Then sent to demand the treasury and riches left in Syria and Cilicia by *Vonones*, and withall, vaine-gloriously bragged and threatned that he would invade and conquer the ancient bounds and limits of the Persians and Macedonians, and recover all that had bene possessed by *Cyrus* and *Alexander*. But the principall author and perswader of sending secret messengers to Rome was *Sinnaces*, a man both noble and wealthy; and next unto him *Abdus* an Eunuch: a matter of no disgrace among the Barbarians, nor barre to credit and authority. These two drawing the principall noble men of the countrey to them, because they could have none of the bloud of the *Artacides* to be their King, most of them being slaine by *Artabanus*, or under yeeres, demanded *Phrabates* King *Phrabates* sonne which was at Rome: for, said they, there needed no more but the name and consent of *Cæsar*, and one of the bloud of *Artaces* to shew himselfe upon the bankes of *Euphrates*. That did *Cæsar* desire and provided

provided for him accordingly with preparations and necessities to seate him in his fathers kingdome, holding still his secret drift by entertaining forraign countries, by sleights and policy in warre, to keepe all quiet at home. In the meane space *Artabanus* understanding what was wrought against him, at the first was slow, and lingered for feare; then boyling with desire of revenge. For barbarous people count temporising and delay, as base and servile; and to goe through presently their designements, a royall point. Yet profit took place, and thereupon sending for *Abdus* under colour of amity to a banquet, gave him a lingering poison, and entertained *Sinnaces* with fained friendship and gifts, and busied him in other employments. But *Phrabates* arrived in Syria, and laying aside the Romanes manner of living, in which he had bene so many yeeres nourished, giving himselfe to the Parthian usage and unable to brook it, fell sick, and died. Yet *Tiberius* held on his determination, and chose *Tiridates* one of the same stock, and an enemy to *Artabanus*; and incited *Mithridates Hiberius* to recover Armenia, and reconciled him to his brother *Phraasmanes*, which then possessed that Empire; and maketh *L. Vitellius* generall over all this preparation of the Orient. I am not ignorant what a sinister report ranne of him in the city, and with what infamous matters he was touched: yet in governing of the Provinces he demeaned himselfe according to the vertue of ancient times. But returning from thence, through the fear of *Cæsar*, & familiarity of *Claudius* being changed into a base and abject servility, became a patterne unto posterity of shamefull flattery; and so his first vertues gave place to his latter vices; and the vertuous acts of his youth, his infamous old age defaced. Of these petty Kings *Mithridates* first induced *Phraasmanes* to further his endeavours by policy and force: and corrupters were found which for great sums of gold enticed *Asaces* ministers to kill him; and thorow *Hiberius* great power they entered Armenia, and took the City *Artaxata*. When *Artabanus* under stood of these dealings, he furnished his sonne *Orodes* with things necessary to revenge, and giveth him the strength of the Parthians; and dispatcheth others to levy hired fouldiers to give him aide. On the other side, *Phraasmanes* drew the Albanians and Sarmates to his party, whose Princes (called *Sceptrichi*) having received gifts on both sides according to the manner of their Country, gave aide to both sides. But the *Hiberi* being masters of the passages, thrust suddenly the Samatian forces on the Armenians by the Caspian way. But those which came from the Parthians were easily driven backe, because the enemy had shut up all the other passages, one excepted; which was betwixt the sea and the hills of the Albani, which could not serve their purpose, by reason it was summer: for the Easterne winds fill up the shallow foordes and the shore: the South winter wind keepe backe the flood, and leaves the shallow shore bare and naked. In the meane space *Phraasmanes* having reinforced his strength, challengeth *Orodes* to fight, being destitute of allies and unfurnished of men: and if he refused or shifted off he braved him under his nose; and hard by his campe wasted his stover; and often compassed him about as if he had besieged him: till the Parthians not accustomed to endure such bravadoes, came about their King, and demanded battell. Their strength consisted in their horse-men, and *Phraasmanes* in foot-men and horse-men both. For the *Hiberi* and Albani inhabiting mountainous places, were better accustomed to hardnes and travell. They say they came out of *Theffalia* at such times as *Iafon*, after he had carried away *Medea* and begotten children by her, returned to the empty court of *Aeeta* and uninhabited *Colchos*: and report many wonders of his name, and the Oracle of *Phryxus*. Neither dare any man sacrifice a Ram, because it is thought that *Phryxus* was carried on one, be it, this Ram were a beast or a ship

which bare those arms. The battell pitched in order on both sides: the *Parthians* put his souldiers in minde of the Empire of the East; and the renowned nobility of the *Arfacides*: and contrariwise debated *Hiberius* as ignoble, and flying to mercenary souldiers. *Pharasmales* on the other side, declared that he was never yet subject to the Parthian rule; and that the greater their enterprize, the greater their glory if they were the conquerers: or if they turned their backs, the greater dishonour, infamy and danger: withall he shewed him his owne host dreadfull, and the Medians painted with gold: on his owne side, men; on the other, booty. Among the *Sarmates* the Capitaine onely was not heard; but every man encouraged each other not to abide the shot, but prevent the enemy rushing in courageously to handy stroakes. Divers manners of fights were there seene in that battell: when as the Parthian accustomed with like skill to fly and follow, severed his squadrons to make way for the arrowes to light. The *Sarmates* laying aside their bowes which speeded them but a short time, ran into the enemy with their swords and lances; sometimes were in the front, sometimes in their backs, as if they had been horse-men: sometimes close ranked with their bodies and weapons thrust back, and bare downe the enemy, and were borne downe againe. The *Albini* also and *Hiberi* behaved themselves in like manner; now catching hold of the enemy; now thrusting him downe; the battell growing doubtfull on their side, the horsemen and footmen pretending in and giving them many wounds. Whilest this fight thus continued, *Pharasmales* and *Orodes*, each encouraging his stoutest, or comforting those which began to stagger and waver, being in sight the one of the other: and therefore knowing the one the other, with a great clamour, armour and horses ran one against another; but more fiercely *Pharasmales*: for he wounded his enemy through the head peece: yet being carried away with his horse, was not able to redouble his stroke; the stoutest of his followers presently defending the wounded. Neverthelesse, a rumour, falsely beleeved that he was slaine, appalled the Parthians, and caused them to yeeld the victory.

IX. *Sinnaces rebelleth against Artabanus King of Parthia.*
Tiridates is put in his place.

Immediately after, *Artabanus* gathering together his whole strength out of all parts of his Countrey, pursueth a revenge on the *Hiberi*, saying that they had the better of the battell, through skilfulnesse of place; and therefore would never desist; if *Vitellius* by assembling the Legions, had not given out that he meant to invade *Mesopotamia*, thereby striking him into a feare of the *Romane* forces. Then *Artabanus* leaving *Armenia*, left all good fortune behinde him, *Vitellius* enticing his subjects to abandon their King, as one in peace cruell, and in warres unfortunate. *Sinnaces* whom as I have said, was utter enemy to *Artabanus*, had secret conference with *Abdagases* his father and others: and by continuall overthrowes and losses which they suffered, drew easily unto him such as were most ready to revolt: they also repairing to him by little and little, which were subject unto *Artabanus* rather for feare then good will: very glad they had found Captaines to follow, took courage unto them. By this time *Artabanus* had no refuge left, save onely a few strangers for the guard of his person, banished from their owne dwellings: a people not understanding what is good, nor having a care of that which is nought: but hired for gaine, are instruments of what mischief soever. Accompanied with these, he hasteneth his flight to the frontiers of his Countrey, joyning upon *Scythia*; hoping for

for succour, because he was allied to the *Hircanians* and *Carmanians*; having a hope likewise, that the *Parthians* alwaies indifferently bent to the absent, and unconstant and fickle to the present, would in the meane space change their minde, and receive him againe. But *Vitellius* seeing *Artabanus* fled, and the mindes of the countrey people enclined to a new King, encouraging *Tiridates* to take that which was offered; conducted the legions and allies to the banks of *Euphrates*. And as they were sacrificing and offering according unto the custome of the *Romans*, *Suovetaurilia*, a Boare, Ramme and Bull, the others made ready a Horse, to pacifie the god of that river: the inhabitants of *Euphrates* brought word, that without any great raine, of his owne accord the river was exceedingly risen; and withall that the whire froth made circles as it were the forme of a diademe, which was a presage of a prosperous passage: but some did interpret them more subtilly, gathering thereby that the beginnings of their attempts should be lucky; but have small continuance, because that there was more credit to be given to those things which were portended by the earth and heaven; and that the quality and nature of rivers was unconstant, and running away; and would no sooner shew a token of good luck, but take it away againe: but having made a bridge with vessels, and passed over his armie, the first which came to the campe was *Ornospades*, with many thousand of horsemen. This *Ornospades* once banished man, brought no small ayd to *Tiberius* when he made warre in *Dalmatia*, and for that service was made citizen of *Rome*. After this, entering anew into the kings favour, he made him ruler of all that countrey which lieth betwene two famous rivers, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*; and therefore tooke the name of *Mesopotamia*. Not long after *Sinnaces* augmented his forces, and *Abdagases* the stay of that side joyned unto them the wealth and preparation of the king, *Vitellius* thinking it enough only to have shewne the *Romans* power, advertised *Tiridates* and the chiefe noble men of *Parthia*, but especially *Tiridates*, that he would alwaies have in minde as things worth remembrance, *Phrabates* his grandfather, *Cesar* his bringing up; the nobles to be dutifull to their King; shew reverence unto us; and every man to have a care of his credit, and fidelitie: and from thence turned back with the legions into *Syria*. I have joyned together things done in two summers, to recreate the mind of the reader, wearied with domesticall adversities. But *Tiberius* although three yeeres were past and gone since the death of *Sejanus*, could not be appealed neither by time, nor prayers, nor by punishing his fill (things wont to mollifie other men) but would punish uncertaine and stale things gone and past, as manifest offences, and newly committed. Whereupon *Fulcinus Trio* fearing this dealing, and not able to endure the accusers which were now bruining matter against him; in his last will and Testament composed many cruell things against *Macro*, and certaine of the chiefe of *Cesars* freedmen: objecting against himselfe, that he had a feeble and unconstant head through age, and that by his continuall absence he differed little from a banished man. Which things being concealed by *Trios* heires, *Tiberius* commanded publicly to be recited; shewing thereby patience in another mans liberty, and small regard of his owne infamy: or else because he was ignorant of *Sejanus* villanies untill that time; and content that all things how ever they were spoken, should come to light, and have the truth knowne (which flattery often hindreth) rather to his owne shame and reproach then not at all. The same time *Gratius Maritianus* a Senator, being accused of treason by *C. Gracchus*, slew himselfe. *Tatius Gracianus* likewise who had been Pretor, and condemned to die by the same law. Not unlike deaths unto the former had *Trebellienus Rufus*, and *Sext. Paconianus*: for *Trebellienus* killed himselfe with

his owne hands; and *Paconianus* was frangled in prison, because he had there composed certaine verses against the Prince. *Tiberius* did not receive these newes, divided from Italy by sea, or by messengers a far off, as he was wont to doe; but neere unto the City where he might the same day or the next morning, answer the Senators letters, as it were looking upon the blood of the Citizens, flowing in their houses; and the hand of the executioners. In the end of this yeer, *Poppaeus Sabinus* gave up his ghost; a man of meane parentage, yet through the favour of Princes had bene Confull and triumphed: and governour over the greatest Provinces foure and twenty yeeres: not for any excellent skill that was in him, yet able to discharge the office, and no more.

X. *The Clites rebell against Archelaus King of Cappadocia. Tiridates King of Parthia his conquests. Artabanus being recalled, driveth out Tiridates.*

Quintus Plautius, and Sent. Papinius were Consuls the yeere following. This yeere the people of Rome were so inured to calamities, that they thought it not hard dealing that *L. Ariscus* and others were put to death: but they were greatly dismayed to see *Vibulenus Agrippa* a gentleman of Rome immediately after the accusers had ended their oration in the Curia, to draw poison out of his bosome, and drinke it: and being fallen downe and yeelding up his ghost, yet to be in all hast carried by the sergeants to prison, & already halfe dead, incontinently to be frangled. No not *Tigranes*, who had been sometimes King of Armenia, but then arraigned, could with his royall title escape the same punishment that was inflicted upon bare citizens. *C. Galba* sometime Confull, and two of the *Blasi* died of a voluntary death. *Galba*; because by *Cesar* hard & rigorous letters he was forbidden to cast lots for the government of the Province: the *Blasi*, because that the priesthoods which were destined unto their house whilest it was in prosperity, and now being decayed deferred, and bestowed upon others when they were vacant; which they construed as a prognosticate of death, and therefore did execute it themselves. *Aemilia Lepida*, whom as I have before told you, was married unto young *Drusus*, charging him with divers crimes, although she were most lewd and wicked, yet escaped scotfree and unpunished whilest *Lepidus* her father lived; but afterwards shee was convinced of manifest adultery with one of her bondmen: and therefore laying aside all defence, ended her life with her owne hands. At the same time the Clites, being a people of Capadocia, and subject to *Archelaus*, because they were according unto our custome constrained to bring in the value of their yearly revenues, and pay tributes, fled to the hill *Taurus*; and there by the strong site of the place defended themselves against the weake forces of their King, untill *M. Trebellius* Lieutenant sent thither by *Vitellius* Lord president of Syria, with foure thousand legionaries, and certaine choise ayde fouldiers, had compassed and environed with engins and workstwo hills which the Barbarians possessed, the lesser called *Cadra*, the other *Davara*; killing those which durst issue out with the sword, and forcing the rest to yeeld forwant of water. But *Tiridates* ayded by the Parthians, recovered *Nicephorium*, and *Anthemusias*, and othertownes which lying in Macedonia, yet are called by Greeke names: and *Halum*, and *Artemita*, townes of Parthia; striving who had best cause to rejoyce. *Artabanus* being odious unto them for his cruelty, as brought up among the Scythians: and hoping that *Tiridates* would be courteous and gentle, as trained up and fashioned after the Roman be-

haviour

haviour and education. The Seleucians used great flattery: their city is very strong, environed with wals, and not corrupted with barbarous fashions, but retained such as their founder *Seleucus* gave them. Their manner is to choose three hundred either for wealth or wisdom and of them make as it were a Senate. The people kept their part in government, and as long as they agree among themselves, the Parthian they feare not, but falling to jarres and contentions, whilest each side calleth for aide against his adversary: he who is called by one of the parties, mastereth both. That happned of late under *Artabanus*, who for his owne commodity, made the people subject to the chiefe Gentlemen: where the people beare the sway, that government approacheth neereft unto libertie: but the rule of a few is neereft unto the will and pleasure of a King. When *Tiridates* was come among them, they honoured him with all those inventions that Kings had bene honoured with in times past, and with such as latter ages have more abundantly invented. Withall, they powred out many reprochfull speeches against *Artabanus*; confessing that he was indeede descended of the *Arscides* on the mothers side, but in other points nothing futable. *Tiridates* committed the government of the Seleucians to the discretion of the people; then consulting what day he should be crowned, received *Phrabates* and *Hierares* letters, which had two the strongest governments of that kingdome, intreating him that he would defer it for some small time, which to satisfie those great men he yeelded unto. In the meane time he went to Ctesiphon the royall seat of the kingdome, and perceiving that they prolonged from one day to another, *Sewena* with the good liking of many, in a great assembly crowned *Tiridates*, according to the custome of the Countrey. And if he had out of hand entred farther within the countrey, and other Nations, those lingerers had been put out of all doubt, and all yeelded obedience unto one. But staying too long at the Cistle whither *Artabanus* had conveyed his money and his Concubines, he gave him time to leape back from their agreements. For if *Phrabates* and *Hiero* and some others came not at the day appointed to the coronation, some for feare, some for malice and hate to *Abdageses*, who then possessed the new King, and was the onely favourite in Court, turned to *Artabanus*, whom they found in Hyrcania meanly and ill-favouredly attired, killing with his bow food for his sustenance. At the first hee was greatly afraid, as though some traine had bene laide to intrap him, but when they had given him their credit and faith, that their coming was to restore him to his kingdome, his spirits were revived, and inquireth what sudden change had happned. Then *Hiero* finding fault with *Tiridates* said, that he was but a childe, and that the *Arscides* governed not the kingdome, but the vaine name and title was in an unwarlike person, softly and tenderly brought up among strangers, and that *Abdageses* was he which ruled and commanded all. *Artabanus* knowing of old what it was to rule, perceived well that those which found fallhood in friendship, dissembled not: and therefore making no longer delay then he could assemble the Scythians forces and aide, set forth with all speed to prevent the wills of his enemies, and keepe his friends from slipping back; yea, he did not so much as wipe off the filth and uncleannesse of his body, because he would move the common people to compassion. There was no subtilty, no prayer, nor ought else forgotten, whereby he might draw the doubtfull to him, or confirme and assure the willing and ready. He came then with a strong power unto the places adjoyning to Seleucia, when as *Tiridates* stricken into a feare with the fame and person of *Artabanus*, was distracted in minde whether he should encounter him, or draw out the war by lingering. Such as desired battell and quick worke, perswaded that the enemy was dispersed, and fragled, and wearied with their long journey, and scarce resolved to obey *Artabanus* being so lately Trai-

tors and enemies unto him, though now his support and aid. But *Abdageses* thought it best to returne into Mesopotamia, that having the river as a defence between him and the enemy, calling in the meane space the Armenians and Elymaei: and the residue which were behind them, and their forces augmented with allies and friends & such as the Roman captain would fend them, then to trie the chance of war. That advise prevailed because of *Abdageses* authority & *Tiridates* rawnesse in matters of danger: yet that retiring diffred not so much from fleeing: the Arabians first lead in the dance the rest drawing to their houses or to *Ariabannus* Campe; untill *Tiridates* returning back into Syria with a small company, acquitted them all of the infamy of treason.

XI. *Tiberius repaireth, with his owne charges, that part of Rome which was burnt: how Macro wonne C. Cæsars favour.*

THe same year Rome was greatly damnified with fire, that part of the Cirque which joyned unto the hill Aventine and all the buildings also upon Aventine being wasted and consumed to ashes, which losse *Cæsar* converted to his glory by giving the owners out of his purse as much as the losse of their houses & buildings came unto, which munificence amounted * to a hundred millions of sesterces; which was so much the more acceptable to the people, because that in his owne buildings he was alwaies moderate. Neither ever had he made above two publike buildings the one a Temple to *Augustus*, the other the stage of *Pompeius* Theatre: which being finished, yet he left undedicated, either as despising ambition or by reason of his age. And to make an estimat of every mans losse *Tiberius* foure sons in law were chosen, *Gn. Domitius*, *Cassius Longinus*, *M. Vinicius* and *Rubellius Blandus*, and *P. Petronius* joyned with them by the Consuls appointment: every man inventing new honours for the Prince, as his wit and capacity would give him leave: which whether he accepted or refused was uncertain by reason of his death which followed shortly after. For not long after the last Consuls in *Tiberius* reigne, *G. Accerontius* and *C. Pontius* began their charge, when *Macro*s power and credit was grown over great, which he increased more and more with *C. Cæsar*, although before he was never negligent there in. And after *Claudius* death (who as I have already said was married unto that *Cæsar*) he egged and perswaded his owne wife *Ennia* to allure and draw the young man to her love, & intangle him under promise of marriage, as one which would do whatso ever to lay hold on the sovereignty. For although he were of a turbulent and hot spirit: notwithstanding he had as it were sucked out of his grandfathers bosome the art of cunning dissembling. *Tiberius* knew this very well, and therefore was not resolved which of his nephews he should first make successor to the state. Of which the one was *Drusus* sonne nearest unto him in blood, and whom he tendered best; but was under age: and *Germanicus* son the other, in the flower of his youth, and of the people well beloved; and therefore the worse liked of his grandfather. And bethinking himselfe of *Claudius*, seeing he was of staid and settled yeers, and desirous of learning; yet altered his deliberation because he was weake and slender witted. And yet if he should look for a successor out of his house, he feared lest the memory of *Augustus*, and the name of *Cæsars* should be had in reproch and contempt. For he was not so carefull to win the favour of the time present, as ambitious of fame with posterity. But in the end irresolute what to conclude and growing weak and feeble of body, that which was out of the compasse of his power he committed to fate: having notwithstanding cast out speeches, whereby he might be perceived that he had care of things to come; for not going about the bush, but in plain termes he upbraided *Macro* that he turned his back to the West, and looked alwaies toward the sun-rising. And hapning by chance that some speech was had of *L. Sulla*, whom *C. Cæsar*

* About
781:50.
pound.

far was wont to laugh and scoffe at, *Tiberius* foretold him that he should have all his vices, but not so much as one of his virtues. And withall embracing the youngest of his nephews with weeping teares, the other looking on with an envious eie, said unto him; thou shalt kill him, and another shall kill thee. Yet his sickness growing more and more upon him, he omitted not any part of his wanton and uncleane lusts, counterfeiting and putting on a face of courage even in his weaknesse and infirmities: & was wont to mocke at the Physicians skill, that after 30. yeeres space they wanted other mens counsell to know what is good or hurtfull for their owne bodies. In the meane time, at Rome there were certaine seeds of murders sowne, to take effect after *Tiberius* death. *Laelius Balbus* had accused *Acutia*, sometimes the wife of *P. Vitellius*, of treason, who being condemned; when a recompense was to be ordained for the accuser, *Iunius Osio* Tribune of the people withstood it; whereupon they two growing to a jarre, *Osio* was sent into banishment. Then *Albucilla* infamous for loose love with many, and once wife to *Satrius Secundus*, the detector of the conspiracie, was accused of certaine impieties and enchantments against the prince: and with her as confederates, her adulterers *Gn. Domitius*, *Vibius Marfus*, *L. Arruntius*. Of *Domitius* nobility I have spoken before. *Marfus* also was an ancient stock, and ended with many good virtues. But the memoriall sent unto the Senate doth testify that *Macro* had charge of the examination of the witnesses, and torture of the bondmen: and the Emperors letters gave no token of suspition against them, either because he was weake & feeble; or because he knew nothing of it: and many crimes were forged by *Macro* knowne enemy to *Arruntius*. *Domitius* therefore premeditating his defence; and *Marfus* as though he had purposed to pine away by famishing himselfe, prolonged their lives. *Arruntius* whilest his friends perswaded him not to be hasty, but linger on; answereth them; That the same things do not becommen all men alike: & that for his owne part, he had lived long enough, & had no other thing to repent him of, but that he had among so many vaine mockeries and perils prolonged his heavy & carefull old age: having beene long hated of *Sejanus*, now of *Macro*; and alwaies of some one of the mightiest: not through any fault of his; but because he could not endure wickednes. True it is, he might linger out during the short time the Prince hath to live: but how should he escape the young Prince that is to come? If *Tiberius* after such long experience in affaires, by the force of rule and dominion hath changed and altered: it is to be hoped that *C. Cæsar*, who is yet scarce out of his childhood, unexperiend and unacquainted with all things, or brought up and trained in the lewdest, should follow a better course, having *Macro* for his guide: who being chosen to oppresse *Sejanus*, because he was worse then he, afflicted the commonwealth with greater calamity. I foresee (said he) a heavier servitude, and therefore I will flie as well from that which is already past, as that which is at hand. Speaking these things as it had been in manner of a prophesie, he cut his veins. It shal appeare by those things which ensued, that *Arruntius* died in good time. *Albucilla* having wounded herselfe with a blow given without effect, was carried to prison. The ministers of her whoredome *Grasidius Sacerdos*, who had bin Pretor, was banished into an Iland, and *Pontius Fregellanus* condemned to be put from the Senate: the said punishments were decreed against *Laelius Balbus*, by these themselves which were glad of it; because *Balbus* was thought to use his eloquence cruelly, as one alwaies at hand and ready against the innocent.

XII. *Tiberius death.*

ABout the same time, *Sext. Papinius* descended of a Consularie familie chose a sudden and ill favoured death, by casting himselfe headlong from a high place. The

The cause was attributed to his mother, who having been long before put away from her husband, by flattering speeches & lascivious wantonnes, induced the young man unto that villany; that to avoid the discredit with her he could find no remedy but death. She being accused in Senat, albeit the prostrated herselfe at her Lords feet & long shewed her common griefe, and womens weaknes, in such desires, and other lamentable and pitifull mournings, witnessing her dolour and griefe, yet was banished the city 10. yeeres, untill her youngest son was past the unconstant slipperines of his youth. Now *Tiberius* body & strength began to forsake him, but not yet his dissimulation. He had the same courage and vigour of mind, his countenance and voice was strong; & desiring sometimes to be pleasant, cloaked his manifest decay of strength. And often changing, at last settled himselfe in a promontory of Misenum, in a house which sometime *Lucullus* had bin Lord of; where it was knowne that his death was at hand by this meanes. There was a Physitian very skilful in his art called *Charicles*; yet never accustomed to govern the prince in his sickness, but to assist him with his counsel. This phisitian departing from *Tiberius*, as it had bin about some busines of his own under color of duty taking him by the hād, felt the puls of his veins: but yet he could not use the matter so cunningly, but the Emperor perceived him. Whether *Tiberius* were offended with him or not, it was uncertain; & if he were so much the more suppreffing his anger, caused meat to be made ready, & otherwise then his custome had bin, sitteth down, as it had bin in honor of his friends farewell. *Charicles* nevertheless assured *Macro* that his spirits decayed, and that he could not live above two dayes. Whereupon great debating of matters passed among those which were present; and messengers possted away to the lieutenants & armies. The 17. of the Kalends of April, his breath being stopped, he was thought to have ended his mortall life. Then *C. Caesar* with a great multitude flocking about him, & congratulating his good fortune, went forth to take upon him the Empire: when news came on the sudden that *Tiberius* was come to his speech & sight again, & that meat was called for to put him out of his swooning: upon this they were all stricken into a great feare, & dispersed themselves some one way, some another; every man counterfeiting a sad cheere & ignorance of all this. And *C. Caesar* stricken dombe in the top of his hope, expected his last doome. *Macro* resolute and stout, commanded the old man to be smothered, by casting many clothes on him, & every man to depart from the doore. And so *Tiberius* ended his life, the 78. yeere of his age. He was *Neroes* sonne, and on both sides extracted from the Claudian family, although his mother went by adoption into the *Li-vian* family, and after that into the *Iulian*. He had doubtfull fortunes from his first infancy, for being a banished man, he followed his father, who was proscribed; and being brought into *Augustus* house as his son in law, was greatly maligne all the time that *Marcellus* & *Agrippa*, and afterward *Caius* & *Lucius Caesar* lived. Yea his brother *Drusus* was better beloved then he, of the citizens; but after he had married *Julia*, his slippery estate was tied to two great inconveniences, which was either to endure the incontinency of his wife, or go from her. After that, returning from *Rhodes*, he lived twelve yeers in the princes house which had no children, then possessed the Empire almost 23. yeers. He changeth his manners diversly according to the times. Whilest he was a private man, he was of good life and credit, and had commendations under *Augustus*. He was close and crafty in counterfeiting virtues whilest *Germanicus* and *Drusus* lived: and whilest his mother lived he kept a meane sometimes good and sometimes bad. For cruelty he was infamous; but lascivious lusts, as long as he loved or feared *Sejanus*, secret. In the end he burst into all wickednesse, dishonesty, and reproach; after that having cast away shame and feare, he governed himselfe wholly according unto his owne disposition and nature.

THE

THE ELEVENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. The death of Asiaticus, and Poppæa.

¶ The beginning of this Book is wanting.

EOr he beleeved, that *Valerius Asiaticus* who had been twice Consul, had in times past committed adultery with *Poppæa*: withall, greedily gaped after those gardens which he bought of *Lucullus*, and beautified and trimmed most stately. *Sulius* was suborned to accuse them both: *Sossius*, *Germanicus* bringer up, was joyned with him; who under colour of friendship, counselleth *Claudius* to beware of such as were strong and rich, as men dangerous unto the state: and that *Asiaticus* the principall author of murdering *Cæsar*, feared not to avouch it in a full assembly of the people of Rome, and challenge the glory of the fact unto himselfe. He was famous in the City for it, and a rumour spread through out the Province, that hee prepared a voyage toward *Germanicus* Army, because that being borne at Vienna, and strengthened with strong and great kindred, he thought it an easie matter to stirre up his Countrey-men. But *Claudius* making no farther inquirie, sent *Crispinus* the Capitaine of the Guard with a band of ready souldiers, as though it had bene to suppress a warre: who finding him at Baia, laid irons upon him, and drew him to the Citie, where he was not licensed to be heard of the Senate, but in the Emperours chamber, in the presence of *Messalina*. There *Sulius* accused him, that he had corrupted the souldiers, and wonne them by money and loose life to all wickednesse. Then charged him with adultery with *Poppæa*, and unnaturall dishonesty of body. At that, although hee were commanded to silence, hee burst forth, and said: O *Sulius* aske thy children, and they will confesse me to be a man. And entring into his defence, *Claudius* being wonderfully moved, drew teares likewise from *Messalinas* eyes; who going out of the chamber to wipe them, giveth *Vitellius* warning not to suffer the party arraigned to escape. She maketh haft to overthrow *Poppæa*, sending some through the terror of prison, to perswade herto kill her selfe: *Cæsar* being to ignorant thereof, that a few dayes after he asked her husband *Scipio* as he sat at table with him, why he had sate downe without his wife? who made him answer, that she was dead. But whilest *Claudius* consulted of *Asiaticus* deliverance, *Vitellius* with teares declaring how long time their friendship had continued, and how they two did reverence and honour *Antonia* the Princes Mother: then running over briefly his services towards the Common-wealth, and that so lately done in Britannia, and what else might seeme to move compassion; left it in the end to his owne choise what death he would choose; *Claudius* yielding him the like clemency with like words. After this some perswading him, that to die with famine and abstinence was an easie death; he answered, that he rejected such favour: and therefore having done those exercises he was usually wont to doe, washed his body, and fed daintily, saying, that it had been a more commendable death to have died by *Tiberius* slynesse and cunning or *C. Cæsars* violence, then now by the treachery

chery of a woman, and *Vitellius* unclean mouth: cut his veines, and having first seene the fire wherein his body was to be burned commanded it to be removed to another place, lest the thick tufted-trees should be marred with the smoke: so final reckoning did he make of death.

II. Certain Romanes accused for a dreame. A treatise of advocates.

After this, the Lords of the Senate were called together, and *Sulius* goeth on, and accuseth certaine noble and renowned Gentlemen of Rome furnamed *Petra*. The cause of their death was, because they had lent their house unto *Mneſter* and *Poppæa*, when they had any cause of conference. But there was a dreame also objected against one of them, which was, that he dreamed he had seene *Claudius* crowned with a crowne of eares of corn, and the eares turned backward; interpreting that vision to signifie a dearth of corne. Some report it to have beene a garland of vine-branches with white leaves; which he saw in his dreame; and interpreted it to foretell, that the death of the Prince should follow at the end of *Aurumne*. Whatsoever the dreame was, it is not to be doubted, but that he and his brother were both put to death. *Crispinus* had given him by decree of Senate * fifteen hundred thousand sesterces; and ornaments of the Pretor. *Vitellius* added * tenne hundred thousand sesterces to be given to *Sofibius*, because he had beene *Britannicus* Schoole-master, and *Claudius* Counsellor. *Scipio* being demanded his opinion, said: Seeing I doe think of *Poppæa* faults, that which all you doe thinke; perswade your selves that I doe say that which all you doe say; which was an excellent moderation and meane, shewing the love he bare her as his wife, and necessitie of giving sentence, being a Senator. *Sulius* never ceased from accusations, but prosecuted them with all crueltie: and many followed his audacities: for the Prince drawing unto himselfe all the duties of Laws and Magistrate, opened the way to robbery. Neither was there any merchandise more publicly bought and sold, then the perfidiousness of advocates: inſomuch, that *Samius* a worthy Gentleman of Rome, having given *Sulius* * foure hundred thousand sesterces, to plead his cause; and after perceiving his prevarication and collusion; ran upon his sword in *Sulius* owne house. Then *C. Sulius* Consul elect (of whose authoritie and fall I will speak in convenient time) beginning to speake, the rest of the Senators rose up, and demanded earnestly that the law *Cincia* might be set on foot: by which it is provided of old, that for pleading of causes, no man should take either money or gift. Then they whom that injury seemed to touch, making a noise, *Sulius* was eager and earnest against *Sulius*, contradicted him, alleading the Temple of Orators in times past. "Which esteemed fame with posterity, to be the fairest reward of eloquence: otherwise, that the Princeſſe of good Arts should be distained "with the servitude of base lucre; and that no faith could be sincere and inviolate, "where excheſſe of gaine is regarded. And if causes should be defended without reward, there would be fewer of them; whereas now, enmities, accusations, hatred, "and injuries are fostered: and that as the multitude of diseases brought the Physicians gain, so the pestilent infection of the Bar, serveth now to enrich the Lawyers. "Let them call to minde *C. Asinius*, and *Messalla*, & of latter memory *Aruntius*, and "*Efernius*, which were lifted up in the highest degree of dignitie, by their upright "life and uncorrupted eloquence. The Consullelect uttering these speeches; the others approving the same; they went about to give judgement, that such should be condemned unto the like punishment as they were, who had by bribery and extortion polled and oppressed the Commons. When as *Sulius* and *Cossusians* and others

* About 11781
pound 15 shill.
* About 7812
pound 10 shill.

* About 3130
pound.

others, which perceived that there should be no generall decree set downe, but a punishment for those which had been openly convicted; came about: *Cæſar*, and besought him pardon of that which was past. And after a little silence, nodding with his head unto them, they began as followeth. "Who was he so puffed up with "pride, that would presume or hope for eternity of fame; that it was expedient men "should provide for necessary maintenance, lest through the want of advocates, the "poor be oppressed by the rich & mighty. Neither did eloquence come by chance "and gratis unto any without paine and labour: the care of a mans own family was "neglected, if he were occupied in another mans business: many maintained their "life by war; some by tilling the earth; no man laboured to attaine to any knowledge unless he had seen some commodity in it. It was an easie matter for *Asinius* "and *Messalla*, which were enriched with great rewards betweene *Antonius* and *Augustus* warres, to shew a gallant and brave minde: and for *Efernius* and *Aruntius*, "heirs of rich houses, to doe the like. Examples were as ready for them to shew "for what great rewards *P. Claudius*, and *C. Curius* were wont to plead. As for "themselves, they were but meane Senators, which expected no gain of the common-wealth, but such as grew of peace. The meaneſt of the people endeavoured "what he could to better his estate; the reward of studies being taken away, studies "doe also decay, as having neither glory nor honour. The Prince thinking that this was not spoken without ground of reason, moderated the summe which they should take unto * ten thousand sesterces, and that they which passed this sum, should be condemned of extortion.

* About 78.
pound 2,500.

III. Mithridates recovereth his kingdome. Warres betweene Gotarzes and Bardanes for the kingdome of Parthia.

About the same time, *Mithridates*, who as I have shewed governed Armenia, and was brought to *Cæſar*, returned into his kingdome at *Claudius* perswasion; trusting to the power of *Pharſmanes*, King of the Hiberi, and *Mithridates* brother, who told him that the Parthians were at variance among themselves, doubtfull what would become of the kingdome, and matters of smaller importance utterly neglected. For whilst *Gotarzes* practised great cruelties (going about to kill his brother *Artabanus*; his wife and his sonne, whereby the rest were afraid) they called in *Bardanes*, who being a man of action and able to goe thorow great enterprises, in two dayes invaded three thousand * Stadia, and chased out *Gotarzes*, all amazed and dismayed, not once dreaming of his coming: and without any lingering sealed on the next governments, the Seleucians only refusing to obey him. Whereupon inflamed with greater anger then the present occasion ministred cause, because they had revolted from his father; he besieged their City which was strong, and well fortified with a wall, invironed with a river and furnished with victuals and munition. In the meane time *Gotarzes* strengthened with the Daharian and Hyrcanian power, reneweth the war. And *Bardanes* enforced to abandon Seleucia, removed his campe to the champion country of the Bracteri. Then the forces of the Orient being divided and uncertaine which way to leane, *Mithridates* had opportunity offered him by chance to seale upon Armenia; and with the force of the Roman souldier, rase and beat downe the strong fortresses: the Hiberian campe at once waſting and spoiling the Champion. Neither did the Armenians make head at all against them: *Demonastes* their Governour being slaine, who onely durst have waged battle

* Eight Stadia
made an Italian
mile.

battell against them. *Cotys* King of Iesser Armenia did somewhat hinder them, some of the Nobles joyning with him. But afterward being rebuked by *Cæsars* letters, all turned unto *Mithridates* side, more cruell then was expedient in a kingdom newly gotten. But the Parthian Emperours making preparation to fight, suddenly conclude a peace, having discovered the treachery of their subjects, which *Gotarzes* bewraied unto his brother. At the first meeting they had a jealous conceit the one of the other; then taking one another by the right hand before the Altars of the gods, they promised and covenanted to revenge the treason of their enemies; and agree and helpe one another. *Bardanes* seemed most meete to possesse the kingdome. And *Gotarzes* because there should remaine no sparkle of emulation went to *Hirania*. And *Bardanes* returning againe, Seleucia yeeldeth the seventh yeere after her revolt; not without discredit to the Parthians, whom one bare city had so long deluded. Then he invadeth the strongest Provinces, and began to recover Armenia: if *Vibius Marsus* Lieutenant of Syria, had not hindred him by threatening to warre against him. In the meane time *Gotarzes* repenting that he had yeelded the kingdome; and the nobility unto whom obedience in peace seemeth hardest, calling him back againe, assemblers his forces together, whom *Bardanes* met at the river *Erindes*; where skirmishing long on both parts for the passages, *Bardanes* had the upper hand, and with prosperous battels subdued all the middle countries, unto the river *Gindes*, which divideth the Dahas from the Arij. There his fortunate successes had an end: for the Parthians, although they were conquerours, yet liked not to make war so far off. Wherefore building Monuments in token of his wealth and power, and that none of the *Arscides* had ever before levied any tribute of those Nations, he returned with great glory: and therefore so much the more fierce and intolerable to his subjects; who having long before laid a snare to intrap him, killed him at unawares as he was a hunting, in the prime of his youth: few of the old Kings to be matched in renowne with him; if he had as well fought the love of his subjects, as to be feared of his enemies. By the death of *Bardanes*, the Parthian affaires were in a huly burly; whilest they wavered, whom they should receive for their King. Many inclined to *Gotarzes*, sonne to *Meherdates*, sonne to *Phrahates*, who was given us in hostage. In the end *Gotarzes* prevailed; who enjoying the Kings seat through crueltie and dissolute life, forced the Parthians to send secretly to intreat the Romaine Prince to releafe *Meherdates*, and invest him in his fathers kingdome.

Messalina falleth in love with Silius.

THE same men being Consuls, the playes called Seculares, were exhibited eight hundred yeers after the foundation of Rome, and threescore and foure yeers after those which *Augustus* had caused then to be represented. I omit the reasons which moved both these Princes, as sufficiently declared in my bookes which I have composed of the acts of *Domitian* the Emperour: for he likewise did set forth the same playes, which I was present at, so much the more carefully, because I was then one of the fiftene Priests, and Pretor. VVhich I speak not to vaunt or bragge thereof, but because that charge in times past was committed to the colledge of the fiftene, and magistrates did chiefly execute the office of ceremonies. *Claudius* sitting to see the race, when the noble mens children represented on horseback the play of Troy; and among them *Britannicus* the Emperours sonne, and *L. Domitian* anon after adopted to the Empire, and surnamed *Nero*. The favour of the people

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was more affectionate to him then *Germanicus*, which was taken as a presage of his future greatnesse. And it was rumoured abroad, that in his infancy dragons were found about him in manner of a guard, which are fables not unlike unto strange miracles: for he himselfe, who never derogated from himselfe, was wont to report but of one serpent which was seene in his chamber. But that affection of the people was a relibue of the memory of *Germanicus*, who left no other male behinde him but he: and the commiseration towards *Agrippina* his mother was increased, by reason of *Messalinas* cruelty, who alwaies hated her, and now more then ever kindled against her, was hindred no way from forging of crimes, and suborning accusers against her, saving onely by a new love and next coven unto madnes. For she did so burne in love with *C. Silius* the fairest youth of all Rome, that to content her lust, she caused him to put from him his wife *Lunia Syllana*, an honourable dame, to enjoy wholly to herselfe the adulterer, now untied from the bands of Matrimony. Neither was *Silius* ignorant how lewde the practise was, and what perill hee might incur: but if he refused, certaine of his destruction; and having some hope to bleare the eyes of the world, and inticed with great rewards, he tooke it for the most expedient, to expect what might fall, and enjoy the present. Shee not by stealth, but with a great retinue frequented his house, was alwaies at his side, bestowed wealth and honor bountifully upon him, and at last, as though fortune had transferred the Empire, slaves, freedmen, and all princely ornaments, and preparations were seen at the adulterers house. But *Claudius* not knowing what rule was at home, usurped the office of a Censor, reprehended with severe edicts the overgreat licence the people used in the Theater; using opprobrious speeches against *P. Pomponius* who had bene sometime consull (and gave verses to the stage) and other noble women. He made a law to restrain the cruelty of creditors, forbidding them to lend money to interest unto mens sonnes subject to the fathers power, to be paid after their death. Hee brought water to the cite from the Simbruan hills. Hee added and published new letters and characters, being a thing most certaine that the manner of the Greekes writing was not begun and perfected at once. The Aegyptians first of all expressed the conceptions of their mind by the shape of beasts; and the most ancient monuments of mans memory are seene graven in stones: & they say, that they are the first inventors of letters. Then the Phocnicians because they were strong by sea brought them into Greece, and had the glory of inventing that, which they received of others. For there goeth a report, that *Cadmus* sailing thither in a Phoenician ship, was the inventor of that art among the Greekes, when they were yet unexperienced and rude. Some record that *Cecrops* the Athenian, or *Linus* the Theban, and *Palamedes* the Grecian, at the time of the Trojan warre, invented 16. characters; then others, and *Simonides* found out the rest. But in Italy the Etrurians learned them of *Corinthius Damaratus*, and the Aborigenes of *Evander* the Arcadian: and the fashion of the Latine letters are like unto the old Greek letters; but we had but a few at the beginning, the rest were after added. By which example *Claudius* added three letters, which during the time of his reigne were in use, and afterward forgotten: and are yet to be seene ingraven in brazen tables hanged up in temples and places of assembly to shew the peoples laws. Then he propounded in Senate touching the colledge of Southayers, lest that the most ancient Discipline of Italy should come to nought by sloathfulness, seeing that in the hard and adverse times of the Common-wealth they have bin sent for; and by their advice the ceremonies have bene renewed, and better afterward looked into. And the chiefe Noble men of Etruria, either of their owne motion, or at the perswasion of the Lords of the Senate,

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have continued their science, and propagated it to their families, which now is very carelessly accomplished by a sloath used towards commendable Artes, and because strange superstitions prevaile and take deeper root. All well for the present, thanks were to be rendred to the goodnes of the gods therefore, and heed taken, that sacred rites in doubtfull times had in reverence, be not in prosperous forgotten. Whereupon a decree of Senate was made, and order taken, that the high Priesths should consider what was meet to be retained and established concerning the fourthsayers.

V. *The Cherusci crave Italus for their King.*

THe same yeere the Cherusci came to Rome to demand a King, all their Nobilitie being extinguished by civill warres, and one only left for the bloud Royall, called *Italus*, then being at Rome. He was sonne unto *Flavius*, *Arminius* brother, his mother was the daughter of *Catumerus* Prince of the Catti; and was of a comely personage, practised in armes and riding, as well according to the manner of our Countrey, as his owne. *Cæsar* therefore having furnished him with money, and appointed him a guard, encourageth him stoutly to take upon him the honor of his house and ancestors: putting him first in minde that he was borne at Rome; where he remained not as an hostage, but citizen: and that now he was to goe to a strange Empire. At the first the Germanes were glad of his coming; and so much the rather because hee was not nulled in factions and discords; and therefore would beare like affection unto all. He was revered and honoured of all men; sometimes using curtesie and moderation misliked of none; and oftentimes quaffing and drunkenness with other wanton behaviour, which well pleased these barbarous people. Now he had gotten reputation with his neighbours, and began to be famous among strangers; when as such a bare greatest way in time of factions, suspecting his power and greatnesse, goe from him to the borders of the kingdome openly declaring that the ancient liberty of Germany was taken from them, & that the Roman strength mastered all. Vvas their countrey so barren, that they could finde none born among them to fill the place of the prince; but that *Falvius* the spies brood must be lifted up above them all? It was in vaine to make *Arminius* the pretence, whose sonne being brought up in the enemies land, might well be feared if he came to be King; as depraved and infected with education, servilitie, attire, and all other strange usages. And if *Italus* bare the minde his father had done, no man ever hath borne armes more ragingly against his countrey, and household gods then his parents. By such and the like speeches they gathered great forces together, and there did no fewer follow *Italus*: All of them affirming that he had not thrust himselfe among them against their wils; but that he was sent for by them: and seeing he was more noble then the rest, they should make a trial of his vertue; and whether he would shew himselfe worthy of *Arminius* his uncle, and *Catumerus* his grandfather. Neither could his father be a shame and reproch unto him, because he would never violate his faith, which by consent of the Germanes he had promised the Romanes. That the name of libertie was falsely pretended by them, who being base and degenerate of themselves, and dangerous to the whole state; have no hope but in time of trouble and garboile. The common sort came chearefully about him, and the King became victorious in a great battell against the Barbarians: then through his prosperous fortune falling into pride, he was chased out of his countrey; and againe reinforcing his armie with the aide of the Lombards, now with luckie, now with unluckie successe, molested and annoyed the Cherusci.

VI. *The*

VI. *The Chaucans are driven back out of Germany by Corbulo a Romane Captaine: his severe discipline.*

ABout the same time, the Chauci living in peace at home, and encouraged by the death of *Sanquinius*; whilst *Corbulos* coming was expected, made some incursions upon lower Germany under *Gannasius*: who being a Caninefian by birth, an aide-souldier, and long receiving pay under the Romanes, and afterward become a fugitive with light vessels robbing and piracing; especially wasteth the coast of Gallia, because he knew them wealthy and cowards. But *Corbulo* entering into the Province, first with great care, then credit, especially gotten by that service, thrust into the River of Rhene certaine Gallies, and other shipping as they were fit, into other armes and ditches of the sea. And having with them sunke the same vessels of the enemy, and driven out *Gannasius*: after he had settled the present estate of things, he reduced the Legions which knew not what worke and labour meant, but desirous to hunt after pillage and forreys, to the ancient discipline of service: commanding that none should depart from the campe, nor enter battell without commandement: that the watch and ward, all charges both by day and night should be executed in armes. And it is reported that one souldier was put to death, because he digged at a Trench without his sword by his side: and another, because he had nothing else but his dagger: which being over-hard and rigorous and uncertaine, whether falsely spread abroad; yet had their beginning of the Captaines fervertie. Whereby thou mayest know that he was inexorable in great faults, seeing it was thought he used such rigour in small. But that terrour wrought different effects in the souldiers and enemies: we thereby increased our valour; the Barbarians abated their courage. The Frisian nation which rebelled after the overthrow of *L. Apponius*, and ever after shewed themselves enemies untous, or nothing faithfully, having given hostages, inhabited the countrey allotted and appointed them by *Corbulo*. He gave them also a Senate, Magistrates and Laws. And because they should not fall from their obedience, left them a strong Garrison, & sent some to draw the chieft of the Chauci to yeeld; and withall, by a wile to surprise *Gannasius*. Neither were those wiles employed in vaine, or thought cowardly and ill-beseeming us, against a fugitive and faith-breaker. But the Chauci were much troubled with his death, and *Corbulo* sowed some seeds of rebellion among them: which as some construed to the best; so others reported badly of it: for why should he provoke an enemy? If the successe were bad, the hurt would redound to the Common-wealth: if fortune went on his side, hee was a man to be feared in time of peace; and being valiant and courageous, and under a cowardly Prince, not to be suffered. Whereupon *Claudius* was so far from forcing Germany anew; that he commanded the Garrisons to be brought back on the hither side of the Rhene. And whilst *Corbulo* went about to encampe in the enemies land, these letters were delivered him. He understanding of so sudden a countermand, although many things at once troubled his braines: feare of the Emperour; the contempt the Barbarians would have him in; the jest his confederates would make at it: yet making no more words, but saying onely, Oh how happy sonie Romane Captains were! founded a retreat. Nevertheless left the souldiers should grow lazie, he cast a ditch betweene Mosa and Rhene, three and twenty miles long, to beare off the uncertaine inundations of the Ocean. Yet *Cæsar* granted him the honour of triumph, although he denied him licence to make warre.

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VII. *How*

VII. How souldiers were employed out of warre.

Not long after *Curtius Rufus* had the same honour given him, who in the countrey of *Mattiacum* had found a silver mine, of small profit and short continuance: but to the Legions beside the *liffe*, it was great labour to digge the rivers, and mine under the earth, and draine waters, which in plaine grounds was laborious. The souldiers wearied with these toiles, and because they had indured the like in many Provinces, sent letters secretly to the Emperour in the name of the whole armie, and besought him that from thence forward, he would bestow the markes of triumph beforehand, on such, as he purposed to make Commanders of the armie. As for *Curtius Rufus* birth, whom some have reported to be a Fencers sonne, I will neither utter any thing falsely, and am ashamed to tell the truth. After he was come to mans estate, he was a follower of the *Quæstor* of Africa; and in a Towne called *Adrumetum*, as he walked secretly about midday in a Gallery where were no people, there appeared unto him the likenesse of a woman, greater then the stature of any other, and a voice was heard, saying: *Thou art he, Rufus, which shalt come Proconsul into this Province.* Puffed up with hope of this preface of good fortune, he returneth to the citie, and by the bounty of his friends, and his owne wit and industrie, obtaineth the *Quæstorship*; and anon after the *Prætorship*, among many men of note which sued for the same, onely by the suffrage and favour of the Prince; *Tiberius* hiding the basenesse of his birth, with these words; *Curtius Rufus seemeth to me to be borne of himselfe.* After this, living untill he was very aged, an odious flatterer to his superiours, arrogant to his inferiours, crabbed among his equals; he became *Consull*, obtained the honour of triumph, and in the end the government of *Africke*; and there dying, fulfilled his fatall destiny. In the meane space, for no cause then openly known, nor afterward discovered, *Gn. Novius* a worthy Gentleman of *Rome*, was found with his sword by his side in the assembly of those which came to salute the Prince: for being broken on the torture, he confessed nothing either of himselfe or others; not knowne whether he purposed obstinately to conceal the matter, or whether he were innocent. The same men being *Consuls*, *P. Dolabella* propounded in Senate, that the shew of Fencers might be every yeer set forth at the charges of those which obtained the *Quæstorship*. Which was a charge in our ancestors times, given as a reward of vertue; and was then lawfull for all Citizens which trusted to their merits and vertues, to sue for all kinde of Offices, without any regard had of their age; being a thing lawfull for youngmen to be *Consuls* or *Dictators*. But the *Quæstors* were instituted when the Kings bare the sway as the law of *Curies* declare, renewed by *L. Brutus*: and the power of choosing them continued in the *Consuls*, untill the people would also have a share therein; who first created *Valerius Potus*, and *Aemilius Mamercus*, threescore and three yeeres after the *Tarquins* were driven out, to the end they should follow the warres. Then affaires multiplying more and more, two were added for the businesse of the Citie. Not long after, the number was doubled, when Italy and the Provinces were subject to pay task and tallage. After that, by *Syllæ*s law twenty were created to furnish the Senate, unto whom he had given authority of judgement. And although the Gentlemen of *Rome* had recovered their power of judgement, notwithstanding the *Quæstorship* was granted according to the worth of the suters, or curtesie of the givers, and that gratis, untill that by *Dolabella*s advise it was as it were put to faile.

VIII. Certaine gentlemen of Gallia made Senators. How the Senate was purged of naughty men.

Agrippa *Vitellius* and *L. Vipsanius* being *Consuls*, when the matter was debated concerning the furnishing of the number of Senators, and that the chiefe gentlemen of Gallia called *Comata*, who long before were in league with the *Romans*, and enjoyed the priviledges of a citizen, desired also the right of bearing offices in the city: great rumors were spread, and the matter was debated before the Prince by men diversly affected: some affirming, "That Italy was not fallen to so low an ebbe, that it could not furnish their city of a Senate; that the home-borne with their kinsmen did in times past supply that want, and no cause why they should be sorry to imitate the custome of the ancient common-wealth. Yea, there might be examples alleadged, by which it might appear that the vertuous inclination of the *Romans* at this day, was not inferior to the vertue and glory of their ancestors. Is it a small matter that the *Venetians* and *Insulbrians* have thrust into the Curia, unlesse a company of strangers be also put in, as it were to keep us in captivity? what other dignitie is there left for the residue of the nobles? or if any of the *Latian* Senators fall to decay? that those rich men would fill and possesse all, whose grandfathers and great grandfathers being captaines of the enemy nations, have slain with the sword, and violence our armies, and besieged *Iulius* of famous memory at *Alesia*. These things are fresh in memory. What if we should call those to memory which besieged the *Capitoll*, and broke down the altar of *Rome* with their owne hands? That it was sufficient to enjoy the name of a citizen: and that the ornaments and markes of the Lords of the Senate, the dignitie of *Magistrates* ought not to be made common. But with these and the like speeches the Prince was nothing moved, but immediately spake against it, and calling the Senate together, began as followeth. My ancestors (among which the most ancient was *Clausus*, taking his beginning of the *Sabians*, & was at once made citizen of *Rome* and received into the family of the *Patricians*) gave me counsell to governe the common-wealth with such counsels and cares as they had done, and transfer into it all that is good & commendable, from whence soever it be brought. Neither am I ignorant that the *Iulii* came from *Alpa*, the *Coruncani* from *Camerium*, the *Porcians* from *Tusculum*; and that we may not search out farther antiquities, there have been men called into the Senate from *Etruria*, *Lucania*, and all Italy. At last the civitie was extended even to the *Albes*, in so much that not onely men severally, but countries & nations united themselves to our name, and grew as one whole body. Then had we a sure and firme peace at home, and flourished against forraigne nations, when the *Transpadani* received the freedome of the city: when under colour of leading our legions throughout the world, & adding unto them the strongest forces of the provinces, we eased the weak & wearied Empire. Doth it repent us that the *Balbanians* came out of *Spaine*, and the worstest men of *Gallia Narbonensis* to us? Their posterity remain with us, neither do they give place unto us in love towards this our countrey. What other thing was the destruction and overthrow of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, although they were strong and puissant in arms, but that they rejected those they conquered, as strangers? But our founder *Romulus* carried himself so secretly, that he had many which the same day were his enemies and citizens. Strangers have ruled over us: offices have been given to the sons of such as have bin freed from bondage, & not as some have bene

"deceived as a new president, but it hath been practised by our first people. But we have fought with the Senonians. I pray you, have the Volsci and Acqui never prepared an army against us? we have been taken of the Galli: and we have given hostages likewise to the Tufci, and passed under the yoke of the Samnites. If thou wilt reckon up all the wars, none hath bin sooner ended then that against the Galli: since that time we have had a continual and faithfully peace. Now that in company of manners, arts, and alliances, they are mingled with our people, let them rather bring to us their gold and wealth, then enjoy it by themselves. All things (Lords of the Senate) which are thought now to be most ancient, have been new. The Patricians had first all offices in their hands; after them the people; after the people, the Latins; after the Latins, all the nations of Italy. This will grow old likewise, although it seeme new; and that which to day we maintaine by example, shall be reckoned amongst examples. A decree of the Senate given according unto the Princes oration, the Eduans first of all received the rights and privileges of Senators in the city. This was granted them in consideration of their ancient alliance: and because they onely among the Galli, called themselves brothers of the people of Rome. The same time *Cæsar* made the ancientest of the Senators patricians, or such whose fathers were famous; few of those families remaining, which *Remulus* called of the greater, & *L. Brutus*, of the lesser familie: those also being decayed and extinguished, which *Cæsar* the Dictator substituted by the law *Calpurnia*: and Prince *Augustus* by the law *Senia*. All these things were gratefull unto the people; and done with the good liking of *Cæsar*. It troubled him very much how he might remove such from the Senate, as were notoriously infamous; and at last he thought himselfe of a new and gentle course; yet grounded on the rigour of ancient time: which was to admonish every man to examine his owne conscience: and cravellence to give up his roome, if he thought himselfe touched; which should easily be granted; and promised them to propound together, as well those that were removed, as those that resigned their roomes; that the judgement of the Censors, and the moderation of those which willingly renounced interlaced together, might cover the discredit. For this cause the Consul *Pispanius* propounded, that *Claudius* might be called the father of the Senate: because that the title of father of the countrey, being common, new merits towards the common-wealth, should not be honoured with old titles. But hee himselfe bridled the Consul as over-much flattering; and appointed a view to be taken of the City which is called *Lustrum*, and the number of the citizens to be inrolled, which came to threecore eight hundred, and foure and forty thousand. Then began he to have better intelligence how matters went at home: and not long after he was constrained to know, and punish the dissolute and licentious life of his wife, immediately after to burne in an unlawfull desire of incestuous matrimony.

IX. *Messalinae loose loves: her marriage with Silius.*

Now *Messalina* through the easie enjoying of her adulterers, as it were loathing them, grew more licentious in unknowne and strange sensuality: when as *Silius* himselfe, either by a fatall sottishnesse, or thinking dangers themselves to bee the remedy against imminent dangers, began earnestly to urge her to breake off all dissimulation: and make that knowne, which untill then he went about to keepe secret; For the matter was not come to that, that they should expect the Princes death. Harmlesse counsels were good for the innocent; but in

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"open and manifest villanies there was no hope of safety, but in audacious attempts. There were others in the same fault and feared the like punishment: he was a single man without children, ready to marry her, & adopt *Britannicus*. *Messalinae* authority could continue the same, and with greater securitie, if they could prevent *Claudius*; as uncircumspect against fires and wiles, so hasty and soon moved to anger; These speeches she seemed not much to like of: not for the love of her husband; but lest *Silius* having gotten the sovereignty, would reject her as an adulteress, and fall to a just consideration of her lewd life, which with his danger he had tried. Nevertheless she desired the name of matrimony, because of the greatnesse of the infamy, which with prodigal and dissolute persons is the last contentment. They expected no longer, then *Claudius* went to *Horti* to do sacrifice, but she accomplished all the solemnities of marriage. I am not ignorant, but it will sound like a fable, that there should be any man so blockish and carelesse; much lesse that a Consul elect should in a city where all things are known, and nothing kept secret; a day appointed; company assembled to seale the agreement; contract marriage as it were of issue and children, with the Princes wife: and that he should heare the words of the Auspices, or hand-fasters; attire her selfe bride-like, sacrifice unto the gods, sit downe amongst the guests, kisse, embrace, and in the end passe the night in all libertie of marriage. But there is nothing fained, to make the thing seem miraculous, but I will you deliver but that which hath been heard & written by ancient writers. Then the Princes house began to quake for fear; and especially those which were in highest credit and favour: and if there should fall an alteration more afearde; they began now not in secret whisperings, but openly to murmur, saying: "That as long as the adulterers did use the matter secretly, true it was that the Prince was dishonest; but yet he was in no danger of his estate: whereas now this young man of a noble birth, of a manly representation, in the prime of his youth and shortly to be Consul, aspired no doubt to greater hope. For it was easily known what was to be expected after such a marriage. Doubtlesse a care possessed them to thinke how blockish *Claudius* was, how thrall unto his wife, and how many murders had been committed by *Messalinae* commandement. On the other side, the facility of the Princes nature imboldned them, and gave them hope, that they could bear into his head the enormity of the fact, she might as one already condemned, be brought to confusion before she were arraigned. But the danger was that if she should be admitted to her defence, yet the Princes cares would be burdened and deafe, although she should confesse. And first of all *Calpurnius*, of whom I have spoken in the death of *C. Cæsar*, and *Narcissus* the contriver of *Appians* death, and *Pallas* the greatest favorite at that time, debated: whether dissembling all other matters by secret threats they should dissuade *Messalina* from *Silius* love; but they altered their mindes, lest they should draw on their owne ruine; *Pallas* for want of courage; *Calpurnius* as practised in the estate of the former Court, and knowing that credit and authoritie was safer maintained with circumspect then rash counsell; *Narcissus* persisting in his purpose altering that onely point, which was, to take heede, lest by any word she should have an inckling who was her accuser, and of what.

X. *Narcissus,*

X. Narcissus, Claudius Freed man advertiseth him of the marriage.
The sottishnesse of the Emperour.

Narcissus then earnestly watching all opportunities, during *Cæsars* long stay at Hostia, induced two concubines with whom the Emperour licentiously conversed, by faire promises and gifts, and especially shewing them to what greatnesse and credit they might come unto, if his wife were put from him; to undertake the discovering of this crime. Then *Calphurnia* (for so one of them was called) as soon as she found him alone, falling at *Cæsars* knees, crieth out that *Messalina* had married *Silius*; and withall asketh *Cleopatra* who was there present of purpose to be asked the question; who nodding with her head in token that she had, commandeth *Narcissus* to be called for: he, craving pardon of that which was past, and that he had concealed the adultery betweene *Messalina* and *Vellius*, and betweene her and *Plautius*; added further, that the best way was not to reproch him of his adulteries, nor demand his house, his servants, and other Princely ornaments embzeled away; but let him (said *Narcissus*) enjoy them, so as he would restore thee thy wife, and cancell the writings of marriage. "Doeft thou know (saith the father) of thy divorcement? for *Silius* marriage the people saw, the Lords of the Senate, and the souldiers, and if thou make not haste, the new married-man will be Lord of the City." Hereupon *Claudius* calleth for the chiefeft of his friends, and first of all for *Turranius* chiefe Officer for provision of Corne; then *Lusius Geta* Captaine of the Guard, asking them what they knew of the matter: who confessing it, all the rest came cluttring about him, crying that he should hast away to the Camp, strengthen his Guard, provide first for his safety, then revenge. Sure it is that *Claudius* was so surpris'd with feare that he did eftsoones aske whether he were yet sovereign of the Empire? whether *Silius* were yet a private man without charge? But *Messalina* never more loose & dissolute in lusts, the Autumne being well spent, celebrated in her house the feast of Grape-gathering; the Presses were wrung, the vessels flowed with wine, women danced about kirt with skins, like unto mad women, solemnizing the feast, of *Bacchus*; she her selfe, her haire hanging loose about her eares, shaking a Javelin wrapped about with Vine-leaves; *Silius* hard by her covered with Ivie, with buskings on his legs, casting the head hither and thither, with a shamelesse compaignie of dancers shouting and singing about them. It is reported that *Vellius Valens* toying and jesting, climed up a high tree; and being demanded what he saw there, made answer; a cruell tempest coming from Hostia. Whether any such thing did appeare, or whether it were a word slipt by chance; it was turned to a presage of future danger. Not rumor any longer, but messengers come from all parts, bringing them tidings that *Claudius* knew all, and was coming, ready to revenge. *Messalina* then conveyed her selfe into the Gardens which sometimes belonged to *Lucullus*. *Silius* dissembling his feare, went to his businesse in the Forum. The rest, some slipping one way, some another, the Centurions laid hold on and bound with yrons, as they were found either abroad or in corners and lurking places. *Messalina* albeit this sudden crossing had almost put her besides her selfe, yet thought it best as a shift, which never failed at a pinch, to meet her husband, and shew her selfe unto him; and commanded *Britannicus* and *Octavia* to goe before, and cast themselves betwixt their fathers armes; and prayed *Vibidia* the ancientest of the Virgins Vestall to goe to the high Priest, and intreat him he would shew clemency in her behalfe. And in the meane time accompanied with three person onely (so naked was she

she left on the sudden) having gone afoote over all the City, at last in a Tumbrell which carried away the riddings of Gardens, she taketh her away towards Hostia, no one pitying her, because the filthinesse of her wicked life swayed downe all compassion. Neverthelesse *Cæsar* trembled, because he distrusted *Geta* Captaine of his guard, a man as lightly carried to bad as to good. Whereupon *Narcissus*, having taken those with him which had the like feare, assured *Cæsar*, he had no other hope of safety left, then to transfer the whole commandery of the souldiers that one day unto some one of his Freed-men; and offereth himselfe to be the man. And fearing lest whilest he were brought unto the City, he might be induced by *L. Vitellius* or *P. Lægus* *Cacina*, to repent him, he desireth and taketh a place in the same Chariot with the Emperour. The same was common afterwards, that among divers of the Princes speeches, now blaming his wives lightnesse, now calling to minde the band of matrimony, and infancy of his children; *Vitellius* never used other speech, then of wickednesse, O shame. *Narcissus* urged him to speak plainly, and go no more about the bush; yet he could not win so much of him, but would still answer in doubtfull tearmes, and such as might be construed as every man list to draw them; and *Lægus* *Cacina* did the like.

XI. Silius and Messalina punished, with others her adulterers.

Now *Messalina* was in sight, and cried that he would heare *Octavia* and *Britannicus* mother: when as the accuser made a noyse on the other side naming *Silius* and the marriage: and withall presented unto him certaine writings, bewrayers of her lusts and lasciviousnesse, to the end he might turne *Cæsars* sight from her. And not long after, the children had betweene them, had been presented unto him, as he entred the City; if *Narcissus* had not commanded them to be conveyed away. But *Vibidia* could not be driven away, but requested importunately with nipping tearmes, that his wife unheard might not be put to death. Hereupon *Narcissus* answered that the Prince should heare her, and that she should have libertie to purge her selfe. In the meane space, that she should depart, and attend her sacrifices. *Claudius* used a wonderfull silence whilest all those speeches past. *Vitellius* was as one that knew little; all obeyed the Freed-men: he commanded the adulterers house to be opened, and the Emperour to be brought thither. And there first of all in the entry he shewed the Emperour the image of *Silius* father, defaced by decree of Senate. Then told him that whatsoever the *Neroes* or *Drusis* had, rich and Princely, had been given to *Silius* for a reward of his reprochfull adultery: then seeing *Claudius* inflamed and bursting into threats, leads him to the souldiers Campes, very ready to heare an Oration: unto whom as *Narcissus* had before advised him, hee used some few words. For although he had just cause of grieve; yet shame hindered him. Immediately all the bands cried together continually, demanding the names and punishment of the offenders. And *Silius* brought to the Bar, neither went about to justifie himselfe, nor crave respice; but intreated that his death might be hastened. The same constancy made other famous Gentlemen of Rome desire the hastening of their death. He commanded *Titus Proculus* guard unto *Silius* and *Messalina*, and *Vellius Valens* offering to detect other crimes, and confessing the same, and *Pompeius* *Frubicus* and *Sanfellus* *Trogus*, all of counsell to the fact, to be brought to execution. *Decius* *Calpurnianus* likewise Captaine of the watch, *Sulpitius* *Rufus* Overseer of the Playes, *Inceus* *Virgilianus* a Senatour, received the like punishment. Onely *Mnesther* delayed his punishment, renting his clothes and crying, that

that he would looke upon the markes of the stripes, and call to minde his own words, which were, that he should bee ready to obey *Messalina's* commandments. Alledging that others had offended for rewards & hope of advancement, but here necessary: and that no mans cause should have been harder then his, if *Silius* had become Emperor *Cesar* moved with these speeches & prone to mercy, yet the freed-men altered his minde, affirming that seeing so many notable personages had been put to death, he should not spare a Stage-player: and that it was all one whether constrained or voluntarily he had committed to lewd a fact. *Trullus Montanus* a Gentleman of Rome's defence, was not received. This young man being of modest behaviour, and comely feature of body, not thinking on any such matter, was sent for by *Messalina*, who injoying him onely one bare night, would afterward no more of him, being of nature as ready to loath, as to like and lust. *Suilius Cesonius*, and *Plautius Lateranus* only had pardon granted them. This in regard of his Uncles great merits: *Cesonius* through his impurity and unnaturall abusing of his body. All this while *Messalina* in *Lucullus* Gardens, prolonged her life; made her supplications, sometimes with hope, and sometimes with anger: so proudly she shewed her selfe even in her extremest danger. And if *Narcissus* had not hastned her death, she had turned the mischief upon the accusers head. For *Claudius* being returned home againe, and his choler well cooled in a banquet, after he had waxt warm with wine, commanded that one should go and tell that wretch (for that term they say he used) that she should appeare the next day to plead her cause. Which being understood, and fearing lest his anger should relent; and his love, (if they should deferre the matter that night which was already come) and the remembrance of his wives chamber should revive and returne: *Narcissus* rust out, and told the Centurions and the Tribune which were present, that they should put her to death, and that the Emperour had so commanded: and *Enodius* one of his freed-men, was appointed to assist and see it executed. Who hastning to the gardens, found her along on the earth, and *Lepida* her mother sitting by her, alwaies at jarre with her daughter whilest she flourished in prosperity, yet in her last extremities overcome with compassion, perswaded her not to tarry for the executioner; that her life was past, and that she should look for no other honour, then by killing her selfe. But her minde corrupted with filthy sensuality, there was no spark of honesty left; her teares and lamentations were in vaine. Then the doores being violently broke open, the Tribune stood in a maze, and in a great dumpe without one word speaking, and the freed-men rebuked her with many servile reproches. *Messalina* then first of all considering of her estate, tooke a sword, which at last was thrust thorow with a blow which the Tribune lent her, & her body granted her mother. Then word was brought *Claudius* as he was banquetting, that *Messalina* was dead, not telling him whether by her own hand, or any mans else, neither did he aske so much; but called for the cup, and went forward as he was wont to do at his banquet. Neither the daies following gave he any tokens of hate, joy, anger, sorrow, or of any other humane affection; not when he saw the accusers joyfull; not when his children sad. The Senate helped him to forget her, by giving order, that her name and image should be pulled downe from all publike and private places. It was ordained that the ornaments of the Questorship should be bestowed upon *Narcissus*; the lightest point of his authoritie, seeing he was the chiefest after *Calpurnius* and *Calpurnius*, an honest decree and priviledge; but of which rose very many lewd actions, which escaped unpunished.

THE TWELFTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. Three of Claudius Freed-men deliberate upon a wife for him.

THE Emperours house being divided through the death of *Messalina*, his Freed-men fell into contention, which of them should choose *Claudius* a wife, already thundring against a single life, and thrall to his wives will. The women on their side burnt with no lesse ambition, each of them comparing their Nobility, beauty, and wealth, set forth themselves and vaunted they were worthy of so great a match. But the chiefest doubt was betwixt *Lollia Paullina*, daughter to *M. Paullinus* once Consul, & *Julia Agrippina*, *Germanicus* daughter: *Pallas* favoured her, and *Calistus* the other. *Aelia Petina* of the house of the *Tiberius* was favoured of *Narcissus*. The Emperour himselfe was easily carried, now hither, now thither, according as he had heard every of their perswasions; and disagreeing the one from the other, calleth them to a consultation; and commandeth each of them to utter and yeeld a reason of his opinion. *Narcissus* beginneth with his old marriage, and family common to them both (for he had had *Antonia* by *Petina*) and that he should have no new change in his house, if his old wife should returne againe; who would not with the eye of a Step-mother, looke upon *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, the neereft pledges unto her owne children. *Calistus* sheweth that being rejected by a long divorcement, if shee should be taken againe, shee would become proud and haughty: therefore it were farre better to take *Lollia* seeing she was without emulation and children; and therefore would be in stead of a mother to her husbands children: But *Pallas* extolled in *Agrippina* above other qualities, that she should bring with her *Germanicus* nephew, worthy in all regards of the imperiall highnesse; extracted of a noble race, and Claudian family, which should unite their posteritie, left a woman fruitfull in childe-bearing, and in the flower of her youth should carry with her the glory of the *Cesars* to another house. This perswasion with some helpe of *Agrippinas* allurements sunk deepest: who often coming to visite him under colour of kindred, so wonne her Uncle, that being preferred before all others, though yet not his wife, tooke upon her the authoritie of his wife. For as soone as she was assured of the marriage, she began to lay plots for greater matters, and undertook a match betwene *Domitius*, whom she had had by *Gn. Aenobarbus*, and *Octavia*, *Cesars* daughter: which without shame and discredit could not be accomplished, because *Cesar* had betrothed *Octavia* to *L. Silvanus* a young man, besides other vertues, of noble parentage; and on whom *Cesar* had bestowed the markes of triumph, and licenced to set forth a play of Fencers with all pompe and magnificence, to winne the love and favour of the people. But nothing seemed hard to the Princes minde, who had neither judgement nor malice, but what was put into him or commanded. *Vitellius* therefore cloaking under the name of a Censor base and servile devises; foreseeing into whose handling rule and dominion would shortly come, to winne *Agrippinas* favour, began to intermeddle and

and thrust himselfe into her counsels, and carry tales against *Silanus*: who had a sister indeed comely, but a shamelesse dame, called *Iunia Calvina*: who not long before had been *Vitellius* sonswife. From hence rose the beginning of his accusation, by drawing her into suspicion, not of incest with her brother, but of other loose loves redounding to their shame and infamie. *Cæsar* gave eare unto him, as one ready through the love he bare his daughter, to hearken to all suspicions against his son-in-law. But *Silanus* doubting nothing what snares were laid for him, and by chance that year *Prætor*, was on the sudden by an edict published by *Vitellius* put from his Senators roomie; although the roule of the Senators were made up, and the number taken not long before. *Claudius* thereupon brake off his alliance with him; and *Silanus* was forced to renounce his office by oath; and the rest of the time of his *Prætorship* was bestowed upon *Eprinus Marcellus*.

II. *Vitellius Oration for the marriage of the Uncle and the Niece. The marriage between Claudius and Agrippina. The death of Silanus.*

C *Rompeius*, and *Q. Veranius* being Consuls, the marriage was concluded betwene *Claudius* and *Agrippina*, and held as certaine in every mans mouth through tokens of unlawfull loves, though they durst not as yet celebrate the solemnities, having no president that the brothers daughter should be brought into the Uncles house as wife, for it was incest: and if not looked into, it was to bee feared that it would turne to a publike mischief. Neither was that doubt out of *Cæsar*'s head, untill *Vitellius* by his drifts and sleights undertooke the matter. And asking the Emperour whether he would yeeld to the commandement of the people, or authoritie of the Senate? and he answering that he was one of the Citizens, and not able to withstand their agreement, *Vitellius* willed him not to stir out of his Palace, but goeth himselfe to the Curia, and protesting that he had a matter to debate which touched the welfare of the whole State, craveth licence to speake first, and began as followeth. That the heavy and great toyles of the Prince in governing the whole world, wanted support; that being unburdened of domestical cares, hee might the better provide for the common good. And what honester solace of a Censors minde, then to take unto him a wife, a companion in prosperous and doubtfull fortune? unto whom he might impart his inward thoughts, commit his small children; he especially not nuzled up in riot and wanton lusts, but who had beene obedient to Lawes from his first youth. After he had made this preamble with a glosing speech, and that it was accepted with great flattery of the Lords of the Senate, hee began anew and said. Seeing that all of them did exhort the Prince to marry, it was convenient a wife were chosen for him, renowned for her nobilitie, childe-bearing, and honesty of life. Neither was it needfull to goe far for such a one, seeing *Agrippina* did excell the rest in noblenesse of blood, and had given a proove of her fruitfulness, and was indued with other honest qualities. That was a matter worthy remembrance, that by the providence of the gods, a Widow should bee joynted to a Prince, who had tried no matrimony but his owne. They had heard of their forefathers, and seene themselves, mens wives to have beene taken by force at the will of the Emperour; a thing farre from the modesty of the present time: yea hee should be a president how hereafter the Emperour should take a wife. But it is a strange president to marry our brothers daughters but an usuall matter amongst Nations, and by no Law forbidden. And marriages between couzen germanes a long time not known, in progresse of time grew common. A custome is to be ap-

plied

plied according as it is profitable and expedient: and this marriage likewise in time to come will be among things commonly practised. There wanted not some which protected, if *Cæsar* would protract his resolution, they would force him to it, and so rush who first might out of the Curia: and afterward by multitudes flocked together, crying that the people of Rome desired the same. *Claudius* expected no longer, but went and met them at the Forum, and shewed himselfe to such as were glad thereof. And entering into the Senate, demanded that a decree might be enacted, by which, marriage betwene the uncles and neeces, daughters to their brothers, should from thence forward be accepted just and lawfull. Yet for all that onely one there hath been called *Taliedius Severus*, a Gentleman of Rome, who hath greatly desired to marry in that sort, whom most men think to have done it to winne *Agrippinae* favour. By that marriage all was turned upside downe in the City, and all men obeyed this woman; yet not as when *Messalina* abused the government through licentiousnesse: but as it were with as great and severe subjection, as if they had been under a man. Openly she shewed severitie, and often pride; nothing done in her house dishonourably, unlesse it were so expedient for the furthering of rule and government: her exceeding greedinesse in raking money had a cloake, which was the maintenance of the state. The day of the marriage *Silanus* killed himselfe, either because untill that time he had hope of prolonging his life, or else chose that day to make the marriage more odious. *Calvina* his sister was expelled Italy. *Claudius* added certaine sacrifices according to the laws of King *Tullus* and certaine satisfactions by the chiefe Priest in *Dianæ* wood; all men laughing *Claudius* to skorne, that punishment and purging sacrifices of incest should bee sought at that time.

III. *Betrothing of Domitius Agrippinaes sonne with Octavia, Claudius daughter. Seneca is recalled out of exile. The Parthians demand that Meherdates may be their King.*

BUT *Agrippina*, lest she should be famous onely for infamous actions, got remission of *Annius Senecaes* banishment, and withall obtained him the *Prætorship*; perswading herselfe it would be gratefully accepted of the commonaltie, by reason of his great fame in learning, and because *Domitius* childhood might be trained up under such a master, and use his advice and counsell to attaine to the Empire which shee hoped after. Because it was thought *Seneca* would be trusty to *Agrippina*, for the remembrance of this benefit received of her, and an enemy to *Claudius* for the griefe of his injurie. Then thinking it convenient not to delay the matter any longer, *Memmius Pollio* Consul elect was indued through great promises to propound, and perswade *Claudius* to hand-fast *Octavia* to *Domitius*, a thing nothing inconvenient, both their ages considered, and might be an entrance to greater matters. *Pollio* gave his opinion in words, not unlike to those which *Vitellius* of late used, and thereupon *Octavia* was betrothed. Now *Domitius* besides the kindred which was between them before, being betrothed and sonne in law to the Emperour, beganne to be made equall to *Britannicus*, by his mothers practises, and policie of such as feared the sonne would revenge upon those which procured *Messalinæ* accusation. About the same time the Embassadors of the Parthians sent, as I have said before, to demand *Meherdates* for their King, entered into the Senate, and began to utter their charge as followeth. "They came thither not ignorant of "the league between them and the Romans, nor disloyall to the family of the Ar-

"cides,

cides; but to aske for *Vonones* son, *Phrabates* nephew; against *Gotarzes* tyranny, as like intolerable to the nobility and communalitie. Now that his brothers are extinguished by murder, his neereft kinsmen, and such as were farthest off, he would do the like to women with child, and small children: thinking it a means being unfortunate in wars abroad, to cover with that cowardlinesse his crueltie at home. That their amity with us was ancient, and publickly confirmed, and therefore reason, for we should aide our allies, which might in strength compare with the Romans; but in deedyeld for reverence. Therefore the Kings children were given for hostages, that if they grew weary of their domestickall government, they might have recourse to the Prince and Lords of the Senate, under whose manner of living the King being brought up, should be presumed to be the better. Whē they had uttered these and the like speeches, *Cæsar* began his Oration with the greatnesse of the Roman Empire, and dutifulesse of the Parthians, and maketh himselfe equall to *Augustus*; declaring that a king had been demanded of him also, not mentioning *Tiberius* at all, notwithstanding he had sent aide likewise. He gave certaine Precepts to *Meherdates*, who was there present, advertising him that he should not think himselfe a Lord and master to command over his subjects as slaves; but a guide; and they Citizens: and that he should use clemency and justice, vertues so much the more gratefull unto these Barbarians, by how much the lesse knowne among them. Then turning himselfe to the Embassadors, he highly commended the youth which had beene brought up in the Citie, as one, whose modestie had beene well tried: that the dispositions of Kings were to bee borne withall, because often changes are not profitable. That the Romane estate was growne unto that height with fulnesse of glory, that it desired peace and quietnesse even to forreine nations. After he had thus said, he commanded *C. Cassius* governor of Syria, to conduct the young man to the river of Euphrates. *Cassius* at that time did excell the rest in the knowledge of the laws. For military skill is unknowne in time of rest and quietnesse: and peace esteemed alike of the coward and couragious. Nevertheless as much as those quiet times gave him leave, he renewed the ancient discipline; kept the Legions in practise with care and foresight, as if the enemy had beene at hand; thinking it a thing worthy of his ancestors, and *Cassian* familie, renowned among those people. Having therefore sent for them, through whose consentment the king was denuded, and planted his campe at Zeugma, where the river is most passable: after that the noble men of Parthia, and the King of the Arabians called *Abbarus* was come, he shewed unto *Meherdates*, that the first brunt of the Barbarians was fierce and hot; but by delay and lingring became cold, or turned into treason; and therefore hee should courageously goe through his interprise. But his advise was contemned through *Abbarus* fraud, who detained him like an unexperienced young man in the towne of Edeffa; as though the highest degree of fortune and princely felicitie had consisted in riot and wantonnesse. And when *Carrhenes* called them in, and assured them, that all was in a good readynesse if they would make hast, they did not march straight to Mesopotamia, but turned to Armenia in an unseasonable time, because the winter was begun. Then wearied with snowes and mountaines, coming neere to the plaine, they ioyned with *Carrhenes* forces. And having passed the river of Tigris, they entered into the cuntry of Adiabeni; whose King *Tulatus* in open shew professed himselfe a confederate of *Meherdates*, but under hand was more faithfully bent to *Gotarzes*.

III. Gotar-

III. Gotarzes overcome with Meherdates, and cutteth off his eares: Mithridates usurpeth the Kingdome of the Dandarides: and goeth about to drive out Cotys.

NEverthelesse in passing by, *Meherdates* tooke the citie of Ninos, the most ancient seat of Assyria, and a famous Castle; because that in the last battell betwixt *Darius* and *Alexander* there; the Persian power was brought to utter ruine. In the meane time *Gotarzes* at a hill called Sambulos, offered vowes to the gods of the place, among which *Hercules* was chiefly honoured: who at a certaine time admonisheth his Priests in a dreame, that neere unto the Temple, they should have horses ready prepared for hunting: the horses loaden with quivers full of arrowes prawning up and downe the woods, returne at night, breathing and panting with their quivers empty. The god againe declareth to them in a dreame, what woods they have coured up & down in; whither they goe and finde wilde beasts killed in many places. But *Gotarzes* not having sufficiently strengthened his army, useth the river Corma for a defence. And although he were summoned by divers messengers and hard speeches to battell: yet he fought delays; changed place; & sent some to corrupt the enemy, & draw them to forsake their obedience. Among which *Ezates* *Adiabenus*, and anon after *Abbarus* King of the Arabians, with their army began to shrink through a certain lightnesse incident to that nation: and because it is tryed by experience that the Barbarians had rather come to Rome to demand a king, then when they have him, keepe him. Now *Meherdates* seeing himselfe stripped of his strongest succour, and suspecting lest the others would betray him, determined for his last refuge to commit his matter to chance, and hazard it in a maine battell. *Gotarzes* being very fierce, that his enemies forces were diminished, refused not to fight. They met with great slaughter and a doubtfull issue; untill *Carrhenes* making cleare way before him, and driving and pursuing the enemies too farre, was compassed behinde with a fresh company and flaine. Then all hope being lost, *Meherdates* trusting the promises of one *Parrhacis* a follower of his father, by his falsehood was taken prisoner, and delivered to the Conquerour. Who intreated him not like a kinsman, or one of the *Arfacis* stocke; but reviled him like a stranger and a Roman: and having cut off his eares, gave him his life, as a shew of his clemency; and dishonour and reproach untous. Not long after *Gotarzes* dyed of a disease; and *Vonones* then governour of the Medes, was called to be King. There happened nothing in his reigne either prosperous or unprosperous, worthy the telling: he lived but a short and an inglorious time; and the kingdome of the Parthians was translated to his sonne *Vologeses*. But *Mithridates* the Bosphorin wandering up and downe after hee had lost his forces; understanding that *Didius* the Roman Captaine with the strength of his army was departed: and that not onely *Cotys* a raw and rude youth, was left in the new kingdome with some few bands under the conduct of *Iulius Aquila* a gentleman of Rome; contemning both of them, began to sollicite the countries about him, and allure fugitives: and at last, having assembled an army, chafeth out the King of the Dandarides, and injoyeth his kingdome. Which being understood, and looking every houre that he would invade the Bosphorin: *Aquila* and *Cotys* distrusting their owne forces, because *Zorines* King of the Soraci had taken armes againe, fought for forreine ayde, and sent Ambassadors to *Eunones* King of the Adorlian nation: being no hard matter to drawe him to their fellowship.

fellowship, after he had declared what odds there was between the Roman forces, and the rebell *Mithridates*. Whereupon they agreed that *Eunones* should have charge of the horsemen, and the Romans besiege townes. Then having mustered their armie in order, they march in battell array; the *Adorsi* defended the front and the rereward, the cohorts and *Bosphorani* the middle battle, armed after our fashion. And so driving back the enemy, we came to *Soza* the chiefe towne of *Dandarica*, which *Mithridates* forsooke; where we left a garrison, as being doubtfull of the inhabitants fidelitie. From thence they marched to the *Soraci*: and having passed the river *Panda*, they besieged the city *Vipe*, situated on a high place, & fortified with wals and ditches, saving that the wals not being made of stone; but of hurdles ioyned together, and earth in the middle, were too weake against the besiegers: who having erected towers higher then the wals, with fire and darts disordered the besieged: and had not the night broken off the battell, the towne had beene assaulted and taken the same day. The next day they sent Ambassadors to treat for the freemen; but of slaves they offered ten thousand, which the Conquerours refused. And because that to slay such as yeelded would be a cruell part; and to keepe so great a multitude hard, they thought it best to hold on the siege, and kill them by right of warre: and thereupon the signe was given to such souldiers as had scaled the wals to put them to the sword,

V. *Mithridates being forsaken by Zorines King of the Soraci, yeeldeth to Eunones King of the Adorsi, and came to Rome after he had made a peace.*

THE slaughter of the *Vspensians* strooke the rest into a feare, thinking now that there was no safety in any thing: seeing their armes; their fortresses, high and hard places; rivers and townes, were forced alike. *Zorines* then long weighing with himselfe, whether he should succour *Mithridates* desperate case, or provide for his fathers kingdom: at length the love of his countrey swaying him, having given pledges, he prostrated himselfe before the image of *Cæsar*, to the great glory of the Roman army; which without any losse of bloodshed on his side came (as it is most manifest) victorious, within three dayes journey of the river *Tanais*. But in returning fortune was not alike; because some of the shippes carried on the *Taurian* shores, were by the Barbarians surpris'd, and the prefect of the cohorts, and most of the Centurions slaine. In the meane time *Mithridates* finding no safety in armes, dabateth with himselfe whose mercy he should trie: He feared his brother *Cotys*, because he betrayed him once, and was now his enemy. There was none of the Romans of such authoritie, that their promises should greatly be regarded: in fine, he address'd himselfe to *Eunones* his enemy for private grudge; but great, and of better credit through the friendship newly contracted with us. Therefore composing his countenance, and attiring himselfe suitable to his present estate, goeth to the Kings palace, and casting himselfe at his knees saith: Behold here *Mithridates*, whom by sea and by land you have so many yeeres fought. Behold I am here of my owne voluntary will. Vias thou wilt the sonne of great *Achemenes*, which is the onely thing which the enemies have not taken from me. But *Eunones* moved with the nobility of the man and the change of his fortune, at his prayer which argued no base minde; listeth up the suppliant, and commendeth him that he had chosen the *Adorsian* nation, and his right hand for obtaining of pardon. And withall sendeth Ambassadors and letters to *Cæsar* with these contents. That the first friendship, be-

twixt

twixt the Emperours and Kings of other mighty nations, proceeded of conformity and likenes of fortune: but *Claudius* amity and his, of a victorie common to them both. That the end of warre were most notable, when peace was made with pardoning. So when *Zorinus* was conquered nothing was taken from him: for *Mithridates* although he had deserved worse; no power, no kingdom was entreated for, but onely that he might not be lead in triumph, and lose his life. Neverthelesse *Claudius*, although he were milde and gentle towards forraigne nobilitie; yet doubted, whether it were best for him to receive the captive under condition of life, or demand him by force of armes. For on one side the griefe of injuries received, and desire of revenge pricked him; and on the other, reasons to the contrary: That he should take a warre in hand in a hard countrey, and a havenlesse sea: with all that the Kings were fierce and the people scattered, and the soile fruitlesse and needy of victuals; then that lingring would bring tediousnesse, and haste danger: the praise should be small to the conquerors; the infamy great if they took the repulse: therefore it were best to take the offer, & keepe the exiled: who being poore, how much the longer he lived; so much the more punishment he should indure. Moved with these reasons he wrote to *Eunones*. In very truth, that *Mithridates* deserved exemplary punishment; neither wanted he power to execute it: neverthelesse it hath seemed best unto our predecessors, to use as great benignity towards humble suppliants, as hard and rigorous dealing towards the enemy: for triumphes were gotten of whole nations and kingdoms. Then *Mithridates* was delivered and carried to Rome by *Iunius Cælo* Procurator of Pontus; and thought to have spoken more boldly to *Cæsar* then his estate required. His speeche was carried to the people in these termes. I am not sent back unto thee, but am come; and if thou beleev me not, let me goe and try. There appeared no signe of feare in his countenance, when as guarded with keepers neere unto the court, he was shewne unto the people. The Consular ornaments were given to *Cælo*, and the Pretorian to *Aquila*.

VI. *The death of Lollia Paulina, through Agrippinaes jealousy. Calphurnia driven out of Italy.*

UNDER the same Consuls *Agrippina* boiling with deadly hatred and malice against *Lollia*, because shee had contended with her for the marrying of the Prince, left no meanes unsought, untill shee had stirred up some to accuse her of conference had with the Chaldeans, and Magicians, and counsell asked of the idoll of *Apollo Clarius*, concerning the Emperors marriage. Hereupon *Claudius*, the defendant unheard, having spoken much before the Senat of her noblenes of birth, that she was *L. Volusius* sisters daughter; that *Cotta Messallinus* was her great uncle, and the once wife to *Mennius Regulus*, (for of purpose she left out that she had beene married to *C. Cæsar*) added in the end; that he had practis'd dangerous things, against the state; and that all occasion and matter of evil was to be taken away: therefore he was of advice that shee should lose her goods, and depart out of Italy; leaving the banished woman of the infinite wealth which she was mistress of, but * fiftie hundred thousand sesterces. And *Calphurnia*, a woman of great birth was overthrowne, only because the Prince had praised her beautie; not for any amorous affection, but by chance: yet *Agrippina* stretched not her malice to the uttermost against her, but sent a Tribune to make away *Lollia*. And *Cadius Rufus* was condemned for bribery, and extortion, at the instance of the *Bithynians*. And in consideration of the great reverence the inhabitants of *Gallia Narbonensis* bare the

* About
30062. pence,
10. shillings.

Lords of the Senate, it was granted to the Senators of that Province, that without licence of the Prince they might go visite their houses, and dispose of their goods with the like privilege, as they which were of the Province of Sicilia. The Itrurians and Jews, after their Kings *Sabellus* and *Agrippa* were dead, were joynted to the Province of Syria. It was ordained that the ceremonies of the auguration of health, intermitted five and twentie yeeres, should be renewed, and continued from thenceforth. *Cæsar* enlarged the circuit of the citie, according to the ancient custome; by which licence was given them which had enlarged the bounds of the Empire, to enlarge the bounds of the citie. Nevertheless none of the Romane capitaines, *L. Sylla* and *Augustus* accepted, although they had subdued mightie nations, had undertaken to do it: but whether the Kings which then ruled the citie did it for ambition, or vain-glory, there run divers reports. But it shall not be impertinent, as I thinke, to lay down the beginning of the foundation of Rome, and what circuit *Romulus* first assigned. He therefore began the circuit at the oxen market called *forum boarium*, where he set up a picture of a brazen Bull (because that kinde of beast is broken to the plough) from thence drawing a furrow as a plat of the circuit of the citie, which contained within it the great altar of *Hercules*. From thence by certaine distances stones were put by the foot of the hill Palatine, unto the altar of *Consus*; then to the old Curies; then to the chappell of the household gods. For some have thought, that the *forum Romanum*, and the Capitoll, were not added to the city by *Romulus*, but by *T. Tatius*. After that, the circuit or pomerium was augmented, according to the fortune and riches of the Kings. And for the limits that *Claudius* then put, they are easily knowne, and are written in the publike actes.

VII. Domitius sonne of Agrippina is adopted by Claudius. The Catti send hostages to Rome. Vannius driven out of his country, goeth to Rome.

C *Antistius*, and *M. Silius* being Consuls, the adoption of *Domitius* was hastened through *Pallas* credit, who being wholly at *Agrippinae* devotion, as a principall meane of working the marriage between *Claudius* and her, then bound unto her, for unlawfull company of her body; urged *Claudius* to provide for the common-wealth, and strengthen *Britannicus* estate whilest he was young. "So *Augustus* wives children did flourish, although he had nephewes of his owne for a stay to his house: and *Tiberius* having issue of his owne, adopted *Germanicus*: therefore that he should also strengthen himselfe with this young man, who would take part of the care upon him. *Claudius* yeelding to his perswasion, preferreth *Domitius*, being but two yeeres elder, before his owne sonne; and maketh an oration before the Lords of the Senate, which he received of his freed man *Pallas*. The skillfull and wife did note, that there had never been any adoption before that time in the Patrician family of the *Claudians*, and that the succession had never failed from *Atta Clausus*. Nevertheless great thanks were rendered the Prince, and exquisite flattery used to *Domitius*, and a decree set downe, by which he should be accounted one of the *Claudian* family, and be called *Nero*. *Agrippina* also was magnified with the surname of *Augusta*. Both which done, there was no man so void of pity, which was not grieved and sorry for *Britannicus* fortune: for by little and little he was abandoned and scorned of his basest servants, by shewing an unseasonable duty to his stepmother, which he well perceived, as not dull witted, but of good conceit, as it is reported, either because he was so indeed, or attributed to him in his distresse, the same and opinion continued without triall. *Agrippina* to make her credit

credit and power known among the confederates also, commanded the old souldiers, and a Colony to be brought to the City of *Ubiom*, where she was borne, which was afterward called of her name *Agrippina*. It hapned by chance, that when that Nation passed the Rhene, her Grandfather *Agrippa* took them into his protection. About the same time upper Germany quaked with feare, through the coming of the Catti, which robbed and spoiled all where they came. Whereupon *L. Pomponius* Lieutenant, gave advertisement to aid the Vangiones, and Nemetians, adding unto them a company of horsemen, to get before those Forragers; or if they slipped away, compassse and surprize them on a sudden. The diligence of the soldiers followed the Captains counsel, and dividing themselves into two companies, those which took the left hand came upon them, and slew them, as they newly returned from pillage, riotously abusing their booty, and heavy asleep. Their joy was increased, because they had delivered from servitude some of their fellows, which fourty yeeres before had been taken when *Varrus* was defeated. But those which took the right hand, and the neereest way, meeting the enemy in the face, & daring to encounter, made a greater slaughter and loaden with booty and fame, returned to the hill *Taunus*, where *Pomponius* was expected with the Legions, if the Catti desiring a revēge, would offer occasion to fight. But they fearing lest the Romanes would set on them on one side, and the Cherusci with whom they are always at jarre, on the other, sent Embassadors and hostages to Rome, where the honour of triumph was awarded *Pomponius*, a small part of his fame with posterity, being more renowned for skill in Poetry. About the same time *Vannius* made King of the Suevians by *Drusus Cæsar* was driven out of his kingdom: in the beginning of his rule well liked & accepted of the people; but in the end growing proud, partly by the hatred of the borderers, and partly by civill discords, was put to the worst. The authors of this practice were *Inbillus* King of the Hermunduri, and *Vangio*, and *Sido*, *Vannius* sisters children: yet *Claudius* although often intreated, whilest these barbarous people were together by the eares, would no way intermeddle, onely he promised *Vannius* refuge if he were driven out: and wrote unto *P. Atilius Histrus* Governor of Pannonia, to lodge a Legion, and all the aid he could levy in the province, on the bank of *Danubius*, as an aid to the conquered, and a terror to the conqueror, lest puffed up with prosperous fortune, they would so disturb our peace. For an infinite power of the Ligians and other Nations were coming, drawn with the fame of the wealth of *Vannius* kingdom, which for thirty yeeres space he had enriched with pillages and tributes. *Vannius* owne forces consisted in footmen, his horsemen were of Sarmates, called Jazygines, unable to encounter the multitude of the enemies power, & therefore defended himselfe in fortresses, and purposed to protract the war. But the Jazygines not able to endure to be besieged, but wandering and wasting the Champion adjoining, drove *Vannius* to a necessity of fighting, because *Ligius* and *Hermundur* were pressing in on the backs of them. *Vannius* therefore issuing out of his Fort, lost the battell, but not without honour, even in his distresse: because in person he shunned not the battell, and face to face received wounds in his body; and at last fled to his shipping which waited for him in *Danubius*: by and by his Vassals following him, having received land to dwell in, planted themselves in a part of *Hungaria*. The Kingdom *Vangio* & *Sido* parted between them, shewing great loyalty towards us. Their subjects either for their desert, or such being the disposition of those which are kept under, whilest they were yet a getting the kingdom, shewed them all tokens of love and affection: but after they had gotten it, as the greater their love before, so the greater their hatred after.

VIII. Ostorius

VIII. Ostorius governour of great Britanna, gaineth a battell against the Icenī, and tooke Caractacus King of the same countrey, and sent him to Rome. The warres of the Romans against the Siluri.

* Non, at Northampton and Severne. Vide Cambd.
 b Suffolke, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.

* Whether Somersetshire, or the Prov. of Cornwall.
 b Yorkeshire, Lancashire, &c. of Yorkshire, Westernland, Cumberland.
 c Southwicks, as Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire.
 d Maldon in Essex.
 e Northwicks, Stoughton, &c. in Devonshire, Cornwall, &c. in Devonshire, &c. in Devonshire.

P^{ostorius} Propretor of Britanna, at his landing found all in an uprore: the enemy ranging the allies country, and using so much the greater violence, because he thought the new capitaine as unacquainted with his armie, and the winter also begun, would not come forth to encounter him. But he knowing well that the first successe breedeth either feare or confidence, gathered with speede his readiest cohorts, made toward the enemy, slaying those which made head against him; pursued the residue stragled abroad, for feare left they should joyne againe: and left a faithlesse and cloked peace should neither give the capitaine nor the souldier any rest, he disarmed those he suspected, and hemmed them in with garrisons betweene Antona & Sabrina (*). Which the Icenī (b) first of all refused, a strong people, and unshaken with warres, because that of their owne motion they had sought our alliance and amitie: and at their instigation the people adjoining chose a place to fight, compassed in with a rude and common trench, and narrowing entrance, to hinder the comming in of horsemen. That fence the Roman Capitaine, although he wanted the strength of the legions, went about to force with the ayde of the allies alone: and having placed his cohorts in ranks, setteth the troops of horsemen in a like readinesse to their businesse: then giving the signe of battell brake the rampire, and disorderd the enemies in their owne fortresses. Who stroken in conscience with a remorse for their rebellion; and seeing all passages of escape stopped up, shewed great courage and valour in defending themselves. In which fight *M. Ostorius* the Lieutenants sonne, deserved the honour of saving a citizen. But by slaughter of the Icenī, those which wavered betweene warre and peace were quieted, and the army lead against the (c) Cangi. Whose countrey they waisted and spoiled; the enemy not daring to shew himselfe in field: or if privily and by stealth they attempted to cut of any which dragged behind, they payed for their coming. Now the Roman army was come neere unto the sea coast which looks towards Ireland, when as certaine tumults sprung up among the (d) Brigantes brought backe the Capitaine, certainly resolved not to attempt any new matter, untill he had fetled the old. But as for the Brigantes, some few put to death which first began to take armes, the residue being pardoned, all were quieted. The (e) Siluri could neither by cruelty nor faire meanes bee hindered from making warre: and therefore no remedy left to keepe them under, but with a garrison of legionary soldiers. The which to performe more easily, a colonie called (f) Camalodunum, of a strong company of old souldiers, was brought into the subdue countrey, as an ayde and safeguard against the rebels, and inducement to the confederates, to the observation of lawes. From thence they marched against the Siluri; besides their owne courage trusting to *Caractacus* strength, who having waded thorow many dangers and in many adventures prosperous and luckie, had gotten such reputation, that he was preferred before all the Brittish Captaines. But in craft, and skillfulnesse of the countrey, having the advantage on us, but weaker in strength, removeth the war to the (g) Ordovices: and there all those joyning to him which feared our peace, resolved to hazard the last chance, chusing a place for the battell, where the coming

in and going out was very incommodious to us, and to his great advantage. Then they got to the top of a hill: and if there were any easie passage unto them, they stopped it up with a heape of stones, as it were in manner of rampire. Not farre off, ranne a river with an uncertain foord, where a great troop of his best souldiers were ready in order before the rampire. Besides this, the leaders went about, exhorted and encouraged the souldiers, taking all occasion of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all other inducements of warre. And *Caractacus* courting hither and thither, protested: "That that day, and that battell should be either the beginning of the recovering of their liberty, or perpetuall servitude. He called upon the names of his ancestors, which chafed *Cæsar* the Dictator out of the Ile, by whose valour they were delivered from hatchets, and tributes; and enjoyed freely their wives and childrens bodies undefiled. Whilft he uttered these or the like speeches, the people made a noyse about him, and every man swore according to the religion of his countrey, that he would yeeld, neither for wounds nor armes. That courage and cheerefulnesse greatly astonied the Roman Capitaine: and considering the river before his face; the fort they had cast up; the high hills which hanged over them; all things deadly to them, and commodious for the enemy, drove him into a doubt of the successe. Neverthelesse the souldier demanded battell, crying that there was nothing which valour could not overcome. The Prefects and Tribunes using the like speeches, greatly incensed the ardour and courage of the rest. Then *Ostorius* having viewed what places were of hard passage, and which of easie, leadeth his army boyling with choler, with small difficulty over the river. But when we were come to the rampire, as long as wee fought with throwing of darts, wee received most wounds, and many of our men were slaine, but after we had made our target fence thick, and broken downe those rude compacted heapes of stones; and that the fronts of both the armies came close to handy strokes, without ods: the Barbarians fled to the hill tops. But thither also aswell the light harnessed soldiers, as the corslets brake in: after whom the one galding them with darts and Javelins, and the others marching thicke and close together, brake the ranks, and disorderd the Brittaines, having neither head-peece, nor coat of fence. If they thought to resist our ayd-souldiers, they were beaten down with swords and Javelins by the legionaries; if they turned to make head against them, they were slaine with the pikes, and two handed swords of the auxiliaries. That victory was famous; *Caractacus* wife and daughter were taken, and his brothers yeelded themselves. He himself (as generally all succor failes in adversity) craving defence & protection of *Carismandua*, Queen of the Brigantes was by her taken prisoner and delivered to the Conquerours nine yeeres after the warre was begun in Britanna. Whereupon his fame being carried over the Ilands, and spread abroad throughout the Provinces adjoining, was also renowned in Italy: and they desired to see who he was, that so many yeeres had contemned our forces. Neither was his name meanely esteemed of at Rome. And whilft *Cæsar* extolled his owne worth, hee made the conquered more glorious. The people was assembled, as to see a notable spectacle. The Emperours guard was all in armes, and good order, in the field before their Campe then *Caractacus* vassals and retinue going before, the Caparissions, his Chaines and all other things gotten in warre against strangers, were brought after; then his brothers, his wife, and daughter; and last of all, he himselfe was shewne to the people. The prayers of the rest were bafe for feare: but *Caractacus* neither hanging downe the head, nor in words craving mercy, when he stood before *Cæsars* tribunall, spake as followeth.

"If my moderation in prosperity had been as great as my nobility & Fortune, I had come rather as a friend into this City, then a captive: neither wouldst thou have disdained to have received me with covenants of peace, being descended of ancient progenitors, and commanding over many nations. My present lot, as it is to me dishonourable, so is it to thee magnificent. I have had horses, men, armes, wealth: What marvell is it if unwillingly I have lost thee? for if you will command all men, it followeth that all men become bondmen. If presently I had yielded and been delivered into thy hands, neither my fortune, nor thy glory had been renowned, and oblivion would have followed my punishment. But if thou keepe me alive, I shall be for ever an example of thy clemency. Having spoken these words, *Cæsar* pardoned him, his wife, and his brothers. And being all unbound, they did their reverence likewise unto *Agrippina*, who sat aloft in another high chaire; and gave her the like praises and thanks, as they had given the Prince. Surely a new and strange thing, and of our ancestors never used, that a woman should sit and command the Roman ensignes; but she carried her selfe as a fellow and associate of the Empire gotten by her ancestors. After this the Lords of the Senate being called together, they made long and glorious discourses touching *Caracallus* captivity: affirming it to be no lesse honourable then when *P. Scipio* shewed *Siphaces* unto the people, and *L. Paulus Perses*, or if any other had exhibited to the view of the people Kings vanquished and overcome. Then publike honors of triumph were ordained for *Ostorius*, his fortunes untill then prosperous; but not long after doubtfull: either because that *Caracallus* being removed, as though thereby all had beene vanquished and subdued, service was carelessly intertaind; or else because that the enemies having compassion of so mighty a King, were more fervently enflamed to revenge. For they invironed the Camp master, and the Legionary Cohorts, which were left behinde to build fortresses in the Silures country: and if they had not been speedily rescued by the Villages and Ports adjoining, they had beene put to the sword every man. Nevertheless the Camp-master, and eight Centurions, and the forwardest common souldiers, were slaine: and anon after they put to flight our Forragers, and the troops of Horse-men which were sent to rescue them. Then *Ostorius* scnderth a broad certaine light harnessed Companies, which yet could not stay their flight, if the Legions had not undertaken the battell. By their strength they fought with small odies on either hand, till at length we had the better of it, and the enemy betooke him to his heeles with small losse, because the day began to faile. After that time they had divers skirmishes, though for the most part in woods and marishes, according as occasion was given, in manner of roades, either by chance, or of valour; sometimes by their Captaines commandement, and sometime without warrant: but principally by the obstinacy of the Siluri, exasperated with a speech which the Roman Emperour should have used: which was, that as the Sugambri were destroyed, and transported into Gallia, so the name of the Siluri should utterly be extinguished. And in this heate they intercepted two ayde-bandes, uncertainly speeuy waiting and spoyleing through the avarice of the Captaines; and by distributing the spoyle and prisoners, drew the residue of the Nations to revolt; when as *Ostorius* wearied with care and travell yielded up his Ghost: the enemy joyving thereat, as at the death of a Captaine not to be depised, though not in battell, yet spent by reason of the warre. But *Cæsar* being advertised of the death of his Lieutenant, left the Province should be destitute of a Governour, sent *A. Didim* in his place. He being gone thither with great speed, yet found not all quiet.

quiet: *Marcius Valens* in the meane space having had with a legion committed to his charge an unluckie fight. The same whereof the enemy made greater then it was, to terrifie the Captaine which was coming: and he used the like policie, and augmented the fame of that which he had heard, to win more praise by appeasing the furies, or if he could not, to purchase pardon more easily. The Siluri did therein euodamage us, and waste and spoile far abroad, untill by *Didim* coming they were driven backe. But after that *Caracallus* was taken, *Venutius* a very expert man in military affaires, borne at the city of the Iugantes*; and as I have sayd before, a long time trusty unto us, and defended by the Roman power, as long as the marriage betwixt him and *Carismandua* continued; rebelled against us, by reason of a divorce and warre betweene them. But at the first the strife was onely betweene them two, untill *Carismandua* by bolice had taken prisoner *Venutius* brother and neereft kinsmen. Whereupon the enemies kindled with rage, and ignominy pricking them forward, lest they should be brought under the yoke of a woman, they invaded her kingdome with a strong power of armed and choise youth. Which was foreseene by us, and the cohorts sent to second her, fought a hot battell, which at the beginning was doubtfull, though the end more joyfull. A legion also which *Cæsius Nasicus* commanded, fought with the like successe: for *Didim* being stricken in yeeres, and having received many honours, thought it sufficient to execute his charge, and drive away the enemy by the helpe of others. These exploits although they were achieved by two Propretors, *Ostorius* and *Didim* in many yeeres; yet I thought good to joyn together, lest being severed, they should not so well have beene remembered.

IX. Nero Agrippinaes sonne, is preferred before Britannicus sonne to Claudius.

NOW I will returne to the order of times. *Tib. Claudius* being the fifth time Consul, and *Ser. Cornelius Orfitus*, great haist was made to make *Nero* of full yeeres,* that he might seeme more capable of the government. And *Cæsar* willingly yielding to the flattery of the Lords of the Senate, consented that *Nero* should be Consul at twenty yeeres of age: and being elect, in the meane season, have the Proconsular authority out of the city; and be called prince of youth. There was also given in his name a donative to the souldiers, and a liberality to the people. The Circensian playes being exhibited to win the favour of the people, *Britannicus* in his pretext, and *Nero* in triumphing attire; because the people should see the one in the magnificence of an Emperour, and the other in the habit of a child; thereby to presume what fortune to either of them should hereafter fall. Withall, if any of the Centurions or Tribunes bewailed *Britannicus*, they were removed either by fained pretences, or under colour of preferment; yea of the freedmen, if any were faithfull, he was not suffered about him. As these two met upon occasion, *Nero* saluted *Britannicus* by his name, and *Britannicus* rendered him the like by the name of *Domitius*. VVhich *Agrippina* taking hold of, as a beginning of a quarrell, carrieth to her husband with a grievous complaint, saying that the adoption was nought set by, the decree of the Senate, the ordinance of the people broken and abrogated in his owne house: and if such contemptuous forwardnesse of *Britannicus* teachers were not severely looked unto, it would burst out into some publike mischief. *Claudius* moved with these complaints, as though they had beene faults indeed; either banished, or put to death the chiefe bringers up of

* *Toga virilis* in opposition to *prætexta*, which noble mens children wore till 17. then rooke 192m *virilem* s. *virique* *memoria* *quantum* *senectus* *gaudium*, cum *pro* *texta* *posita* *summissi* *virum* *tozam*, *Senec.*

of his sonne, and placed such over him as his stepmother would appoint. Nevertheless *Agrippina* durst not levell at her chiefeft marke, which was that her son should succeed in state, unlesse *Lusius Geta*, & *Rufus Crispinus* captaines of *Cæsars* guard were first discharged: whom she thought would be mindfull of *Messalinaes* favors towards them, and therefore bound unto her children. *Agrippina* therefore beareth the Emperour in hand, that the guard was devided into factions through ambition of the two captaines striving for superiority; that the discipline of service would be better kept if the souldiers were commanded by one alone. The charge of the cohorts was transferred unto *Burrhus Afranius*, a man of great fame for matter of service, yet knowing well by whose practise and favour he came to the place. *Agrippina* began also to raise her owne estate to a higher degree, by entering into the Capitolina Chariot, which in times past was a custome only lawful for the priests in sacred rites, which augmented the more the state of this woman, because she was the onely example unto this day of any one, who being daughter of an Emperour, hath bene also sister, wife, and mother of an Emperour. In the meane season her chiefeft buckler *Vitellius*, being in highest favour, and very old (so slippery is the state of great personages) was accused by *Junius Lupus* Senator, of treason, and aspiring to the Empire, and *Cæsar* ready to give eare to the accusation, if he had not rather changed his opinion by *Agrippinaes* threats then intreaties, and so to banish the accuser, which was the punishment *Vitellius* best liked. That yee many prodigious sights hapned: as that many birds portending evill lucke lighted upon the Capitol; many houses ruined by often earthquakes, and the feare spreading among the astonished people, many in throngs were smothered. The want of corne, and the famine which infused thereof was also construed as a presage of evill lucke. Neither did they complain in secret onely, but came about *Claudius* as he gave audience, with turbulent clamors, & having thrust him to the end of the forum, followed him, untill that with a band of souldiers he brake through the prease. It was most certaine that the city was not victualled for above fiftene dayes: but by the great goodnesse of the gods, and mildenesse of the winter, the city was relieved in necessity. But truly in times past provision of corne hath bene transported out of Italy into other provinces farre distant. And at this present we stand not in want through the barrennesse of the country, but wee doe rather manure Africke and Egypt, and hazard the life of the people of Rome by sea, whereof depends want or abundance.

X. Warres betweene the Romans and the Parthians.

THE same yee a warre begun betweene the Armenians and Hiberi, was cause of great troubles betwixt the Romans and the Parthians. *Vologeses* was King of the Parthians, defended by his mothers side of a Greek concubine, yet got the kingdome by consent of his brothers. *Pharasmanes* had a long time possessed the Hiberians country as a King: and his brother *Mithridates* of the Armenians through our forces. *Pharasmanes* had a sonne called *Rhadamistus* of a comely tall stature, and of a very strong and able body, trained up in the qualities and practises his father before him had bene, and greatly renowned among his neighbours. He was wont to say that the kingdome of Hiberia was small, and yet kept from him by his father, who was very old: and so oft he did cast forth those speeches, and so fiercely, that it was easily seene how greedy a desire he had to reigne. *Pharasmanes* then seeing this young man so desirous and ready to rule, misdoubting the peoples affection bent towards him, by reason of his declining yeeres; thought it best

best to feed him with some other hope and set Armenia before his eyes, telling him that he had given that kingdome to *Mithridates*, having first expelled the Parthians. Yet that it was not his best course to sit on it by force; but use policie against *Mithridates*, and intrap him when he least looked for it. *Rhadamistus* under colour of some discontent with his father, through the insupportable dealing of his step-mother, goeth to his uncle: where being intreated with all curtesie as if he had bene his own child, solicited the chiefe Noble-men of Armenia to rebellion: *Mithridates* knowing nothing, but still entertaining him with all favor and kindnesse. *Rhadamistus* under colour of reconciliation returned unto his father, and declared unto him to what a forwardnesse he had brought matters by policy; and that the rest was to be accomplished by armes. In the mean time *Pharasmanes* seeketh occasions of warre: and fineth that when he made warre against the King of the Albani, and demanded succour of the Romanes, his brother was against him, which injurie he would revenge to his utter ruine and overthrow. And therewithall giveth his sonne a strong power, who having terrified *Mithridates* with a sudden interruption and driven him out of the field, forced him to flee into a Fort called Gorneas, strong by situation, and girded with a Garrison of souldiers: *Calvus Pollio* being their captaine, and *Casperi* their Centurion. The barbarous people knew nothing lesse then engines and subtille devises in besieging and assailing of fortresses: and to us that part of service is most familiar. And *Rhadamistus* in vaine, yea with his losse having tried to approach the Fort beginning the siege; and seeing how little good was to be done that way, tryeth what marchandise he could make with the captaine for money: although *Casperi* protested that a King confederate, or Armenia the gift of the people of Rome, ought not to be bought and sold by corruption and money. In the end, because *Pollio* pretended the multitude of enemies, and *Rhadamistus* his fathers commandement; *Casperi* having agreed to a suspension of armes, departed: with intention that if he could not withdraw *Pharasmanes* from making warre against *Mithridates*, he would informe *T. Vinidius Quadratus* Prefident of Syria in what estate Armenia stood. By the departure of the Centurion, the prefect being as it were delivered of a keeper, began to exhort *Mithridates* to make a peace: "Shewing him the unity that should be betweene brothers, that *Pharasmanes* was his elder brother, with other respects of freindship & alliance; as "he had married *Pharasmanes* daughter, and how he was *Rhadamistus* father in law. "The Hiberi refused not to make a peace, although at that time they were strong, & "the perfidiousnesse of the Armenian well known, and *Mithridates* had no other refuge but the Castle destitute of munition: & therefore that he should not doubt "rather to accept conditions of peace without blood, then try the hazard of warre. "*Mithridates* resolved not on the sudden, suspecting the captains counsels; because "he had lowly behaved himselfe with the Kings Concubines, was a man easily corrupted with money to all lewdnesse. *Casperi* in the meane space goeth to *Pharasmanes*, and is very instant that the Hiberi should depart from the siege of Gorneas. But the King giving openly uncertaine answers, and for the most part gentle and milde; by secret messengers advertiseth *Rhadamistus* by all possible means to hasten the assault. The price of the treason is augmented, and *Pollio* secretly corrupting the souldiers, perswadeth them earnestly to demand a peace, and threaten that they would abandon the Fortresse. Through which necessity *Mithridates* taketh a day and place to tr at a peace, and goeth out of the Fortresse. *Rhadamistus* running immediatly to embrace him, fineth great obedience; calleth him father in law, and father; and sweareth hee would use no violence to-

wards him, neither by sword, nor poison. And withall draweth him into a wood hard by, saying: that there he had caused a sacrifice to be provided to conclude and confirme the peace in the presence of the gods. The custome of those kings is that when they make any atonement, to joyne their right hands, and bind their thumbs together, and draw them hard with a knot; then when the blood is run to the outward parts, with a small pricke let it out, & then lick the one the others: that atonement is counted sacred, as it were hallowed with their mutuall blood. But he which should have tyed their thumbs together, faining as if he had fallen, catcheth holde of *Mithridates* knees, and overthroweth him: immediatly many ran in and bound him in chaines and fetters, and so drew him away, which the Barbarians repute a great ignominy and dishonour. The common people whom he had rigorously tyrannised, reviled him, and offered to strike him. But contrariwise there were some which had compassion of so great a change of fortune: and his wife following with her little children filled all with lamentation; who were all thrust into sundry covered wagons, untill *Pharasmaes* pleasure was knowne. But the Kingdome was dearer unto him, then his brother and daughter; and therefore his minde was ready bent to all wickednes: onely he tooke order that they should not be murdered in his sight. And *Rhadamistus* as it were mindfull of his oath, used neither sword nor poison against his sister and uncle, but laying them on the ground covereth and stifeth them with a heavy burden of clothes. And *Mithridates* children were slaine likewise, because they wept and bewailed the murdering of their parents. But *Quadratus* understanding that *Mithridates* was betrayed, & that the murderers joyned the Kingdome, calleth a counsell, and declareth the matter, and consulteth whether he should revenge or not. Few had care of the publicke credit; most were of opinion that they should embrace the surest way. That they should be glad of all wickednesse committed among forraine Nations: yea, that they should cast seedes of sedition and hatred among them: as oft the Roman Princes had bestowed the same Armenia under colour of liberalitie now to one, now to another, as an occasion to put those Barbarians together by the eares. That *Rhadamistus* might enjoy his ill gotten Kingdome, so as withall he be odious and infamous: seeing that it was better so for the Romans, then if he had gotten it with credit. They all condescended unto this advice. And yet lest they should seeme to approve that wicked fact, and lest *Cæsar* should command the contrary, messengers were sent to *Pharasmaes*, advising him to depart Armenia, and withdraw his sonne away likewise. At that time *Julius Pelignus* a dastardly coward, and no lesse detpicable, a jesting stocke for misshap and deformitie of body, was Procurator of Cappadocia; but of inward familiarity with *Cæsar*; which being a private man in times past, in his company he spent his idle time with delight and contentation. This *Pelignus* having gathered together the forces of the Provinces, as if he would recover Armenia, but waisting and spoiling the allies more then the enemies; his owne revolting from him, and the Barbarians making incurfions; being without succour came to *Rhadamistus*, who with gifts so wonne him, that of his owne motion he exhorted him to crowne himselfe King, and assisted him as the Author and approver of the action. Which dishonest fact being bruited abroad, left the credit of the rest shold be measured according to this fact of *Pelignus*: *Helvidius Priscus*, Lieutenant was sent with a Legion to redresse those sturres as the present occasion required. Who having with all convenient speed passed over the hill Taurus, and settling the affaires there rather with moderation, then force, was commanded to returne to Syria; lest he should be a beginning of warre against the Parthians. For *Vologeses* thinking there had fell out just

occasion

occasion of invading Armenia, which possessed of his Ancestors, a forraigne King now occupied by a lewde practise, assemblth his power: and because none of his house should live without rule and soveraigntie, goeth about to invest his brother *Tiridates* in the Kingdome. By the coming of the Parthians, the Hiberi were driven out without stroke striking: and the Cities of the Armenians, Artaxata, and Tigranocerta, submitted themselves to the yoke. But the sharpe and hard winter, or else scarcety of victuals and other provision, and the sicknesse proceeding of both, constrained *Vologeses* to forsake his pretended enterprise: and *Rhadamistus* invadeth Armenia afresh, having none to resist him; more cruell then before, as against rebels, ready at all times to rebel if occasion were offered. In so much that they, though accustomed to bondage, yet brake all patience, and besieged the Kings house; *Rhadamistus* having no other refuge, then the swiftnesse of his horses, saved both himselfe and his wife. But his wife being great with childe, endured the first flight so so, for feare of the enemy and love of her husband: afterward by continuall haile and overmuch jogging and shaking, she began to pray her husband that with an honest death she might be delivered from the reproch of captivity. He at the first embraced her, comforted her, encouraged her; then admiring her stoutnesse, then sick with grief, left leaving her behinde him, any should enjoy her: at last overcome with love; and being no babe in wicked attempts, draweth his Cymeter; and having given her a wound, drew her to the banks of Araxis and committed her to the river, lest her body should be carried away; and posseth himselfe to Hyberia his fathers kingdome. In the meane time the Shepheards espied *Zenobia* (for so was *Rhadamistus* wife called) drawing breath and alive, upon the quiet shore of the river: and judging her by the comeliennesse of her person, of some Noble race, bound up her wound, and applied such medicaments as the country affordeth. Then understanding her name and chance carried her into the Citie Artaxata: from whence at the charge of the common purse she was conducted to *Tiridates*, who entertained her with such curtesie as becometh a Kings wife.

XI. A decree against the Mathematicians. Cumanus and
Felix, Governours of Judea at variance: Warre
against the Clises.

WHEN *Fannius Sylla*, and *Salvius Otobus* were Consuls; *Furius Scribonianus* was banished, as searching out by the Chaldeans the time when the Prince should die. And *Iunia* his mother who before exiled was touched with the same crime, as bearing impatiently her former fortune, *Camillus Scribonianus* father had heretofore stirred vp wars in Dalmatia: & therefore *Cæsar* thought it a point of clemency to keep alive the progeny of his enemy. Nevertheless the banished man enjoyed not any long life after this: but ended his daies, either by naturall death, or by poison; every man giving out as he beleaved. Of banishing the Astrologers out of Italy there was a straight decree of Senat made, but tooke no effect. After this the Prince commended such in an Oration, who knowing their own estate decayed gave up their Senators roome of their owne accord; and those put from it, which continuing in it, joynd impudency to their poverty. Among other things the matter was debated in Senat touching the punishment of such women as married with slaves: and an order set downe that shee who without the privitie of her Lord, had false into that folly, should as if she had consented thereto, become herselfe a bond-slave, and the children borne of them be taken as Libertini. And *Pallas* whom *Cæsar*

publicly confessed to have been author of this relation, was by the advice of *Brutus Serranus* Consul elect, honored with the Prætorian ornaments, and received further * a hundred and fifty hundred thousand sesterces: and it was added by *Scipio Cornelius*, that thanks should be publicly given him, that being descended from the Kings of Armenia he would prefer the public good before his ancient family, and vouchsafe to be accounted one of the Princes officers. *Claudius* affirmed that *Pallas* was contented with the Prætorian dignitie onely, and would continue in his former povertie. Whereupon a decree of Senate was publicly engraven in Brasse in commendation of this freed-man, who being possessor of there hundred millions of sesterces, was content to live according to the provident manner of sparing of our ancestors. But his brother surnamed *Felix* of late made Governour of Judæa, used not the same moderation, but bare himselfe upon his authoritie as a sufficient warrant for all lewdnesse whatsoever. The Jewes made shew of a rebellion through a sedition * after they understood of the death of *Caius*: they were still afeard lest some other Prince should command them the like things. In the meane season, *Felix* going about to redresse all by unseasonable punishments, exasperated them the more. And *Ventidius Cumanus* unto whom part of the Province was committed, and was his secret enemy, egged him forward. For the countrey was so divided, that the Galileans were governed by *Cumanus*, and the Samaritans by *Felix*, enemies of old; and now more then ever shewing themselves through the contempt of the Governours. And therefore made inroades one against the other, set in Companies to robbe and spoile; laide ambushes: and sometimes they met in battell, and carried the booties and spoiles to their Governours. Who at the first were glad of it; but in the end perceiving the mischief to grow greater, they sent in souldiers to quier them, which were all slaine. And the whole Province had beene in an uproare; if *Quadratus* the Governour of Syria had not found meanes of redresse: who stayed not long untill he had revenged the death of the Roman souldiers, which the Jewes had slaine. *Cumanus* and *Felix* drew the matter at length, because *Claudius* having understood the occasions of the rebellion, had given authority to the Governour to determine, and punish the Procurators *Cumanus* and *Felix*, if their demerit had so required. But *Quadratus* caused *Felix* to sit among the Judges, and received him into the Tribunal to him, to the end the heat of the accusers should thereby be cooled: and condemned *Cumanus* for all the misdemeanour which both of them had committed; and by that meanes he set the Province at quietnesse. Not long after the Peasants of the Cilician Nation surnamed *Clites*, which at divers other times had rebelled, having *Troasobor* for their Capitaine, encamped on a rough and high hill. And from thence running downe to the sea shores and Cities, ventured on the husbandmen and Citizens; and often set on Marchants and Sea-men. And then having besieged the city of the *Anemuriens*, the horse-men sent out of Syria to aide them were put to flight with *Curtius Severus* their Prefect, by reason of the difficulties and uncleannes of the place round about fit for foot-men, was most inconvenient for horse-men to fight. Then *Antiochus* King of that quarter, using faire words to the Countrey people, and craft and subtilty towards the Captain, when he had severed the forces of the Barbarians having slaine *Troasobor* and a few of the ring leaders, appeared the residue by clemency. The same time betwene the lake *Fucinus* and the river *Lyris*, the better to behold the fight and magnificence of the spectacle, a Mountaine was cut thorow, and in the very lake a Sea-fight was represented. *Augustus* in times past had done the like, by making a standing poole on this side *Tibris*, but with light boates and few in number. *Claudius* armed Gallies with three and

* About 117:8
pound 15 sili.

* About
343750 lib.

four oares on a seate, and nineteene thousand men, and environed the Lake with frames of timber-work, because they should not run out at randome, yet left space enough for the rowers and Pilots to shew skill, and such encounters as had been accustomed in a sea fight. On the buildings about the Lake stood certaine companies of foot-men and troopes of horsemen of the Emperours guard, with fences before them to shoot with warlike instruments & engines. The rest of the Lake, sea-souldiers occupied with covered ships: the shore and small hil tops as it had been a Theatre, an infinite number of people filled, as well out of the townes adjoining, as the City, through desire of seeing the pastime, or to please the Prince. He himselfe in a rich and princely coat-armour, and *Agrippina* not farre off seate aloft, in a garment wrought with gold. They fought although they were malefactors and condemned persons, with great courage and valor, and after many wounds were parted and hindered from killing one another. But after that the shew was ended and the water let out: the insufficiency of the worke which was not thrust down, nor digged deepe enough to the bottome was discovered. Whereupon not long after the ditches were digged deeper, and to draw the people againe together, a shew of Fencers was made on bridges built over the Lake to represent a land fight. And at the mouth of the Lake a banquet prepared, drove them all into a great feare through the violent gushing out of the water, which carried with it all that was by, and things farther off breaking downe, with the crash and noise, strooke them all into a maze. Whereupon *Agrippina* taking advantage of the Princes feare, rebuked *Narcissus* who had charge of the worke, of covetousnesse and theft. And he for his part held not his tongue, but cast in her teeth her intolerable pride, and over haughty hopes.

XII. *Nero marrieth with Octavia: the inhabitants of Coss exempted from subsidies: the like is granted to Byzance.*

VHen *D. Iunius* and *Q. Haterius* were Consuls, *Nero* at the age of fixteene married *Cæsars* daughter, *Octavia*. And to win credit and reputation by honourable studies and glory of eloquence, undertaking the *Ilien*ses cause, declared that the Romans were descended from *Troy*, & that *Aeneas* was the roote of the *Julian* family, and many other matters, not farre unlike old fables; which being delivered with a good grace and fit words, obtained that the *Ilien*ses should be releafed from all publicke duties and charges. He pleaded also for the *Bonian* Colonie which was waisted with fire, and obtained for their reliefe * tenne millions of sesterces. The inhabitants of *Rhodes* were restored to their liberty, often * About 78:25. pound. taken from them, or confirmed, according as they had merited by service abroad, or demerited by sedition at home. The *Apameans* ruinated by an earth quake were discharged of tribute for five yeers. *Claudius* was incensed to much cruelty by *Agrippinas* practises, who gaping after *Statilius Taurus* Gardens; esteemed very rich, never ceased untill she had overthrowne him, *Tarquitius Priscus*, being his accuser. This *Priscus* had been *Taurus* Lieutenant, when he was Proconsull in *Africke*: and when they returned, objected that in some things he had used extortion and bribery; and withall, that he consulted with Magicians. But he not able to endure such an indignitie by a false accuser, slew himselfe before the Senators had given sentence: yet notwithstanding all the suite *Agrippina* could make, this *Tarquitius* was expelled the Curia: so odious he was to the rest of the Lords of the Senate. The same yeare the Prince was often heard to say, that the causes adjudged by his Procuratour, should be of the same validity, as if himselfe had given sentence.

And left those words might seeme to have escaped him by chance, a decree of Senate was enacted thereon, fuller and ampler then before any had been conceived. And *Augustus* of famous memory had granted, that all causes might be heard before the gentlemen which governed Egypt; and commanded that the sentences set down by them should be kept, as if they had bin given by a magistrate of Rome. After that, in other Provinces, and in the citie, many things were granted, which in times past belonged to the hearing only of the Pretor. *Claudius* yielded them all their right and jurisdiction, for which there had been such warres and sedition: as when the order of gentlemen by the Sempronian lawes, were established in the possession of Judicature; or when the Servilian lawes on the other side, had given the Senate power judicially to determine causes: and for which *Marius* and *Sylla* in times past more then all the rest, made warres the one against the other. But in those daies factions reigned among the citizens; and the conquerors bare publike sway, having all power in their hands. *C. Oppius* and *Cornelius Balbus* were the first, which with authoritie from *Cæsar* could handle conditions as well of peace, as of warre. It were to small purpose to speake of the Matians and Vedians after these, which were gentlemen of marke, and of noble families: seeing that *Claudius* hath made freedmen: unto whom he had committed the charge of his household affaires equal to himselfe, and to the laws. After that, *Cæsar* propounded, whether those of Cous should be releafed of tributes, alleading many things concerning their antiquitie: as that the Argivi, and *Ceus*, *Latonæ* father, were the old inhabitants of the Ile; and that after by *Aesculapius* arriving there, the Art of Physicke was brought in; a man highly esteemed of posteritie; naming them by their names, and in what age every one of them flourished. Further, he affirmed that *Xenophon* whose skill himselfe used in Physicke, descended from the same family; and that in regard of his desire, the Ile of Cous devoted to the service of so great a god, should be discharged of all tributes. Neither was it to be doubted, but there might be alleaged many merits of theirs, towards the people of Rome; and many victories obtained by their alliance. But *Claudius* according to his accustomed facilitie and simplicitie, went not about to shadow that with externall helps, which he had bestowed in favour of one alone. The Byzantines having obtained audience, delivered how grievous their impositions and tributes were, and desired they might be releafed; and ripped up all reasons they could, even from the first alliance which they made with us, when we warred against the king of Macedonia, who for baseness of minde, and want of courage, was called the false *Philip*. How after that, they had sent their power against *Antiochus*, *Perfes*, *Aristonicus*; and how they succoured *Antony*, in the wars against the Pirats: calling to minde likewise that which they offered *Sylla*, or *Lucullus*, or *Pompey*: then the late good turnes and services done to the *Cæsars*, when they came into those parts; where there is a most convenient passage both by land and by sea, for the captaines and armies with all carriages of necessary provisions. For the Greeks sited Byzance in the utmost part of Europe, in a very narrow straight, which divideth Europe from Asia: for having consulted with *Pythius Apollo*, in what territory they should build their citie; the oracle answered them that they should seek out a feat which was opposite to the land of blindmen. By that darke speech, the Chalcedonians were pointed at; because that having first arrived in that place, not judging aright of the commodiousness of it, made choise of the worst: for Byzance is seated in a fertile soile, and a plentifull sea; because great abundance of fish going out of Pontus, and fringed with the rocks and stones under the water, forsaking the creekes of the other

sheor,

shore, is brought all to these havens. Whereby first all the City became rich and wealthy: but then oppressed with charges and impositions: and therefore intreated they might either have an end or a mean of so heavy a burden. The Prince was ready to do them good, alleading that they were to be helped, as people wearied with late wars against the Trachians, and Bosphorans: and thereupon they were exempted in tributes for five yeeres space.

XIII. Why Agrippina seeketh *Claudius* death: the Emperour dieth imposed by the Physician *Xenophon*.

VHen *M. Asinius*, and *M. Acilius* were Consuls, a change of state to the worke was portended, and fore-knownne by many prodigious signes. For the ensignes and souldiers Tents were burnt with fire from heaven. A swarme of Bees lighted on the top of the Capitol: monsters and children born with two shapies: and a Sow brought forth a Pigge with talons of a Hauke. It was accounted a Prodigious matter, that the number of Magistrates was so small; a Quaestor, Aedill, Tribune, Prætor, and Consull dying but a few moneths before. But *Agrippina* of all others was most ascard, by reason of a word which *Claudius* cast forth being drunk; which was, that it was fatall unto him, first to beare the lewdness of his wives; then to punish them. Thereupon she bestirred her selfe and that with all speed: but first having made away *Domitia* for light cause, and womens quarrels. For *Domitia Lepida*, being daughter to the younger *Antonia*, and Neece to *Augustus* and cousen germane to *Agrippina* and sister to *Gn. Agrippinæ* first husband; thought her selfe to be of as great nobility as *Agrippina*, and as well descended: neither was there any great difference betweene them in beauty, age and wealth. And being both unchaste, infamous, peremptory and proud; they no lesse hated one the other for their vices, then for the graces and gifts of fortune. The ground of this bitter and deadly hate was, which should have more credit, and greater interest in *Nero*, the Aunt or the Mother. For *Lepida* had won the young mans heart by gifts, and faire words: *Agrippina* contrariwise cruell and threatening, could give her sonne the Empire, but not indure that he should rule. The crimes imputed to her were, that she went about to destroy the Princes wife by incantations, and devilish invocations: and that by not bridling and punishing her swarmes of slaves in Calabria, she had disturbed the quietness of Italy: for these causes she was commanded to die. *Narcissus* mightily repenting and grudging at it, who began more and more to suspect *Agrippina*; and was said to have uttered unto his neere friends, "that he was sure to dye, whether *Britannicus* or *Nero* came to be Emperour. Yet he "had received so much good at *Cæsars* hands, that he esteemed more of the Princes safety then his own life: *Messallinus* and *Silius* had been convicted; the like occasions of accusations will be offered againe, if *Nero* should reign. If *Britannicus* "should succeed, he had deserved no favour of him; and the whole house would be "shaken, and utterly overthrown, with the devilish devices of his Step-mother; "and with more wicked practices, then if he had concealed the impudicity and unclean life of his other wife: although the house be as shamefully defiled by *Pallas* "adultery as then it was; because no man should doubt what small account she "made of her credit, reputation, shame, body and all whatsoever, so as she might "rule and command. After he had uttered these or the like speeches he embraced *Britannicus*, wished he were come to ripe yeeres, lifeth up his hands sometimes to the gods, sometimes to him; praying that he might grow in yeeres, drive out his

his fathers enemies, and revenge on the murderers of his mother. *Claudius* in this great heape of cares was stricken with sicknes, and to recover his strength with the temperatenesse of the city, and wholesomnesse of the waters, went to Sinuessa. Then *Agrippina* long before resolved in her villanous designement, and desirous to hasten the occasion offered, wanting no ministers, began to thinke with her selfe what kinde of poison she were best to use: for by a speedy and quick working poison, she feared lest her wickednesse should be discovered; yet if she should choose a lingering slow working one, lest *Claudius* drawing by little and little to his end, and understanding the treachery, should turn his minde and shew love and affection to his own sonne: in the end she resolved to thinke on some singular thing which should trouble his braines, and not worke his death over-hastily. A Schoole mistress of such practises was chosen of purpose, called *Locusta* of late condemned of empoisoning, and long reserved among other instruments of State. The poison was prepared by this womans skill, and the minister to give it was *Holotus*, an Eunuch, one accustomed to carry in and taste his meate: all came afterward so cleerely to light, that the Writers of those times have affirmed, that the poison was infused into a Mithrome which *Claudius* tooke pleasure to eate of: which then hee perceived not, either by reason of his blockishnesse, or over much quaffing of wine; and having a solublenesse of body withall, it was thought the receipt would not worke his effect. Whereupon *Agrippina* greatly astonied, and fearing her utter destruction, nothing regarding what envy she might presently incurre, conferreth with *Xenophon* the Physitian, whose conscience before-hand she had wrought to serve her turne. He as though he would helpe the Prince, endeavouring to vomit, was thought to have put downe his throat a feather dipped in a strong and speedy poison; knowing well that foule attempts are begun with danger, and accomplished with reward. In the meane time the Senate was assembled, and the Consuls and Priests made vowes for the health of the Prince; and being already dead, he was covered and cherished with cloathes, whilest things necessary to assure the Empire upon *Nero* were preparing. And first of all *Agrippina*, as one overcome with griefe, and seeking comfort, held *Britannicus* betweene her armes, calling him the very image of his fathers face, and by divers policies entertained him, for feare he should goe out of the chamber: and with like practises held *Antonia* and *Octavia* his sisters; and at every doore and passages placed a strong Guard: and often gave out that the Prince waxed better and better, to the end the souldier should live in good hope, and she enterprised her attempt at such a time as the Magicians should think lucky and prosperous. Then about the middle of the day, the third before the Ides of October, the Palace gates being suddenly laid open, *Nero* accompanied with *Burrhus*, goeth forth to the Cohort, who kept ward according to custome; where at the commandement of the Captaine of the Guard hee was received with shoutes, and acclamations of joy; and put into a Chariot. It is reported that some were in a doubt, and looking about them, and asking where *Britannicus* was? then seeing no beginner of any attempt to the contrary, they followed that which was offered: and so *Nero* being brought to the rest of the Guard, and having made a speech fit for the time, and promised a donative according to the example of his fathers largesse, was saluted Emperour. A decree of Senate confirmed the sentence of the souldiers; neither was there any doubt made of it in the Provinces. After that honour due to the gods was ordained for *Claudius*, and the Funerals as solemnly celebrated as when *Augustus* of famous memory was buried, *Agrippina* imitating the magnificence

cence of her grandmother *Livia*. *Claudius* Testament was not publickely read lest the people should bee incensed to disdain, and envy against *Nero*, by seeing him who was onely a sonne in law, to bee preferred before the Emperours naturall sonne.

THE

THE THIRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Silanus is put to death, and Narcissus. Neroes good beginning.



HE first whose death was contrived in this new government was *Silanus* Proconsull of Asia, and that without the privy of *Nero* by *Agrippinae* treachery and malice, not because he had by any seditious demeanour procured his own ruine: for he was so heave and dull spirited, and the other Emperours did so finally regard him, that *C. Caesar* was wont to call him a golden sheepe. But *Agrippina* having wrought the ruine of his brother *L. Silanus*, feared revenge; being a common speech among the people that this deserved to be preferred to the Empire before *Nero*, yet scarce out of his childhood, and having gotten it by wicked means, for he was a man of a leetled age, sincere and just in his dealing, noble of birth, and (which at that time was greatly esteemed) descended of the *Cæsars*, being in the fourth degree to *Augustus*. This was the cause of his death, the ministers being *P. Celer*, a Gentleman of Rome, and *Aelius* a freed-man, both having charge of the Princes peculiar revenues in Asia. By them the poison was given the Proconsull in his meate, and that so openly, that it could not be denied. With no lesse speed *Claudius* freed-man, *Narcissus* (of whose jarring with *Agrippina* I have already spoken) was brought to his end, by hard imprisonment, and extreame necessitie, against the Princes will: whose vicious humours yet unknowne he did exceedingly well fit in covetousnesse and prodigallitie, and had gone forward in murders, if *Afranius Burrhus*, and *Anneus Seneca* had not stayed them. These two were the young Emperours guides and governours; and in equall authority, well agreeing, bare equall stroke in divers faculties. *Burrhus* in military discipline and gravity of manners; *Seneca* in precepts of eloquence, and courteous carriage, helping one the other in their charge, the easier to bridle the youths slippery age with honest and lawfull pleasures, if he contemned vertue. Their care was both alike in keeping under *Agrippinae* fierce humour, who boyling with all desires of wicked rule and dominion, had *Pallas* for her counsellor; by whose advice *Claudius* through his incestuous marriage, and pernicious adoption, wrought his owne ruine. But *Neroes* disposition was not to be ruled by a slave; and *Pallas* with an odious arrogance exceeding the moderation of a freed-man, bred his owne dislike. Nevertheless, all honours were openly heaped upon *Agrippina*, and the Tribune according to the order of service asking the watch-word, had this given him by *Nero*, *Of the very good mother*. The Senate decreed he should have two sergeants, and *Claudius* a Colledge of Priests called *Claudians*: and withall, that he should have the funerals of a Centor and be after deified and put among the gods. The day of his funerals, *Nero* made the oration in his praise, and as long as he spake of the antiquitie of his stock, of the Consulships and triumphs of his ancestors, he and the rest were attentive: and likewise whil' he spake of the love he bare to liberal sciences, & that during the time of his government the common-wealth was not molested by foreen power, all men gave good eare: but after he defended to his providence and wisdom

dome, no man could forbear laughing; although the oration composed by *Seneca* shewed the exquisite skill of that mans pleasant vaine, fitted and applied to the eares of that time. The old men (which were at leasure to compare things past with the present) noted that *Nero* was the first Emperour that needed another mans eloquence. For *Cæsar* the Dictatour, was equall with the famous Orators: and *Augustus* had a ready, fluent and eloquent speech, such as well becommed a Prince. *Tiberius* had great skill in weighing his words, uttered much in few words, but was obscure of set purpose. Yea, *C. Cæsar* troubled mind hindered not his eloquence: neither wanted *Claudius* elegancy when he had premeditated. *Nero* in the beginning of his childish yeers bent his lively spirit to other matters, as to ingrave, to paint, to sing, to manage horses, and sometimes in composing a verse he shewed some smartening of learning. When the funerals were ended, he entered the Curia, and having first spoken of the authority of the Lords of the Senat, love and concord of the souldiers, he reckned up certain desaignments and presidents he intended to follow in the governing of the Empire, adding: that not having beene nuzled up in civil warres, nor domestick discords, he would bring with him neither hatred, nor grudge, nor desire of revenge. Then he layd downe a platforme of his future regiment, especially avoyding those things, the hate whereof did yet freshly boyle in mens hearts; that he would not be the judge of all matters, lest the accusers and defendants being as it were shut up in one house, the power of a few might have full sway to work their will: there should nothing be set at sale in his court, or exposed to ambition; his house should be divided from the Common-wealth; the Senate should retain his old preheminance; Italy and publicke Provinces should make their appearance before the Consuls tribunall, and they give audience like Lords of the Senate, and he himselfe would looke to the Army committed to his charge. Neither did he faile in his promise. For many things were ordayned by the arbitrement of the Senate: As that no man should be bought for reward or gift to plead a cause. That the *Quæstor* elected should not be constrained to set forth the shew of Fencers, which was a matter the Senators obtained contrary to *Agrippinae* will, under colour that *Claudius* acts were thereby infringed. And thereupon the caused the Senate to be called to the Palace, to the end that the might stand in a secret place, separated from the Lords by some vaile, which might not hinder the hearing of them, and yet not be seene. Yea, when the Embassadors of Armenia came to plead the cause of their Nation before *Nero*, she was ready to search up to the Chaire of audience, and by his side to give answer with him, if (the rest surprised with a great feare) *Seneca* had not advised him to meete his mother, as she came; and so under colour of doing his duty, prevented the discredit.

II. *Neroes* preparatives to defend Armenia.

I N the end of the yeeres, it was a common rumour that the Parthians had burst out againe, and wasted Armenia, driven out *Rhadamistus*, who having beene first King, and after a fugitive, had then given up this war. Whereupon in the City greedy of talke, they began to enquire, how the Prince which was yet scarce past severene yeeres of age, could either undertake or acquit himselfe of so great a burden: what helpe could be expected at his hands, who was led by a woman: whether battels and warres also, and beseging of towncs, and other duties of service, could be accomplished by his matters? Contrariwise others said it had fallen out better, then if *Claudius* a weake and cowardly old man, should have beene called

"called to the labours of war, ready to obey the commandements of his slaves. Yet *Burrhus* and *Seneca* had been proved by experience of many matters: and what "wanted to the Emperors full strength, seeing that *Cn. Pomponius* at eighteen yeers "of age, and *Cæsar Octavianus* at nineteene, sustained civill wars? Most things in "high fortune are achieved rather by good luck, conduct, and counsell, then wea- "pons and hands. That he should give an evident prooffe, whether he used honest "freinds or not, if he would rather make choise of a notable & valiant Captain, en- "vy layd aside, then a rich, graced and favored by ambitious lute. Whilst the pe- ple thus discoursed, *Nero* commanded a muster to be made of the youth in the Pro- vinces bordering upon the Parthians, to supply the Legions of the East; and the Le- gions themselves to be planted neere unto Armenia: and withall, wrote to the two old Kings *Agrippa* and *Iocchus*, to prepare their forces, and enter the bounds of Parthia, and make bridges over the River Euphrates: and gave charge of lesser Ar- menia to *Aristobolus*, and the Sphenian Nation to *Sobemus*, honouring them both with royal marks and ornaments. And in very good time it fel out that *Vardanes* son began to rebell and beard *Vologeses*, which caused the Parthians to depart Armenia as though they would defer the war. But all things were made more then they were to the Senat, amplified by those who gave advise that processions should bee made in honour of the Prince: and that that day he should weare a triumphall garment, and enter into the City ovant: and that his image of the same greatnesse that *Mars* the revengers was, should be placed in the same Temple; being besides their ordi- nary flattery, joyfull and glad, that he had made *Domitius Corbulo* Governour of Armenia: perswading themselves, that the way was now made open to vertue. The forces of the East were so divided, that part of the ayd souldiers with two Le- gions should remain in the Province of Syria, with the Lieutenant *Quadratus Vin- dius*: and that the like number of Citizens and Allics should bee under *Corbulus* charge, with other Cohorts and Coroners of horse-men, which wintered in Cappa- docia. The Kings which were confederate with the Romans, were warned to be in a readinesse as occasion of warre should require. But their affections were bent more upon *Corbulo*, who to purchase fame (which in new enterprises is of great importance) making away with all speed at Agas a City of Cilicia, met *Qua- dratus*, who was come so farre, lest if *Corbulo* should have entered into Syria to receive the forces, all mens eyes would have bene cast upon him, being of a comely and tall stature, magnificall in wordes; and besides his experience and wisdom, in shew of vaine hope and promises, wonne the people to what hee lusted. In fine, both of them by messengers admonished King *Vologeses* to desie rather a peace then warre, and giving hostages, continue the like reverence to the people of Rome as his predecessours had done. And *Vologeses* to make preparati- ons of warre with more advantage, and such as might match the Romans, or to remove those he suspected as concurrents under the name of hostages, delivereth the noblest of the Arsacides family, whom *Hosforius* the Centurion sent before by *Vindius* for other occasions received. *Corbulo* understanding this, commandeth *Arius Varus*, Captaine of a company of Foote-men, to go and receive them: from whence grew a quarell betwene the Captaine and Centurion (which because they would no longer be a jesting stocke to the strangers) they referred to the ar- bitrement of the pledges themselves, and Lieutenants which conducted them: who preferred *Corbulo* before the other, partly through the fresh renowne which was yet in every mans mouth; and partly through a certaine inclination which the enemies themselves bare him. Hereupon grew a jarre betwene the Captaines

Vindius

Vindius complaining, that, that was taken from him which was compassed by his advise: *Corbulo* protesting on the contrary part, that the King was never drawn to offer pledges, untill that he being chosen captaine of the war, had turned his hopes into feare. *Nero* to set them at one, caused it to be published, that *Quadratus* and *Cor- bulo* for their prosperous successes, should have bayes added to the bundle of rods, which was carried before great captaines of warre. I have joyned these things to- gether, although they were done under other Consuls. The same yeere *Cæsar* deman- ded of the Senate that there might bee an image dedicated to his father, and the Consular ornaments given *Asconius Labeo*, who had bene his tutor; and forbad that any image of massive gold or silver, should be offered in honor of himselfe. And although the L.L. of the Senat had decreed, that the yeere should begin on that day of December that *Nero* was borne, yet he retayned the old ceremony of beginning the yeere the Kalends of January. Neither were *Carinus Celer* a Senator, accused by a slave, or *Iulius Densus* gentlemen, called into question, although it was layd to their charge, they favoured *Britannicus*.

III. *Nero* beginneth to hate his mother, and falleth in love with *Acte*.

Claudius Nero and *L. Antistius* being Consuls, when the magistrates tooke an oath of observing the ordinances of the princes; he would not suffer *Antis- tius* his fellow officer to sweare to the observation of his; which the L.L. of the Senate did highly commend in him; to the end, that the youthly minde of the Prince being stirred up with the glory of small things, should continue in mat- ters of greater moment. After this followed his lenity towards *Plautius Lateranus* who being removed from the order of Senators, for adultery committed with *Messalina*, was restored by him to his room; binding himselfe to continue this clemency, with many orations: which *Seneca*, to rectifie in what honest precepts he in- structed him, or for a bragge of his owne wit, published by the voice of the Prince. But *Agrippina*es credit and authority by little and little began to waine: and *Nero* casta liking to a freed woman called *Acte*: two comely youthees, *Otho* descended from a Consular house, and *Claudius Senecio*, sonne of one of *Cæsar*s freed men, being partakers of his counsels, his mother being at the first a stranger to the mat- ter, and in vaine at last striving to the contrary. So far she had possessed him by dis- solute behaviour and riot and secret conversation, that his greatest friends and severe- rest seemed not to knowe it: considering that this woman satisfied his lusts, without the offence of any. For *Octavia* his wife, a woman of noble birth, & of approved good life, either by some secret destiny, or because things unlawfull are most greedily de- sired, he utterly disliked. And some feared also that if he were briddled of that love, he would lust after the desiling of noble women. But *Agrippina* fretted and fumed that a freed woman should beard her, & a bond-woman become her daughter in law, with other such like womanish complaints; not having patience to see whether her son would either repent or be filled: and the more opprobriously she upbraided him the more she inflamed him; till at last overcome with the rage of love, he shooked off all duty and reverence towards his mother, & committed himselfe wholly to *Se- neca*. Amongst his familiars was *Annem Sorexius*, who faining love to the same freed wom in, covered & cloked with his owne name, the first heats of this young prince: and such things as the prince had bestowed on her by stealth, he openly advouched to be his gifts. Then *Agrippina* changing her stile seeketh to win the young man by

faire

faire alluring speeches, offereth rather her owne chamber and bosome to hide those things which his youth and high fortune desired. Yea she confessed her untimely levity, and offered him the use of all her wealth, which was little inferior to the Emperors: as before too severe in correcting her sonne, so now unreasonably humbled and cast downe in courage. The which change did neither deceive *Nero*, and gave his nearest freinds cause of feare; and prayed him to beware of the treachery of this woman alwaies fell & cruell, and then false and dissembling. *Nero* having by chance seene the wardrobe where the apparell lay, which Princes wives and parents were wont to shine in, made choise of a garment and jewels, and sent them his mother most bountifully: feing he sent of his owne the chiefest, and which by others were most of all desired. But *Agrippina* exclaimeth that these ornaments were not so much given her to adorne and trim her selfe, as to exclude her from the rest; and that her sonne would divide those things with her, which came wholly from her. Neither wanted there some to carry these speeches, and make them worse then they were. Whereupon all such growing odious unto *Nero*, upon whom this womans pride chiefly relied, displaceth *Pallas* from the charge which *Claudius* had given him; in which he carried himselfe as if he had beene chiefe Lord and master of all. It is reported that when *Pallas* departed with a great retinue following him, *Nero* very aply sayd that *Pallas* went to resigne his office. True it is, that *Pallas* had covenanted with the Prince not to be called in question for any act past; and that he had made even with all accounts of the common wealth. *Agrippina* after this, more mad and wilfull then ever, gave out threatning and thundring speeches: yet not forbearing the Princes eares, but crying, that *Britannicus* was now grown to mans estate: a true and worthy plant to receive his fathers Empire, which a grafted son by adoption now possessed by the injury and trumpery of his mother. There should be no let in her, but that all the villanous practises of that unfortunate house should be layd open: and first of all her own marriage, and her imposing of *Claudius*. That only thing was provided by the gods to her good, that her sonne in law was alive. Shee would go with him to the camp, where on one side *Germanicus* daughter should be heard: on the other side that base companion *Burrhus* and *Seneca* the banished: the one his hand cut off, and the other with his professors eloquence quarelling and debating of the rule and government of the whole world. In uttering of this she bent her sight towards him; heaped one injury upon another; called *Claudius*, and the infernall ghosts of the Silanians: and so many fruitlesse wicked attempts, which she had beene author of. *Nero* troubled with these speeches, and the day now at hand, on which *Britannicus* had accomplished the full age of fourteene yeeres, began to ponder with himselfe, sometimes the violence of his mother, sometimes the rewardlesse of *Britannicus* knowne of late by good prooffe: and which hath wonne him great favour and good will. On a festivall day dedicated to *Saturne*, amongst other pastimes of his equals, drawing lots who should be King, the lot fell to *Nero*, who commanding divers things unto others, which could not turne to their shame; commanded *Britannicus* to rise up and stand in the middle and begin a song, hoping the child should be laughed to skorne, as one ignorant how to carry himselfe in sober company, much lesse in drunken. But hee very constantly began a verse, which signified that *Nero* had thrust him from his fathers seate, and government of Empire: which moved them all to open compassion, because the night and lascivious wantonnesse had taken away all dissimulation.

IIII. Bi-

IIII. *Britannicus empoysoned. Agrippina chased from the Emperors house.*

Nero feeling himselfe toucht, augmented his hatred; and incensed with *Agrippina's* threats, because he could lay no iust cause against him, nor openly durst not command the murdering of his brother, practiseth secret meanes, and commandeth poison to be prepared, *Potho Iulius* Tribune of the Pretorian cohort being his minister in the action. Under whose charge *Locusta*, a woman infamous for lewd practises, and before condemned for empoisoning, was kept prisoner. For it was long before provided that such as were neereest about *Britannicus* should have no regard either of honesty or faith. He tooke the first poison of his bringers up, which not being strong enough, he voided by siege, or els because it was tempered, lest it should worke immediatly. But *Nero* impatient of lingring and long working wickednes, threatned the Tribune, commanded the poisoneresse to be put to death, because that whilest they respect the rumour, and forge excuses for their own safety, they drove off his security. They the promising as speedy a death, as if he should be slaine with a sword, neere unto *Casars* chamber, a poison was sod strong and violent, by prooffe of poisoning. The custome was for princes children to sit with other noble mens, of the same age, in presence of their neere kindred, with spare diet at a table by themselves: *Britannicus* there taking his repast, because one of the servitors did taste his meats and drinckes, lest the custome should be omitted, or the villany disclosed by both their deaths, this policy was devised: A drinke yet not hurtfull, but very hot, and tasted of, was presented *Britannicus*, then that being refused by reason of the heat, the poison was powred into cold water, which to spread throughout all the parts of his body, that his speech and spirit were at once taken from him. Those which sate about him were in amaze; the other which knew nothing ran away: but they which were of deeper judgement stirred not, but looked *Nero* in the face; he leaning on the table like one that knew nothing of the practise, sayd: he was often wont to fall into such fits, through the falling sicknes, which *Britannicus* had been grievously afflicted with from his infancy; and that his sight and speech by little and little would come to him againe. But *Agrippina* was possessed with such a great fear, and an astonishment of senses, although the indeavored to hide it in countenance, that she was easily judged to be as ignorant of the fact, as *Britannicus* sister *Octavia*: for the saw that she was bereaved of her greatest stay, & perceived well that it was a beginning of parricide. *Octavia* also although of young yeeres, yet had learned to hide her griefe, her love and all affections; and so after a little silence, the mirth of the banquet began againe. *Britannicus* body was burnt the same night he dyed, all funerall preparation having beene provided before hand, which was but small: nevertheless he was buried in Campus Martius, in such storms and showers, that the people beleaved that portended the wrath of the gods against so hainous a fact: which yet many excused in *Nero*, calling to mind the ancient discord of brothers in termes of soveraignty, and how Kings admit no companions. Many writers of that time doe deliver, that *Nero* many daies before had abused *Britannicus* body; and therefore that now his death could not seeme neither untimely or cruell, although it happened in the sacred liberty of his table, his sister not having so much as time to embrace him, hastned before his enemies face against the last of *Claudius* blood, and his body defiled before he was poisoned. *Casars* excused the hastines of the obsequies by an edict, saying that the custome of ancient times

Q. 2

was

"was celebrate in secret manner, and not openly dolefull and bitter funerals, with-
 "out either solemnities or praises. As for himselfe having lost the ayd and comfort
 "of his brother, the rest of his hopes were anchored wholly in the common-wealth
 "and that the Lords of the Senat & people should so much the more favor and main-
 "taine that Prince, which was only left of the family borne to rule and absolute do-
 "minion. Then he enriched with gifts the cheifest of his friends. Neither wanted
 "therefore which blamed men pretending gravity, that they divided houses and
 "possessions; as though they had beene booties. Some thought the Prince forced
 "them thereto, as guilty of his fact, and hoping for pardon if he could bind unto him
 "the mightiest and strongest in power. But his mothers wrath could by no munifi-
 "cence be appeased, but she embraced *Octavia*; and had often secret conference with
 "her friends: and besides her naturall covertousnes, scraping money together of all
 "hands as it were for some purpose to pinch, she entertained the Centurions and
 "Tribunes with all curtesie: she honoured the names and vertues of the nobility
 "which then were in towne, as though she had sought for a head to make a faction.
Nero perceiving that, commandeth the guard of souldiers which heretofore was
 "appointed to guard the Emperors wife, and now her, as his mother, to be taken from
 "her; and certaine Germans which she had, besides the former appointed to guard
 "her, to depart and be gone. And lest she should be frequented with multitudes of
 "saluters, he divideth his house, and sendeth his mother to that which was *Antonius*;
 "and as oft as himselfe came thither, guarded with a company of Centurions, altera
 "short salutation, departed againe.

V. *Agrippina accused for conspiring against Nero. Silana punished.*
Pallas, and Burrhus accused.

There is no mortall thing more mutable and flitting, then the fame of great-
 nesse, not sustained by his owne force and strength. *Agrippinas* house was
 now utterly forsaken; no man went to comfort her; no man to visite her, leav-
 ing a few women and uncertaine of them whether for love or hatred. Among
 which *Iunia Silana* was one, who as I have already declared, at *Messalinæ*s instiga-
 tions was separated from her husband *C. Silius*; a woman of great parentage, of allur-
 ring and wanton beauty, and a long time welbeloved of *Agrippina*. Yet afterwards
 there was a privy grudge betweene them two, because *Agrippina* had dehorted
Sext. Africanus a noble young gentleman from marrying of *Silana*: saying, he
 was unchast and growne into yeeres, not because she meant to reserve him for her-
 selfe; but fearing lest he should enjoy *Silanas* goods if she died without issue. *Silana*
 having a hope of revenge offered, solicited *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, followers of
 her owne, to accuse *Agrippina*: yet not for any old and stale matter, as that she be-
 wailed the death of *Britannicus*, or published the injuries done to *Octavia*; but that
 he intended to stir up *Robellius Plautus* (by the mothers side, as neere to *Augustus* as
Nero was) to new enterprises against the state, and by marrying of him, and empire
 gotten by her meanes, afflict and invade the common-wealth afresh. These things
Iturius & *Calvisius* discovered to *Atimetus* a Freed-man of *Domitia*, Aunt unto *Nero*.
 Who glad of the occasion offered (for betweene *Domitia* and *Agrippina* there was
 deadly hatred) urged the stage player *Paris* a Freed-man likewise of *Domitia* to goe
 with all speed to *Nero*, & informe most bitterly against her. The night was well spent
 and *Nero* well tipped, when *Paris* entereth as one accustomed at other times to
 entertaine the Prince with sports and jests: but then his countenance settled to
 sadness,

sadnes, and declaring the whole order of *Atimetus* tale, did so terrifie and daunt
 the Prince, that he determined not onely to kill his mother, and *Plautus*; but dis-
 charge *Burrhus* of his office as advanced by *Agrippinas* favour; and ready therefore
 to requite her with as good a turne. *Fabius Rusticus* reporteth, that letters were writ-
 ten to *Seneca* to come and take charge of the Guard; but that *Burrhus* credit
 was saved, and kept in his office by *Senecas* meanes. *Pliny* and *Cluvius* seeme there
 was noe doubt made of *Burrhus* loyalty: and in very deed *Fabius* inclineth much to
 the commendation of *Seneca*, as one of his preferment. But our meaning is to fol-
 low the consent of Authours; and if any affirme contrary, we will deliver it under
 their names. *Nero* trembling for feare, and exceeding desirous of the death of his
 mother, could not indure the delay, untill *Burrhus* had promised to performe it, if
 she were convicted of the crime. But every man might alludge what he could for
 "his defence, much more a mother. Neither was there any accusers present & no-
 "thing to ground on but one mans report out of an enemies house. He was to confi-
 "der that it was night, and that spent in banqueting; and therefore all would seeme
 "to smel of rashnes & folly. The Princes feare somewhat lightened by these speeches
 and the day come, one went to *Agrippina* to let her understand of the accusation,
 and to purge her selfe or looke to suffer. *Burrhus* was to doe the message in presence
 of *Seneca*, with some Freed-men as witnesse of the speeches. Then *Burrhus* having
 declared the accusation, and the Authors of it, used threatening tearmes: and *Agrip-
 pina* not forgetting her old fiercenes, returned him his answer: saying, I marvell
 "not if *Silana* never having had child, know not what the affections of mothers are:
 "neither are children changed by their parents, as adulterers by shamelesse women:
 "neither of *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, having wasted their substance, bestowed their
 "last labor in undertaking this accusation: therefore I am to sustain the infamy of
 "parricide, or *Cæsar* have scruple of conscience, that I would commit it: as for *Dom-
 itia* I would thank her for the hate she beareth me, if she would likewise in good will
 "and love towards my *Nero*, strive with me. Now by her concubine *Atimetus* & *Paris*
 "the stage plaier she doth as it were compose fables for the stage. She was buisie a-
 "bout her fish pooles of *Baia*, when by my counsels, *Neros* adoption, proconsulary
 "authority, election to be Consul, & other steps, to mount to the Empire, were pro-
 "cured. Or else let some one be brought forth to make it appeare, that I have prac-
 "tised with the City-cohorts; corrupted the loyalty of the Provinces; or solicited
 "bond-men, or freed men to rebellion. I might have lived if *Britannicus* had beene
 "Sovereign: but if *Plautus* or some other should get the rule of the common wealth,
 "forsooth there should want accusers to lay to my charge, not words sometimes un-
 "advisedly escaped through fervency of love; but such crimes also from which I
 "could not be acquitted, but as a mother by her son. The assistants moved with these
 speeches and endeavouring to appease her anger, the requireth to speake with her
 sonne: before whom she spake nothing in defence of her innocency, as if she had
 distrusted; or of her benefites, as to upbraid him: but obtained revenge of her accu-
 sers; and rewards for her friends. The charge and office of provision of corne was
 given to *Senius Rufus*; the commission of playes which *Cæsar* was a preparing, to
Arantius Stella; Egypt to *C. Balbillus*: Syria was appointed to *P. Anteius*, then
 abused with diverse devices, and in the end detained in the City. But *Silana* was
 banished; *Calvisius* also and *Iturius*: *Atimetus* was executed: *Paris* being in greater
 credit (by reason of pleasures ministred to the Princes) then that he should be put
 to death. *Plautus* was sent away for the time with silence. *Pallas* after this and *Bur-
 rhus* were accused to have practised to call *Cornelius Sylla*, for noblenesse of birth

and affinity with *Claudius*, whose sonne in law he was by marriage of *Antonia*, to the Empire. The author of that accusation was one *Petius*, a man infamous, by causing debtors to forfeit their goods: and then manifestly convicted of vanity and falshood. Neither was *Pallas* innocency so gratefull, as his pride insupportable: for when some of his Freed-men were said to have bene privy to the practise; he made answer that in his house he appointed nothing to be done, but with a nod of his head or hand; or by writing, if he had much to say, lest if he should have spoken unto them, he should seeme to have made them his fellowes. *Barthus* although accused, yet gave sentence among the Judges. *Petius* the accuser was banished, and the writings burnt, by which he went about to renew the records of the treasury already cancelled. In the end of the same yeer, the guard of the souldiers which was wont to be at the plaies, was taken away, for a greater shew of liberty: and because the souldier being absent from the disorder of the Theater, should be lesse corrupt; and the people shew by proofe, whether they would use modesty if the guard were away. The Prince hallowed and purged the City with sacrifices, by advice of fourchaisers, because *Jupiters* and *Minerues* temples were set on fire with lightning.

V I. *Neroes disorders: the case of the franchised debated: as orator for certain magistrates.*

Q *Volusius* and *P. Scipio* being Consuls, there was peace abroad, and filthiness in civillness at home: during which, *Nero* gadded up and down the streets, to infamous brothell houses, & by-corners, in slaves attire, to be unknown, accompanied with such as snatched away wares from mens stalls, wounded such as met them, and with such small regard whom, that *Nero* himselfe hath received and carried away blowes and markes on the face. And when it was known to be *Cesar* which played those pranks, the disorder grew greater against both men and women of accompt; and with like licentiousnes abusing *Cesars* name, many practised the same insolencies, gathered together in particular companies, and to spend the night as it had been taking a town, and captivity. One *Iulius Montanus* a Senator, who had not yet taken upon him the dignity, by chance coping with the Prince in the darke, and rudely thrusting him back as he offered him violence, then knowing him, and craving pardon, was enforced to die, as though thereby he had reproched him of folly. *Nero* more wary and fearfull after that, went not without a rabble of souldiers and fencers; which medled not at the first, and whilest the prince made his party good: but after, if he were overmatched, by such as he abused they laid hands immediately on their weapons. He turned the disordered licence at plaies, and part-taking in favour of stage players, almost to a mutiny, by giving impunity and rewards, himselfe privily or for the most part openly looking on; untill the people growing to sedition, and fearing greater stirres, no other remedy was found then to expell the stage players out of Italy, and place a guard of souldiers again on the Theatre. At the same time the deceit and ungratefull behaviour of Freed-men was debated in Senat, and instant sute made that the patrons might have authority to revoke the Freedome given to such as deserve it not: for many there were of that opinion. But the Consuls not daring to determine the matter, without the privy of the Prince; yet wrote the common consent unto him: And that he should be the authour of the decree, few being of a contrary opinion, and some grudging that the irreverence of their late bondmen, by reason of liberty was growne

growne to that, that they cared not whether they carried themselves towards their patrons dutifully or not: nothing at all weighing what they said unto them: yea, bend their sits towards them: thrust and elbow such as would have any law made to bridle them. For what other redresse was there granted unto patrons offended, but to banish his Freed man above twenty miles off, to the coast of *Campania*: all other actions were indifferent and equal to both. Some weapon therefore should be given the patron, which the freed man should not despise. Neither could it seeme hard if the manumised should with the same obedience keepe their liberty, by which they got it. And such as were openly convicted of crimes, were worthily brought again to servitude; that such might be bridled by fear, whom bene-fits could not change. Some spake to the contrary, saying: That, that fault of a few should be prejudiciall but to themselves; and not derogate from the privilegedges, common to them all; because it was a body farre spread abroad. From them were taken many Tribes and Decuries, fit men for magistrates and priests & city cohorts and many gentlemen and Senators could derive no beginning but from thence. If the freed men should be severed from the rest, the number of the free born would appeare very smal. Not without cause our auncestors when they divided the citizens into degrees and callings, lest liberty in common. Yea they had instituted two kinds of manumifing their bondmen, because it might be in their choise to repent or yeeld new favour. Those whom the patron did not manumise *inducta* before the magistrate, remained still as it were in the bonds of servitude. That every man would looke into the merits of his slave; and grant that slowly, which being once given could not be taken away. This opinion caried it away. And *Cesar* wrote to the Senat that they should privately examine the cause of the Freed-men as oft as they were accused by their patrons: and derogate nothing from the whole body of them. Not long after, *Paris* the late bondman was taken from *Domitius*, *Neroes* Aunt, under colour of civill law; not without a disgrace to the Prince; by whose commandement judgement of free condition was given him. Nevertheless there remained a certaine shew of a free common-wealth. For a contention being growne between *Ribullius* the Prætor, and *Antistius* Tribune of the people, for releasing out of prison certaine unruly favourers of the Stage-players, committed by the Prætor: the Lords of the Senate approved the Prætors fact, and blamed *Antistius* boldnesse. Whithall the Tribunes were forbidden to usurpe any thing belonging to the Prætors or Consuls authority: or call such before them out of Italy, whose right was to be determined by law. *L. Piso* Consull elect added further, that they should not exercise their authority in punishing of any in their own houses: and that the Questors of the treasury should not enter into record before foure months were past, the mercements adjudged by them: and that in the meane time it might be lawfull to speake against them; and the Consuls determine the matter. The authority of the Aediles is also restrained, and order set down how much the Curules, and the people might take to pawne, and how farre they might punish. Thereupon *Helvidius Priscus*, Tribune of the people, shewed his privat grudge against *Obultrinus Sabinus* Questor of the treasury, as though he had too severely enforced the execution of open sales of goods against the poore. Then the Prince transferred the records of publicke debts from the Questors to the Provosts of the city: albeit, the forme of that office had bene diversely used, and often changed. For *Angustinus* gave the Senate licence to chooſe the Provosts; then canvassing of voices being suspected, they were drawne by lot out of the number of the Prætors. Neither did that long continue, because the lot fell oft upon the unmeetest. Then *Claudius* restored

restored againe the Quæstors to the office, and bestowed extraordinary promotion upon them, lest for feare of offence they should be slacke in their duty. But because there wanted authority of age in many which were in that office, as being the first they were possessed of; *Nero* chose such as had bene Provofts, and tried by long experience. *Vipsianus Lenax* was condemned under the same Consuls, for behaving himselfe too ravenously in the Province of Sardinia. *Cestius Proculus* was acquitted of extortion, his accusers, letting fall the suite. *Clodius Quirinalis*, Captaine of the gally-slaves at Ravenna, accused for molesting Italy with riot and cruelty, as the least of all nations, prevented his condemnation by poisoning himselfe. *Annius Rebins* a principall man for the skill of the lawes and of great wealth, escaped the griefes of sickly old age by letting himselfe bloud in the veines, although he was thought to be too cowardly to kill himselfe; by reason he was given too effeminately to lusts. But *L. Volusius* died with great fame, having lived ninety three yeeres very rich by good meanes, and never once hurt by any of those unjust Emperors, under whom he lived.

VII. What Annales ought to intreat of: playes forbidden.

Nero being the second time Consull, and *L. Piso*, few things happened worthy of memory; unlesse some would thinke it well done to fill up volumes in praising the foundations and timber employed by *Cæsar* in the huge building of the Amphitheater in Campus Martius, seeing it is meete for the dignity and honor of the people of Rome to commit famous acts to their Annales, and such as those to the diurnall of the city. Capua and Nuceria both colonies, were reensorced with a supply of old souldiers. There was bestowed a gift of * forty sesterces by poll to the people, and * foure hundred thousand sesterces to the publicke treasury to maintaine the people faithfull unto him. The tribute of the sit & of the twentieth for the sale of slaves was releas'd in shew rather then in deed: for when the seller was commanded to pay it, he enhanced the price still to the buyers losse. *Cæsar* commanded by an edict, that no magistrate, procurator of any province, should set forth a shew of fencers, or wild beasts, or any other pastime. For heretofore the subiects were no lesse endamaged by such liberalities, then by taking their money from them; whilest they cloaked with favor gotten by such spectacles, their faults committed by robbing the people. A decree of Senate was made as well for revenge as security, that if any man had bene slaine by his bondmen, those also who being manumifed by testament, & continued in the same house, should be punished as the other bondmen. *L. Parius* sometimes Consull was restored to his dignity, removed before for covetous dealing and extortion. And *Pomponia Græcinna* a noble woman, and wife to *Plautius*, who returned with a small triumph out of Britannia, and accused of strange superstition, was remitted to the judgement of her husband; and he according to the ancient custome, in the presence of her nearest kindred heard her cause of life and death, and pronounced her innocent. This *Pomponia* lived long, and in continuall sorrow: for after that *Julia*, *Drusus* daughter, was murdered by *Messalinæ*s treachery, she was not seene forty yeeres but in mourning apparell, and very sad and dolefull. Which she might lawfully do whilest *Claudius* reigned, & after ward turned to her glory. Many citizens were accused that yeer, of which number *P. Celer* being one, at the information of the inhabitants of Asia, because *Cæsar* could not acquit him, he prolonged his cause till he died of age. For *Celer* (as I have already said) having bestirred himselfe in the murdering of *Silanus* the Proconsull, cloaked,

* Size sili. 3 d.
* About 3 1250
pound.

cloaked all other villanies under the greatnes of that lewd action. The *Cilicians* accused *Cossutianus Capito*, criminally noted and discredited with many vices, thinking he had had the same privileged of using insolent behaviour in the province, as he had done in the city. But turmoiled and molested with an overthwart accusation, in the end letting fall his defence, was condemned of extortion. Great suings prevailed so much for *Epirus Marcellus*, of whom the Lycians demanded restitution, that some of the accusers were banished, as though they had indangered an innocent man.

VIII. A liberality of Nero towards certaine decayed gentlemen.
The warre of Armenia renewed. Tiridates departs the country.

When Nero was the third time Consull *Valerius Messalla* entered the same office, whose great grandfather *Corvinus* an orator, some old men remember to have bene companion in office with *Augustus* of famous memory, *Nero*s great grandfathers father. But the honour of this noble family was bettered by giving *Messalla* by yeer * five hundred thousand sesterces to relieve his harmlesse poverty. To *Aurelius Cotta* likewise, and *Haterius Antonius*, the Prince graunted that an annuall sum of money should be given, although they had wasted riotously the wealth their ancestors had left them. In the beginning of that yeere, the warre which was drawne at length with soft and mild beginnings untill then, betwene the Parthians and the Romans for obtaining of Armenia, was now hotly pursued: because *Vologeses* would neither suffer his brother *Tiridates* to be deprived of the kingdome in which he had invested him, nor that he should enjoy it as a gift from another Lord; and *Corbulo* thought it worthy of the greatnes of the people of Rome to recover that which by *Lucullus* and *Pompey* had been once gotten. The Armenians being doubtfull, and faithfull to neither side, invited both: yet by the size of their countrey & conformity of conditions, being more neere unto the Parthians, and intermingled with them by marriages; and not knowing what liberty was, inclined rather to that servitude. But *Corbulo* had more adoe with the slothfulness of the souldiers, then perfidiousnes of the enemies: for the legions removed from Syria, by a long peace grown lazy and idle, could hardly endure the labour and paines of the Roman discipline. Certaine it was there were old souldiers in that campe, which had never kept watch nor ward; a rampire or trench they gazed at, as at a new and strange devise: without head peices, without cuirasses, neate and fine; hunting after gaine; having spent all their service in townes. Wheteupon the old and feeble being dismissed, he desired a supply, which was had out of Gallatia and Cappadocia. And to them was added a legion out of Germany with wings of horsemen, and all the army kept in campe; although the winter were so hard, and the earth covered with yce, that they could not pitch their tents, unlesse they had first digged the ground. Many of their limmes were starcke with extremity of cold; and many died in keeping the watch. And there was a souldier noted carrying a fagot, whose hands were so stiff frozen, that sticking to his burden, they fell from him as though they had been cut from his arme. *Corbulo* slightly apparelled, bare-headed, was with them when they marched; when they laboured, praised the stout; comforted the feeble; and gave example to them all. Then because many retuling to indure the hardnes of the season, and such rigor of discipline, forsooke him; he sought a redresse by severity: for he did not pardon the first and second fault as in other armies, but he suffered death presently who forsooke his ensigne

figne: by which experience proved more profitable, then clemency. For fewer forsooke that campe, then where there was much mercy shewie. In the meane season *Corbulo* having kept the legions in campe untill the spring, and disposed the aid-cohorts in convenient places, charged them not to give the onset. The charge of the garriſons he committed to *Pactius Ophius*, once Capitaine of the first ensigne: who although he wrote to *Corbulo* that the Barbarians were carelesse and disordered, and a fit occasion offered ofatcheiving some exploit; yet was he commanded to keepe within his garriſon, and expect greater power. But breaking his commandement when he saw a few troupes of horsemen issue out of a castle hard by, and unskilfully demand battell, he encountered the enemy, and went away with the losse. And those which should have seconded them, terrified with that discomfiture, fled as fast as they could every man to his hold; which to *Corbulo* was an exceeding griefe. Wherebeking *Pactius*, and the Captaines, and the souldiers, commanded them all to pitch their tents out of the campe: and there kept them in that disgrace, until they were delivered by the intercession & suite of the whole army. But *Tiridates* besides his own followers, succoured by his brother *Vologeses*; not now by stealth, but with open warre molesteth *Armenia*, spoiling all such he thought faithfull; and if any forces were brought against him, he deluded them, by flying hither and thither; terrifying more by fame then sight. *Corbulo* therefore seeking occasion to joyne battell, but in vaine, and constrained to make war now in one place, now in another, as the enemy did; severed his forces to the end that the Lieutenants & Captaines might invade divers places at once. Withall, he advertised King *Antiochus* to set on the government next adjoining to him. For *Pharasmanes*, his sonne *Rhadamistus* being slaine, as a traitor towards him, to testifie his loyalty towards us, shewed more willingly his inveterate hatred against the Armenians. Then the Ischians, a nation never before confederate with us, being now brought to our side, invaded the hardest passages of *Armenia*; whereby all *Tiridates* defeignments were crossed. He sent Embassadors to expostulate in his owne, and "the Parthians name, Why having of late given hostages, & renewed amity, which "opened the way to new benefites, he should be driven from the ancient possession "of *Armenia*? therefore *Vologeses* was not yet moved to war, because he had rather "debate the matter by reason, then by force. But if they would persist in warre, the "Arsacides should neither want courage nor fortune, often experimented to the "losse of the Romanes. Hereupon *Corbulo* knowing well that *Vologeses* was troubled with the Hircanians rebellion, perswadeth *Tiridates* to deale with *Cesar* by intreaty; that he might obtaine a firme possession of a kingdom without bloodshed; if leaving off a long and slow hope, he would imbrace that which was present and more sure. Then they resolved, because by entercourse of messengers they profited nothing, for the full knitting up of peace, to appoint time and place for a parly. *Tiridates* sayd, that he would come with a thousand horse for his gard: how many of whatsoever sort of souldiers *Corbulo* should bring, he weighed it not; so as they came without cuirasses & helmets, as a better shew of peace. The barbarous treachery was palpable to all men, much more to an old circumspect capitaine; therefore a small number was limited on one part, and a greater permitted to the other, that the treason might be the better effected: for to oppose against practised horsemen archers, unarmed men, the multitude would availe nothing. Yet *Corbulo* making as though he had not perceived the treason, answered, that publicke affaires would better be debated in the face of both the whole armies. And for the purpose chose a place whereof the one part had hills of an easie ascent fit for ranks of footmen.

men; the other stretched out into a plaine, convenient to display troopes of horsemen. And the day agreed on, *Corbulo* appeared first in this order: He placed the cohorts of allies, and succours sent by Kings, in the wings: and in the middle, the first legion; among which he had intermingled three thousand of the third, sent for by night from other garriſons, with one ensigne, as if all were but one legion. *Tiridates* the day being well spent, shewed himselfe aloofe, where he might better be seene then heard: so the Romane capitaine without parly, commandeth his souldiers to depart every man to his owne campe. The King either suspecting fraud, because our men went at once to divers places, or to intercept our provision of victuals, coming from the sea of Pontus, and the towne Trapezunt, maketh away with all speed. But he could not hinder the coming of the victuals; because it was brought through mountaines possessed by our owne garriſons; and *Corbulo* because the warre should draw to an end, and the Armenians constrained to defend their owne, goeth about to razeth their Castles.

IX. *Corbulo having taken the Castles, destroyeth Artaxata the chiefe towne of the country.*

Corbulo chose to himselfe the strongest place of the country called Volandum to assault; the lesser hee committeth to *Cornelius Flaccus* Lieutenant, and *Istems Capto* camp-masters. Then surveying his forces, and seeing all things in a readinesse for the assault, encourageth his souldiers to unsettle the vagabond enemy, neither ready for peace nor warre; acknowledging by his fleeing away his perfidiouse and cowardise; and so win at once both glory and wealth. After this, having divided his armie into foure partes, he ledde some close and thicke ranked together, for a target fence to undermine and beate downe the rampire: others to scale the walls: others to let flee fire and darts out of engines of warre: the sling-casters and stone-throwers had a place appointed them, from whence they might a farre off throw pellets of iron and stone, that the besieged might have no refuge or comfort one of another, all places being full of like feare. The courage of the assailants was so great, that within the third part of the day the walls were naked of defendants: the gates broken downe, the fortresse scaled; and all of lawful yeeres put to the sword; no one souldier lost on our side, and very few hurt: the weak and unable people were sold in a portsale and made slaves; the rest of the booty fell to the Conquerours share. The Lieutenant and camp-master had the like fortune, three castles taken in one day; the rest for feare and by consent of the inhabitants yielded: which encouraged the Romans to set on Artaxata the chiefe towne of the country. Yet the Legions were not brought the next way, because that passing the river Araxis which washeth the walles, by the bridge they should have come under the danger of blowes; but went over a farre off at broad soulds. But *Tiridates* assayed with feare and shame, left if hee should suffer the besieging, he might seeme not to be able to succour it; if hinder it, encumber himselfe and his horsemen in dangerous and difficult places, resolved in the end to shew his army in battell array, and a day appointed, give the onset; or making as though he would flee, dressie an ambush. Whereupon on a sudden hee environeth the Romanes; our Capitaine not ignorant thereof, who had marshalled his army in such array, that it might both march on, and fight. On the right side the third legion, on the left the sixth marched; in the middle a company chosen out of the tenth; the carriages betweene the ranks, and a thousand horsemen in the rereward, with

command-

commandement that they should resist and make head against the enemy if they passed in; but if they fled, not to follow. In the wings went the footmen archers with the residue of the horsemen; the left wing stretched somewhat longer to the bottome of the hills; that if the enemy should enter on them, he should have bene received both in the front and middle. *Tiridates* on the contrary side, came about the Romans freely; yet not within a darts cast; now threatening, now making as though he were afraid, and so retiring, to see whether we would open or breake our ranks to follow, and so intrap us being scattered. But not seeing any thing disordered, or any ranke broken by rashnes; and only one under-Captaine of horsemen venturing boldlier then the rest to have bene slaine with an arrow, and the rest by his example to obey, the night being almost come, he departed. *Corbulo* having pitched his campe in the same place, considerd with himselfe, whether he should goe by night to *Artaxata*, and besiege it with light and uncumbered legions, supposing that *Tiridates* had retired thither. Then the scouts having brought intelligence that the King had taken a longer journey, doubtfull whether to the Medes or Persians, he stayed untill it was day: lending before a company light armed, to environ the wals and begin the assault a farre off. But the townsmen opening the gates of their owne accord, yielded themselves and al they had to the Romans, whereby their lives were saved. But *Artaxata* was burnt & razed to the ground, because it could not be kept without a strong garrison, by reason of the compasse of the walls; and our forces were not so great that we could leave there a sufficient garrison, and withall keep the field: or if he should be left standing and ungarded, there would be neither profit nor glory that he had been taken. There is a miracle, reported, as it were by some divine power happened: for all things out of the houses, were lightned by the lightning, but that which was invironed with the wals, was on such a sudden covered with a darke cloud and separed with lightning, that it seemed the will of the gods was it should be destroyed. Hereupon *Nero* was saluted Emperour, and processions made by decree of Senate, and images and triumphall arches set up, and the Consulship continued on him: and ordained that the day the victorie was gayned, the day of the newes, the day wherein they talked in Senate, should bee kept holy, and other such like; so farre beyond measure, that *C. Cassius* consenting unto the rest of the honours given him, touching the processions; sayd, that if they would give the gods thanks for so many favours of fortune, all the yeere would not bee enough to make them processions. And therefore they should distinguish working dayes from holy dayes, in such sort that the gods might be honoured, and temporall businesse not hindered.

X. *Suilius* is banished. *O*ctavius tribune of the people killeth *Pontia*, with whom he was in love.

ABOUT that time, *P. Suilius*, a man crossed with many adversities, and justly incurred the hatred of many, was called in question, and condemned; not without some touch of *Senecaes* credit. This *Suilius* in *Claudius* reigne was both cruell and corrupt, and by alteration of times brought low, though not so much as his enemies desired; and who rather would seeme culpable, than as a suppliant crave pardon. For it was thought that the penalty of the law *Cincia*, against such as pleaded causes for money, was set on foote againe, onely to subvert and overthrow him. Yet *Suilius* never forbore complaints and hard speeches, besides his natural fiercenes, more free by reason of his old age, laying in *Senecaes* dust that he was

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"an enemy to *Claudius* friends, under whom he had sustained a most just banishment: withall, that with his idle and dead studies, applying himself to the unskilfulnesse of raw youth, he envied such as used a lively and uncorrupt eloquence in defending the citizens. He had been Questor to *Germanicus*; and *Seneca*, and adulterer of his house. Was it to be judged a grievous offence to receive a suiters reward freely offered for a mans honest travell, then to defile the beds of Princes wives? with what wisdom, with what precepts of Philosophers within foure yeeres friendship with the King, had he gotten *three thousand times three hundred thousand sterces? At Rome he couened men of their Legacies, & such as died without children, as if he had laid a snare to intrap him. Italy and the Provinces were drawn drie by his excessive usury. As for himself, he had but small store of wealth gotten by his labour and sweare. He would suffer the accusation, perill, and what else might fall, rather then subject his old credit and estimation to a new upstart. Neither wanted there such as reported these or worse speeches to *Seneca*: againe: and other informers were found, which accused *Suilius* that he had polled and pilld the allies when he was governour of Asia, and purloyned the common treasure. Then because he had obtained a yeeres space for to make enquiry of these matters, it seemed to be the shorter course, to begin with crimes committed neare about the City, because of such, witnesses were at hand. They objected against him, that the bitterness of his accusation drove *Q. Pompeponius* to a necessity of civil war: that he had brought *Iulia*, the daughter of *Drusus*, and *Sabina Poppaea* to destruction; and falsly accused *Valerius Asiaticus*, *L. Saturninus*, and *Cornelius Lupus*: yea a great company of Gentlemen of Rome had been condemned by his means: in fine, all *Claudius* cruelty was imputed to *Suilius*. He for his defence answered, that he had undertook none of those things of his own will, but to obey the Prince, untill *Cesar* caused him to hold his tongue, saying, that he was assured by his fathers memoriall, that he never intorced any man to accuse another: then he pretended *Messalinæes* commandement, and his defence began to fail him. Why was there no other chosen to speak for that cruell unchaste dame? the instruments of evill actions are to be punished, when as having received the reward of their lewdnesse, yet goe about to lay it to others charge. Therefore part of his goods being taken from him (for part was left his soune and his neece, and that also was excepted which was given them by their mothers or Grandfathers testament) he was banished into the Islands of *Balears*, never loosing courage either in the time of his danger, or after condemnation. And it is reported that he suffered that separation from company, living both abundantly and delicately. The accusers had overthrown his soune *Nerulinus*, for the envy they bare the father, and his own extortions, if the Prince had not opposed himselfe, as though the revenge had been sufficient. About the same time *Octavius Sagitta*, Tribune of the people, mad in love with *Pontia* a married wife, by great gifts bought her unlawful love, and use of her body; then to forsake her husband, promising her marriage, and inducing her to the liking of him. But when this woman was free from her husband, she began to finde delays, shifting it off that her father was unwilling, and in the end finding a hope of a richer husband, went from her promise. *O. Savius* on the contrary side sometimes complained, sometimes threatned, protestings his credit was lost, and his mony consumed; finally put his life which only remained in her hands. But being rejected, craveth one nights pleasure for his satisfaction, then promised he would desist. The night was appointed, and *Pontia* gave charge of watching the chamber to a maid which was privy to their dealings. He with one freed-man conveyeth in a weapon under his garment:

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Then as the maner of flowers is, sometimes angry, sometimes chiding, sometimes treating, sometimes upbrayding and spending some part of the night in voluptuous pleasures, at last kindled with grief and complaints, with his sword ran thorow this woman, which feared no such thing, and wounded the maide which ran in, and so rusheth out of the Chamber. The next day the murder was known, and the murderer not doubted of, being known manifestly that they had been together. But a Freed-man protested it was his doing, in revenge of the injuries done to his Patron, and moved some with the strangenes of that example to beleve him, until the maide recovered of her wound, discovered the truth. Then *Octavius* accused of the murder before the Consuls by *Pontius* father, at the end of his Tribuneship was condemned by the Senate, according to the Law *Cornelia* against murderers.

XI. Nero taketh away Sabina Poppæa from her husband.

THE same yeere, an untemperate life, no lesse infamous then the former, was a beginning of greater mischiefs in the common-wealth. There was in the city one *Sabina Poppæa* daughter of *T. Ollius*: but she had taken the name of *Sabinus Poppæus*, her Grandfather by the Mothers side; a man of worthy memory honored with the Consular dignity, and ornaments of triumph: for *Sejanus* friendship did overthrow *Ollius* before he came to any dignities. This woman was graced with all things saving an honest minde: for her mother surpassing other women of her time in beauty, gave her both glory & beauty: wealth she had sufficient to maintain her nobility: her speech affable and gracious, nor no grosse wit; but knowing well how to pretend modesty and live lasciviously: she came little abroad, and then part of her face covered with a veile, either not to fill the eie of the beholder, or because it became her best: of her credit regard the had never: making no difference between her husbands and adulterers: neither subject to her own will, nor anothers; but where profit was offered, thither she carried her affection. This woman then being wife to *Rufus Crispinus*, a Gentleman of Rome, by whom she had a sonne; *Otho* seduced through his youth and riot; and because he was most inward in friendship with *Nero*: It was not long but they joined marriage to adultery. *Otho* either because he was uncircumspect in love, or because he would enflame the princes lust; praised his wives beauty and comely feature in his presence; that both enjoying one woman, his credit and authority might by that bond grow greater. He hath bin often heard to say, as he hath risen from banking with *Cæsar*, that he would go to her in whom was all beauty and nobility, & to her who kindling all mens desires, was able to make them most happy. Through these and the like provocations, there was no long delay made. *Nero* then finding access to her, *Poppæa* at the first by allurements and cunning, began to inveigle him, saying, that she was not able to withstand his love, and that she was overcome with his beauty. Then perceiving the Princes lust to be grown hot; she began to grow proud; and if she entertained him above a night or two, it was all she could afford him; saying, she was a married wife, and that she could not abandon her husband as being bound unto *Otho*, for his manner of carriage and behaviour, which few came neare unto: that he was in courage and demeanour magnificent; and in all respects worthy of highest fortune. As for *Nero* using a bondslave for his Concubine, and tied to *Altes* familiarity, he had learned nothing of that servile company, but baseness and nigardice. *Otho* after this was barred of the accustomed familiarity with the Prince; then of his company and retinue: and last of all, left he should be his concurrent in the City, he made

made him Governour of the Province of Portingall. Where he lived untill the civil wares, not as before disorderly, but honestly and uncorruptly, as one loosely given when he had little to doe; but in office and rule more stayed and temperate. All this while *Nero* sought to cloake his vitiousnesse and licentious life. Afterward he began to be jealous of *Cornelius Syllaes* dull and heavy disposition, interpreting it contrary to that which it was, deeming him a crafty and subtil dissembler. Which jealousie *Graptus* a freed-man of *Cæsars* by age, and experience, and time, untill then well practised in Princes houses, augmented wth this lie. The *Milvian* bridge in those daies was notorious for a haunt of dissolute and unruly persons in the night. Whither *Nero* resorted also to enjoy his licentious persons more freely, being out of the town, and returning back by the *Flaminian* way, *Graptus* put him in the head that there had bene wait layd for him, which he escaped by destiny, because he went another way to *Sallustius* Gardens, and falsely accused *Sylla* to be the authour thereof: Because that some of the Princes servitors returning that way by chance, were, by some licentious behaviour of youth, which in that place was very common, put in greater fright then danger. Yet there was no one of *Syllaes* servitors or vassals known. His faint heart and not daring any enterprize being well known to be far from any such fact: yet nevertheless as though he had been convicted, he was commanded to depart his Country, and live within the walls of *Marfles*. Under the same Consuls the Embassies of the *Puteolians* were heard, which the Senators on one side, and the communalty on the other, sent to the Senate: the Senators charging the communalty with infoleney; and the people charging the magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen with covetousnesse. And when the sedition was already grown to throwing of stones, and threatening to fire one another, and like to draw on murder and war, *C. Cassius* was chosen to order the matter: but knowing that they could not endure his severity at his request, that care was committed to the brothers the *Scribonians*, with a band of the Emperours guard: through the terror of which and punishment of a few, the Townesmen were set at quietnesse again. I would not speak of the very common decree of Senate, by which the City of *Syracusa* was licensed to exceed the number prefixed in the shew of Fencers: If *Patus Thrasca* had not spoken against it and given matter unto backbiters to reprehend his judgement: For said they, if he beleaved that the Common-wealth wanted the liberty of Senators, why did he meddle in such trifles? He should rather have perswaded or dissuaded matters of war or peace; of tributes, of lawes, and other things wherein consisted the estate of Rome. It was lawfull for the Lords of the Senat as oft as they thought convenient to give their opinion, to propound what they listed, and ask for a consultation upon it. Was it onely worthy of correcting, that at *Syracusa* the Playes should not be so long? Be all other things in the Empire, as well as if, nor *Nero*, but *Thrasca* had the government thereof? The which if they were let passe with great dissimulation; how much more should they forbear vaine trifles? *Thrasca* on the contrary, his friends demanding him a reason why he contradicted the decree, made answer, that he did it not as being ignorant of the present estate of things; but for the greater honour of the Lords of the Senate: and shew manifestly that they would not dissemble in important affaires, which would look into such small matters.

XII. *Matters of policy redressed. The Senators withstand Nero touching Subsidies.*

THE same yeere, through the often and importunate suit of the people, blaming the covetousnesse of the Farmers of the common rents, *Nero* doubted whether it were best to command that there should no more subsidies and tributes be levied; and give so faire a gift to the world. But this sudden pang having first commended the bounteousnesse of his minde, the LL. of the Senate stayed, affirming it to be the dissolution of the Empire, if the revenewes by which it was sustained should be diminished: for if custome were taken away, it would follow that the abolishing of tributes would be demanded. Many societies of tributes and tallages were established by the Consuls and Tribunes of the people, even when the Communalty had greatest liberty. Things afterward were so proportioned, that the receipts and revenewes should be answerable to the laying out. Indeed the covetousnesse of the Farmers was to be moderated, lest things tolerated so many years without complaint, should turn to further mischief and hatred, by their strange greedinesse. The Prince therefore by edict commanded, that the taxation of every custome which hitherto hath been concealed, should not be published: and that the Farmers should not after the yeere was expired demand any thing less slip or forgotten during that time: that in Rome the Prætor, in the Provinces those which supplied the places of the Prætors and Consuls, should extraordinarily determine against the Farmers of common rents: that souldiers should keep their immunity, those things excepted wherein they trafficked: and many other just things, which observed a short time, afterward came to nothing. Neverthelesse the abolishing of one in forty and one in fifty continueth, and what other names the Farmers had invented for their unlawfull exactions. The carriage of Corne to parts beyond the seas was moderated: and ordained that Merchants ships should not be valued in the generall estimate of their goods, nor tribute paid for them. *Cæsar* discharged *Sulpicius Camerinus*, and *Pomponius Silvanus*, who had been Proconsuls in Africk, and accused by the Province, objecting against *Camerinus*, rather cruell dealing against a few private men, then extortion in generall. A great number of accusers came about *Silvanus*, and required time to produce witnesses; but the defendant desired his defences might presently be heard: which being rich, childelesse, and old, he obtained; and overlived those by whose suite he had escaped. The estate of Germany was quiet untill then, through the industry of the Captaines, who seeing the honour of triumph common, hoped for greater glory if they could continue peace. *Paulinus Pompeius* and *L. Vetus* had charge of the army at that time; yet lest they should keep the souldier in idleness, *Paulinus* finished a bank begonne threecore and three yeares before by *Drusus*, to keep in the river of Rhene. *Vetus* went about to joyne *Mosella* and *Araris* by a ditch cast betwene them, that the Armies convighed by sea, then by *Rhodanus* and *Araris* by that ditch, anon after by *Mos* into Rhene, in the end should fall into the Ocean; that all difficulties of the passages taken away, the West and North seas might be navigable from the one to the other. *Aelius Gracilius* Lieutenant of Belgia envied the work, dehorting *Vetus*, lest he should bring the Legions into an others Province, and seek to win the hearts of the Gallois, affirming it to be dangerous to the Emperour: a pretext which often hindereth honest indeavours. Through the continuall rest of the armies a rumour was spread, that the Lieutenants were forbidden to lead them against the enemy.

enemy. Whereupon the Frisians placed their youth in the woods and marishes, sent their feeble old men to the banks of Rhene, planting them in void grounds appointed out for the use of souldiers; *Verrinus* and *Malorigis* being the authors thereof, who then governed the country which the Germans were Lords of. Now they had built houses, sowed the ground, and tilled it, as though it had been their native country, when *Dabius Avitus* having received the province of *Paulinus*, threatening to send the Roman forces, unless the Frisians would return to their old homes, or obtaine a new place of habitation of *Cæsar*, enforced *Verrinus* and *Malorigis* to fall to intreat. And taking their journey to Rome whilst they attended for *Nero*, busied in other matters, among other things wont to be shewne to barbarous people, they went to *Pompeius* Theater to behold the multitude of people. There at their leisure (for being unskilfull in those plaies, took no great delight in them) whilst they inquired of many things touching the assembly, skaffolds, differences of degrees, which were gentlemen, where the Senators sat, they perceived some in a strange attire in the Senators rooms: and asking who they were, when they understood that that honour was done to the Embassadors of those countries which excelled in vertue, and friendship with the Romans, they cried that *There were none in the world more valiant and faithfull then the Germans*; and so went and sat among the Lords of the Senat, which was courteously taken of the beholders, as a forwardnes of their old good nature, and a commendable emulation of vertue. *Nero* gave them both the privileges of a citizen of Rome, and commanded the Frisians to depart the country they had possessed: who refusing to obey, a troupe of aid horsemen sent on the sudden forced them to it, and those taken and slaine which most obstinately resisted. The Ausibarians entred the same territory, a stronger nation then the other: not onely by their own strength, but by the pity their neighbours take on them; because they being driven out by the Chauci, and wanting dwelling places, they desired they might have it as a sure place of exile. They had for their conduct a man of great reputation in that country, and unto us likewise trusty, called *Boiocalus*: who declared, how by the commandment of *Arminius* he had been taken prisoner when the Cherusci rebelled: then how he had served the Romans fifty yeeres under *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*. He said further, He "would put his nation under our dominion. What need was there of such spacious "waste grounds, to put at sometimes only the souldiers herds and cattell to feed? "That they might reserve those grounds they had received for their flocks (albe- "it men died with famine) so as they desired not rather a wildernes then an habita- "tion of people their confederates. In times past those fields belonged to the Cha- "mavorians; then to the Tubantians; and in the end to the Usipians. As the hea- "ven was given the gods, so the earth to mankind; and that which was not posses- "sed, as common. Then beholding the sun, and calling upon the rest of the stars, "he asked as it were in their presence, whether they would see the land naked? That "they would rather overwhelm the takers away of the earth with the sea. *Avitus* moved with these speeches; answered that the commandment of their betters was to be obeyed. It was the will of the gods whom they called upon, that the arbitrement should belong to the Romans, what they should give; and what take away; neither would they suffer any judges but themselves. These things he answered the Ausibarians in publike, to *Boiocalus* he would give grounds in memory of his friendship. Which as if it had been a reward of treason contemning added: We may want land to live in; but to die in we cannot: and so they departed both discontented. They called the Brueteri, and Teneteri, and other nations further off, their

confederates to joyne in warre with them. *Avitus* having written to *Curtilius Mancina* Lieutenant of the upper Army, that he should passe over Rhene, and shew the forces behinde them; conducted the Legions himself into the Tenterans Country, threatening their destruction unless they would break with the Anfibarians. These therefore desisting, the Bructeri daunted with the like fear, and the rest fleeing from other perils, the Anfibarian Nation alone retired back to the *Uspians* and *Tubantians*: from whose Territories being expelled, as they went to the *Catti*, then to the *Cherusci*, by long wandering strangers, poore, enemies, in a strange Country, that youth that was left was slain: those that forage were unfit for warre, divided for a prey. The same Summer there was a great battell fought between the *Hermunduri* and *Catti*, each side striving by force to be master of a River which yielded abundance of salt, sited in the confines of both their Countries. And besides a desire of ending all strifes by warre, they had a religion rooted in them, that those places are above others neere heaven; and the prayers of mortall men no where sooner heard, then from thence. For they were of opinion, that by the goodnes of the gods in that River, and in those Woods came increase of salt, not as in other Countries, of the woos of the sea, when the water is dried up; but by that water cast upon a pile of wood set on fire, by the vertue of two contrary elements, fire and water, which becommeth thick and congealed. The warre was prosperous on the *Hermundurians* side, but the utter ruine of the *Cattians*, because of a vow then made, that if they were conquerours, they would dedicate the contrary Army to *Mars* and *Mercury*, protesting, horses, men, all things overcome, should be put to the sword; and truly those deadly threats were turned against themselves. But the City of the *Iuhonians* confederate with us, was afflicted with a sudden dyfaster: for fires issuing out of the earth, burned townes, fields, villages every where, and spread even unto the walls of a Colony newly built; and could not be extinguished, neither by raine, nor River-water, nor any other liquor that could be employed, untill for want of remedy, and anger of such a destruction, certain Peasants cast stones afar off into it; then the flames somewhat slackning, drawing neare, they put it out with blowes of clubs, and other like, as if it had been a wilde beast. Last of all, they threw in clothes from their backs, which the more worne and fouler, the better they quenched the fires. The same yeere, the Figge-tree called *Ruminalis*, in the place of assemblies, which above eight hundred and forty yeeres before had covered *Remus* and *Romulus* infancy, having his boughes dead, and the body beginning to wither, was held as a prodigious signe, untill it began to flourish again and thrust out new shootes.

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THE FOVRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *Nero* abused by *Poppaea*, determineth to put to death *Agrippina* his mother.
Agrippinae unchaste life to maintain her greatnesse.



Vipsanus and *Fonteius* being Consuls, *Nero* deferred no longer his long before intended wickednesse, his boldnesse by long rule being increased, and his lust to *Poppaea* more and more enflamed: who casting off all hope of marrying *Nero*, or seeing a divorce between him and *Octavia* whilst *Agrippina* lived, sometimes tauntingly, and sometimes merrily, began to finde her self grieved with the Prince, and calling him a Ward, and subject unto others controulement, said he was so far from the government of the Empire, that he wanted his own liberty. For why was the marrying of her delayed? forsooth her beauty did not please his eie, nor the noblenesse of her Grandfathers, who had so oft triumphed? Or did he misdoubt her child-bearing and true affection? or left being his wife, she should discover the injuries done to the Senat, and the anger of the people against the pride and covetousnesse of his mother? But if *Agrippina* could indure no daughter in law but such as her sonne can worst away withall, let her be restored again to *Otho* her husband. She was content ther? But if *Agrippina* could indure no daughter in law but such as her sonne can worst away withall, let her be restored again to *Otho* her husband. She was content to go any whither, where she should rather heare of the contumelies done to the Prince then see them, and take part of his dangers. These and the like pearcing speeches with teares and cunning by the adulteresse uttered, no man hindered: all mendeiring that the mothers authority were taken lower; and no man beleiving that the sons hate would extend to her death. *Cluvius* doth report that *Agrippina* through a burning desire of continuing her authority and greatnesse grew to that shamelesse, that in the midst of the day, when *Nero* was well tripled and full of good cheere, she offered herself to him drunk as he was, trimly decked, and ready to commit incest: and the standers by noted her lascivious kisses and other allurements, messengers of her unchaste meaning: And how *Seneca* having recourse to another woman for a remedy against their inticements, sent *Acte* a freed-woman privily to him; who carefull as well of her own danger as *Neroes* infamy, gave advertisement, that the incest was commonly spoken of, by reason his mother bragged thereof; and that the souldiers would not indure the government of so profane a Prince. *Fabius Rusticus* reported that not *Agrippina*, but *Nero* lusted after that; but was discouraged by the cunning of the said freed-woman. But what *Cluvius* had reported, is confirmed by other authors: and the same inclineth that way; either because *Agrippina* had indeed conceived so hainous a fact in her minde, or that an intention of strange lust seemed more credible in her, who in her young yeeres blinded with hope of rule, forfeited her honesty with *Lepidus*; and with the like lust abandoned her body even to *Pallas* will, as one hardened and shamelesse in all loosenesse of life, by marrying her own Uncle. Therefore *Nero* eschewed her secret company. And when she went to her Gardens, or to *Tusculanum*, or *Antiaetres*, he praised her that she drove away idleness. At last, wheresoever she bestowed her

her self, thinking her troublesome to him, determined to make her away, whether by poison or by the sword, or any other violence, that only was his doubt, and first he resolved to do it by poison. But if it should be given her at his table, it could not be attributed to chance, *Britannicus* already dying the same death: and to sound the mindes of her servants seemed dangerous; and being a woman long practised in wickednesse, as alwayes armed against the like, and by taking counterpoisons before hand, it was to be feared it would take no effect. To kill her with the sword, there was no invention how to conceale the murder; and *Nero* feared lest any chosen to so dangerous attempt, should refuse to obey.

II. *Anicetus worketh a meanes how to make away Agrippina
Neroes mother.*

Anicetus a Freed man, Captaine of the Navy at Misenum, one which had brought up *Nero* in his childe-hood, hating, and hated of *Agrippina*, found out an invention for the purpose: which was, that there might a Gally be made loofe by art in the bottome, that should let her fall into the sea when she suspected least. There is nothing more subject to chance then the sea, and if she should perish by shipwracke, who is so unreasonable as to ascribe that to any ungracious invention, which was the fault of the windes and waves? And to colour the matter with all the Prince should build a Temple in honour of the dead, erect Altars, and institute other ceremonies, to shew a love and reverence towards her. This subtill invention pleased the Princes humor, and fell out at a fit time, because *Nero* then celebrated the feast of *Minerva* five dayes together at Baia. Thither by faire words he brought his mother; affirming, that the displeasure of parents was to be borne with, and meanes to be sought to pacifie their anger: which he did to give out a reconciliation betweene them, and so receive *Agrippina* (as women by kinde are of easie believe) willing enough to see the sport. Then going to meet her on the shore of Antium, took her by the hand and embraced her, and led her to Baulos, which was a countrey house betwixt the Promontory of Misenum and the Baian Lake, hard by the sea side, where a gally trimmer and the rest was ready prepared, as a thing among others to honour his mother: for she had bene accustomed to the Gally, and to be carried by force of Rowers. After that, she was invited to a banquet, because the night might the better cloke the device. But sure it was some one or other had bewraied the plot, and *Agrippina* understanding the practise, and doubtfull whether she should beleieve it, caused herselfe to be carried to Baia in a bearing chaire: there *Neroes* careflesse lessened her feare, being courteously entertained, and placed about him; entertained her with much communication; sometimes with a youthfull familiarity, again as it were recalling himselfe, and interlacing it with serious talke, made the banquet hold a long time: and his eyes fixed on her as she departed, embraced her more straightly then he was accustomed; either because he would omit no complement of dissimulation; or else because the last sight of his mother even ready to perish, did mollifie his heart though fell and cruell. A bright Starre-light night and quiet with a calmesse, as it were to manifest the wicked practise, the gods themselves did yeeld. The Gally not farre gone, *Agrippina* having only two of her own persons with her, the one *Creperius Gallus*, which stood not farre from the sterne, and *Aceronia* lying at *Agrippinas* feet, with great joy discoursed of her sonnes repentance, and the favour she had recovered. But the watch-word being given, the covering of the place heavily

loaden

loaden with lead, fell downe upon *Creperius* and prest him to death immediately: *Agrippina* and *Aceronia*, the uppermost bearing of the covering, by fortune being stronger then the rest, though it shrunk with the waight, were saved, and the vessell not loosed afunder: all being amazed; and some which were ignorant of the practise, hindered others which were given to it. Then the Rowers thought best to way the Gally on the side, and so to sink her. Yet they could not agree upon so sudden an advise; but some swaying to the contrary way, caused the vessell not to sink on the sudden, but by little and little. But *Aceronia* unadvisedly crying that she was *Agrippina*, and that they should help the Princes mother, with poles and oares, and such implements in the Gally as came first to hand, was slain. *Agrippina* not speaking a word, therefore not known, received onely one wound in the shoulder: then swimming towards the bank, was succoured by small Barks, and carried by the Lake *Lucrinus* to her own house. There casting in her minde how she had bene sent for by craft and false letters, entertained with especiall honour: how the vessell neither tossed by windes, nor carried upon rocks, the upper part fell as it had bene a Land-frame: noting *Aceronias* death, and beholding her own wound, thought it the onely remedie against the treachery, to make as though she perceived it not. And thereupon sent *Agerinus* a Free-man to tell her sonne, how by the goodnesse of the Gods and his good fortune, she had escaped a great danger; and prayed him, that although he were affrighted with his mothers danger, yet that he would forbear a time from visiting her, because that for the present she had need of rest. And in the meane while making shew of securitie, healeth her wound, and chearifieth her body. And commanded *Aceronias* testament to be sought for, and her goods to be sealed up, which was the onely thing wherein she shewed no dissimulation. But whilst *Nero* expected messengers to certifie him that his plot had taken effect; tidings came that she had escaped lightly wounded, but passed through great danger; the Author of it not once doubted. *Nero* stroken dead with feare, and crying she would revenge out of hand, either by arming her slaves, or stirring up the souldiers, or run to the Lords of the Senat or people, there complain of the ship-wrack, her wound, and the murder of her friends; knew no shift, unlesse *Burrhus* and *Seneca* would bestir themselves, whom immediately he sent for, doubtfull whether they had understood the matter before or not. They stood mute a long time, fearing lest their perswasions should take no effect; in the end concluded, that unlesse *Agrippina* were prevented, *Nero* should perish. Then *Seneca* hitherto forwarde of the two, looked upon *Burrhus*, as though he should have asked, whether the souldier should be commanded to execute the murder? But he answered, that the Guard being bound to all *Cesars* house and so mindfull of *Germanicus*, would not undertake for cruell an enterprife against his progeny, and that *Anicetus* should accomplish his promise. He nothing at all staggering, demandeth the whole charge of the execution. At which speech *Nero* professed openly, that that day the Empire was bestowed upon him, and that the Author of so great a gift was his freed man, and therefore that he should make speed, and take with him such as were readiest to fulfill his commandement. He hearing that *Agerinus Agrippinas* messenger was come, maketh a colour of his enterprife in this sort: Whilst *Agerinus* delivered his message, *Anicetus* let fall a sword between his legges, and as it were taking him in the manner, as though he had come to kill the Prince, commandeth him to be cast in prison, that he might make the world beleieve, that the mother had pretended her sonnes death, and killed her selfe for shame that the plot was discovered. In the meane season *Agrippinas* danger being spread abroad, as though it had happened

by

by chance, every man as he understood it, ran to the sea shore; some clattered up the sea dams, some gave into the next boates, some waded as farre as they could into the sea, some stretched out their hands to her. The coast was filled with complaints, vows and cries, or such as either asked divers questions, or answered doubtfully. And a great multitude flocked thither with torches, who understanding that she was escaped, set themselves in a readinesse, as it were to have welcomed her, untill they were dispersed by the sight of a threatening armed company of fouldiers. *Anicetus* beseteth her house with a guard, and having broken the gate, laieth hand on all the servants he meeteth, untill he came to the chamber doores, where there stood but a few, the residue terrified with those which burst in. There was but little light in the chamber and one maide only, *Agrippina* more and more perplexed that she heard not from her sonne, no nor of *Agerinus*. The face of the shore was now almost quite changed, every man gone and on the sudden a great noise, and tokens of extreame danger. Then that one maide, going away, speaking these words, *Thou dost also forsake me*, she espied *Anicetus*, accompanied with *Hercules* Capitaine of the Gally, and *Olarius* a Centurion of sea-fouldiers, unto whom she said, that if he came to visit her, he should go and say that she was well recovered; if to execute any villany she suspected her son no way, and that the parricide was not by him commanded. The murderers came about her bed, and the Capitaine of the Gally first strook her on the head with a cudgell. For to the Centurion drawing his weapon to kill her, thrusting out her belly, she cried, strike my belly, and so having received many wounds, she was slaine. Thus many report with one consent. Whether that *Nero* beheld his mother when she was dead, and praised the feature of her body, some there are which affirme, some which deny. She was burnt the same night in a banketting bed with base funerals, and whilest *Nero* reigned never buried. Not long after by the care of her friends, she had a tombe of small expences neere the Miltanian way, and *Cæsar* the Dictators house, which from a high place looked upon a gulf of the sea underneath. When the funerall fire was kindled, *Mnestor* her freed man thrust himselfe thorow; but whether for love of *Agrippina* or feare of death, doubtfull. That this should be her end *Agrippina* many yeeres before did beleve, but contemned it. For consulting of *Neroes* fortune, the Chaldeans told her that he should be Emperour, and kill his mother: and she answered, let him kill her, for as he be Emperour.

III. *Neroes excuses in Senate for murdering his mother: the flattery of the people.*

BUafter this unnatural fact was committed, *Cæsar* began to waigh how hairious it was: and the rest of the night now in dumbe silence, often rising up as affrighted, and out of his wits, looked for day as it had bene a messenger of death. But at *Burrhus* perswasion the first flattery of the Centurions and Tribunes did animate him to hope: who taking him by the hand, rejoiced that he had escaped an unlooked for danger, and his mothers wicked practises. Then his friends frequented the Temples, and the example begun the free townes adjoyning to Campania, witnessed their joy with sacrifices and Embassadours. He counterfainting the contrary, sad and as it were an enemy to his life, wept and bewailed the death of his mother. Yet because the face of places is not changed like unto the countenances of men, the grievous sight of that sea and shore coming oft to his remembrance (and some there were which beleaved that there was heard a sound of a

Trumpet

“trumpet in those high hills adjoyning, and lamentations at his mothers tombe) he went to Naples and sent letters to the Senate, with contents as followeth. That *Agerinus* one of *Agrippinaes* deereit freed men, was found with a sword to kill him, and that she with the same remorse of conscience, had suffered the punishment, with which she had prepared her lewd enterprise against him. He added far fetcht crimes, as that she would have bene equall with him in the Empire, and that his guard should have sworn allegiance to her being but a woman, hoping to have done the same dishonor to the Senat and people. And that perceiving these devises to want effect, offended with the fouldiers, the Senators, and the people, she hindred a gift which should have been given the people, and sought the ruine of many Noble men. How greatly laboured he, that she should not rush into the Senate, and give forein nations their answers? And by a by-glancing at *Claudius* reigne, cast upon his mother all the lewd actions of his government, affirming that she was dead for the common good of the estate. He declared her shipwrack likewise; the which to have happened by chance, who was so blockish as to beleve? or that one man alone should be sent from a woman that had suffered shipwracke to force a guard and Emperours navie? Therefore now that *Nero*, whose cruelty surpassed all complaints, but *Seneca* was hardly spoken of, as one confessing the fact by that oration. Nevertheless processions were ordained with a wonderfull strife of forwardnes in every temple, and a bed made in the Temples in honour of their gods; and also that the five dayes feasts of *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, in which the treacheries were discovered, should be celebrated every yeere. And that an image of gold of *Minerva* should be set in the Curia and the Princes by it. And that the day of *Agrippinaes* nativity should be accounted among the dismal dayes. *Thrasea Patus* with silence or short assent accustomed to passe over others flatteries went out of the Senate, and procured danger to himself and opened not the way of liberty unto others. Many prodigious signes happened likewise, but of no effect. A woman brought forth a snake, and another companying with her husband, was stricken dead with lightning. The sunne was darkned on a sudden, and fourteen places of the city dammified with tempest from heaven: which chanced so without the care of the gods, that *Nero* many yeeres after continued the Empire and wickednesse. But to make his mother more odious, and shew his own lenitie was augmented by her death, he recalled from banishment two noble women *Lunia* and *Calpurnia*, and *Valerius Capito*, and *Lucinius Cabolus*, who had been Pretors long before, banished by *Agrippina*. He permitted also that *Lollia Paullinaes* ashes should be brought back, and a sepulchre to be built her, and released the punishment of *Iurinus* and *Calvisius*, whom not long before he himself had banished. As for *Silanus* she died in coming back at Tarantum; *Agrippinaes* malice, which was her overthrow, either appealed, or her credit beginning to waine. Whilest he lingered in the townes of Campania, doubtfull how he should enter into the city: whether his best way were to seek the favor of the Senat, or good will of the people; the lewdest conditioned, whereof there was no court better stored, perswaded him that the name of *Agrippina* was odious, and that by her death the favour of the people was more bent towards him then ever: therefore that he should go boldly, and with his presence trie how he should be revered. And withall they earnestly entreated him to set forward and found all things in a greater readinesse then they had promised: the Tribes came to meet him; the Lords of the Senate in their holy-day robes, wives and children placed according to their age and sexe: and all the way he should goe builded with staires as in publick shewes or triumphes. Thereupon puffed up with pride

pride, as a conquerour of publike servitude, he went to the Capitoll, and gave thanks to the gods: letting loose the reins to all lusts and licentiousness of life, which before badly restrained, yet the reverence towards his mother such as it was, did in some sort bridle.

IIII. Neroes exercises.

IT was an old practise of his, never to be absent from the race of chariots: and no lesse unseemly was that other delight of his, at supper to sing to the Harpeas Minstrels did, which he said to have been a custome of ancient Kings and Captaines, and a thing highly commended by Poets, and attributed to the honor of the gods. For melody is sure dedicated to *Apollo*, and in that attire he doth stand, not only in the cities of Greece, but also in the Temples at Rome: a principall deity and knowing things to come. Neither could he now be removed, seeming good also to *Seneca* and *Barburi* to yeeld him the one, lest he should perisit in both. And there upon a space was inclosed in the valley of the Vatican to manage his horses, and not to be seen indifferently of every man: and not long after of his own accord he called the people to see it, who highly extolled him; as the manner of the people is, to be desirous of pastimes, and very glad if the Prince draw them to it. And his shame published abroad, brought him not, as it was thought it would. any loathing therein, but a farther provocation, thinking that the discredit would be shaken off, if he could dishonour many with the like. He brought to the scaffold many descended of noble houses, bought for poverty, which because they be dead, I will not name, as having regard unto their ancestors: being rather his fault to give money for ill doing, then lest they should commit that which is naught. He contrained also the chief Gentlemen of Rome with mighty gifts to promise their labour in the Theater: unless he say, that a reward given by him who may command, bringeth a necessity in obeying. Yet lest he should be discredited by the publick Theater, he instituted playes called *Juvenalia*, as it were for the health of youth, to which every man willingly gave his name; not any ones nobility, nor his age, or office borne, being any hinderance unto them, but that Greeks and Latines exercised the Art of a Stage-player, even unto gestures, and measures unseemly for men. Yea noble women practised many gestures, and unseemly to their calling. And in the wood which *Augustus* planted about the lake, where he represented a sea fight, Tavernes and meeting places were built, where all provocations of wanton lusts were sold, where money was given to the good to spend of necessity, and to the intemperate to glory and brag off. From thence sprang all lewdness and infamy, never at any time (not when there was great corruption in manners in times past) more dissolute lasciviousness used then at those impure assemblies. Shame is scarce retained among men of honest example; much lesse among such which strived who should have most vices, can chastity and modesty, or any good behaviour be maintained. Last of all, *Nero* himself entereth on the Stage, tuning and playing on his instrument with great care, and premeditating what to say; his familiars assisting him, and besides them a Cohort of souldiers, Centurions and Tribunes, and *Barburi*, both grieving and praying him. Then also were first inrowled the Gentlemen of Rome called *Augustini*, men for their age and strength of body highly esteemed: part of them shamelesse and saucy in behaviour, and part hoping thereby to rise to greater authority; day and night with clapping of hands made all to ring of them, commending the feature, and voice of the Prince with tearms attributed to

the gods, and were respected by him as honorable personages for their vertue. And yet left the Emperours skill on stage only and musicke should be published, he desired to be well accounted off for verifying, having gathered about him such as had any cunning therein, much more such as were excellent. They sate together, and made those verses hang together which he made there or else where, and supplied his words howsoever they were uttered, which the fashion it selfe of his verses doth declare, not running with one and the same vehemency, and vaine of writing. He bestowed also some time after meat with Philosophers, taking pleasure to heare how every man defended his owne opinion, and overthrew the contrary. Neither wanted there some, which with their voyce and grave countenance desired to be thought pleasant with the Emperour.

V. A strife betweene the inhabitants of Nuceria, and the Pompeians.

ABOUT the same time, of a light quarell rose a greater murder betweene the inhabitants of Nuceria, and Pompeians at a shew of fencers, which *Livineius Regulus* put forth the Senate as before I have rehearsed, represented to the people. For first provoking one another with bitter termes, as it is often seene in malapert and saucy townsmen, they came to stones, and last of all to weapons; the Pompeians being the stronger, with whom the shew was set forth. Many of the Nucenians were brought lame and wounded to the Towne, and many wept for the death of their children and parents: the determining of which the Prince referred to the Senate, the Senate to the Consuls. And the cause being againe brought to the Senators, the Pompeians were forbidden to assemble any such companies for tenneyceeres, and their corporations erected against the lawes dissolved. *Livineius* and such others as raised the stirre, were banished. *Pedius Blasus* also was put from his Senators roome, at information of the Cyrenenians: who layd to his charge that he had robbed the treasure of the god *Aesculapius*, and mustered souldiers for money and suite. The same Cyrenenians accused *Aelius Strabo* sometimes Prætor, and sent by *Claudius* as arbitrator of certaine lands which once belonging to King *Apio*, and left to the people of Rome with the Kingdome, their neighbours possessed and occupied, and by long licence and injury defended them to be theirs by right and equity. The lands therefore being given from them by sentence they envied the judge; and the Senat answered they were ignorant of *Claudius* pleasure, and that they should aske the Princes advise. The Prince approving *Strabos* sentence, wrote nevertheless that he would aide the allies, and give them that which they had usurped. There died not long after, *Domitius Afer*, and *M. Servilius* two notable personages, which flourished with great honours and eloquence, he in pleading of causes, *Servilius* famous for long frequenting the Forum, and then for writing the Roman histories, carriage of himselfe, and neatnes of life, which made him more renowned, as equal to the other in wit, yet different in conditions.

VI. Whether it be convenient to have often plaies to entertaine the people.

Nero being the fourth time Consull, and *Cor. Cossus*, the play called *Quinquennale* was ordained to be played at Rome, after the manner of the Greek combate,

combat, whereof there went divers reports, as almost it happeneth in all new things: for some there were which said that *Cn. Pompeius* was blamed by the ancient men "for building a permanent Theater. For in times past the playes were wont to be set forth on a scaffold built for that time, & seats to continue no longer then the play lasted. Or if thou wilt look into more ancient times, the people beheld them standing, left if they should sit, they would continue in the Theater whol daies in idleness. Neither should the ancient fashion of playes be observed, when, as oft as the Prators should set them forth; no necessity was laid upon any of the citizen to fight or look on. But the customes of the country being by little & little abolished were now utterly overthrowne by disorders set from strange countries; that what soever elsewhere might corrupt, or was corrupted was seen in the city; & the youth unlike to that it hath been, through strange manners, wrestling naked; idleness, & licentious love, the Prince and the Senat being authors thereof, who have not only given licence to vices, but also given them strength & force. The noblemen of Rome under color of making orations & verses were discredited by stage-playing. What remaineth then but only to uncloth them selves starke naked, and take the cest in hand, and practise that fight in stead of armes and exercises of warre? Or doe they thinke they shall better understand the knowledge of fouthlaying, be more skilful in the decuries of gentlemen, accomplish the honorable charge of Judicature, if they understand cunningly broken tunes & sweetnes of voices: whole nights also were added to those shames, because no time should be left honest: but in that confuse multitude what every person most dissolute desired by day, dust venter on by night. That licence pleased many, & yet they cloaked it with honest termes. That the ancients did likewise not abhorre the delight of plaies and shewes according to their calling at that time, and that stage-players were sent for, from Thuscia. The horse-race was represented by the Thurians: but since Achaia and Asia was possessed by us, playes have bene more exactly set forth. Neither hath there been any one in Rome nobly defended, which by reason of stage-players hath discredited the stock from whom he came these two hundred yeeres, since *L. Mummius* triumphed, who first set forth that kind of shew in the city. Part her, there was a regard had unto thrift, in erecting a continuall standing Theater, rather then with infinite charges every yeere set up and build a new. Neither should the magistrates waste their goods as they have done; or the people have cause to be importunate with them for the combats according to the Greeks manner, seeing the Common wealth did defray the charge. The victories of Orators & Poets, would be an encouragement unto wits: neither could it be offensive to any Judge to lend his eares to honest studies, & allowable pastimes. To mirth rather then lasciviousnes, a few nights in five yeeres were given, in which there is such great lights of fires that no unlawfull act can be hidden. In very deed that shew past without any notable dishonest part committed, neither did the people shew any great infolency, although the common vices were restored to the stage, and forbidden to shew themselves in such plaies as were represented in honour of the gods. The praise of eloquence none carried away, but *Cæsar* was pronounced victor: and the Greekish attire which many wore in those dayes, was laid aside.

VII. Nero

VII. Nero falleth sicke.

During these things, there appeared a blazing starre, which in the opinion of the common people betokeneth the change of a prince. Therefore as though Nero had already been driven out, they were busie to know who should succeed him: *Rubellius Plautus* being famous in every mans mouth, by the mothers side descending from the Julian familie. He was an observer of the old manner of living upright, grave and severe, living with all honestie, as one retired in his owne house: and the more secret he was for feare of being accounted of; so much the more his reputation increased. An interpretation of a lightning begun by the like vanity, augmented the rumor. For *Nero* meate being stricken with lightning, and the table thrown downe at the lakes of Simbrinum, in a place called Sublaqueum in the confines of Tiburtum, from whence *Plautus* had his beginning by his fathers side, all men believed that he was destined by the providence of the gods to the Empire: and thereupon many fawned and courted him: which by a greedy and for the most part deceitfull ambition, admire new things, doubtfull and uncertaine, *Nero* moved with these rumors, writeth to *Plautus*, advising him to looke to himselfe, and his assemblies, and rid his hands of those which lewdly defamed him: and that in Asia he had possessions by descent from his Ancestors, in which he might passe his youth safely and without troubles. Whereupon he went thither with *Aniustia* his wife and a few of his familiars. At the same time too greedy a desire of pleasing his will in all he liked, bred *Nero* both infamie and danger: for swimming in the fountain of the Martian water which was brought to the city; it was construed that he had defiled the holy drinks, and ceremony of the place with his whole body; and falling dangerously sicke thereupon, it was constantly beleeveth that it proceeded as a punishment from the wrath of the gods.

VIII. *Corbulo* conquereth all *Armenia*; over which *Nero* sendeth *Tigranes* to be King.

But *Corbulo* after the raising of Artaxata, thinking it is best to make profit of the fresh terror: for the easilier forcing of Tigranocerta, by destroying of which he should augment feare in the enemy, or by sparing it, purchase the reputation of clemency: marcheth thither, using no hostility by the way, lest he should take from them all hope of pardon: yet with no remissness or careless proceeding, as one knowing that that Nation is easily subiect to change: as slow to perill, so faithlesse when occasion is offered. The Barbarians every man according to his wit, some intreated; some forsooke their villages and conveyed themselves to inaccessible places; some hid themselves, and the things they made most reckoning of in Caves. The Roman Captaine therefore, using divers policies, shewed mercie towards the humble; used celerity in pursuing those which ranne away; and cruelty against those which fled to the dennes and caves, stopping the mouthes of them with vine branches and small wood, and after set them on fire. And passing by them with vine branches and small wood, and after set them on fire. And passing by the confines of the Mardians, a people well practised in theiving and robbing; they set on him, but fled to their Mountaines for their defence, when they saw he turned towards them. But *Corbulo* sent an Armie of Iberians to waste them, revenge by that meanes with the blood of strangers the audaciousnes of the enemy. Himselfe and his Armie, albeit he received no hurt by the battell, yet began to faint for want of victuals and overgreat travell, having no meanes to drive away hunger, but with the flesh of beasts. All this, with the want of water, fervent heat, long journeys, was mitigated by the only patience of the Captaine; himselfe enduring more then

then a common souldier. Then we came into tilled grounds, but where harvest was in: and of two castles into which the Armenians had fled, the one was taken by force; and the other which had resisted the first assault was forced with siege. From thence passing into the country of the Taurantians he escaped an unlooked for danger: for not farre from his pavilion, there was found a Barbarian of no small reputation with a weapon; which by torture discovered the order of a treason (himselfe the inventor of it) and all his complices: and they were convicted and punished which under colour of freindship went about treason. Not long after embassadors sent from Tigranocerta, bring tidings that the gates are open, and the inhabitants willing to obey the Romans. Withall they presented him a crowne of gold as a gift to honour a stranger: which honourably he accepted, and rooke away no privilegedge from the town because they should more faithfully retain their obedience. Neverthelesse the Kings fortresse, which the fierce youth had shut themselves in, was not gotten but by fight: for they came forth and skirmisht before the walles, but driven unto their rampiers, & no longer able to resist, at the last yeeld to the forces of the assayers. All which the Roman achieved so much the easlier, because the Parthians were hindered with war against the Hircanians: who had sent to the Roman Prince to crave their alliance, declaring that for a pledge of their freindship, they had stopped *Vologeses*. *Corbulo* fearing lest those Embassadors in returning backe, having past *Enphrates* should be surpris'd by the ambush of the enemy, with a good guard conducted them to the red sea: whereby having escaped the confines of the Parthians, they returned safe to their country. Besides this *Corbulo* drove away *Tiridates* farre off: and from all hope of waies entering the confines of Armenia by the Medes; by sending before the Lieutenant *Vesulannus* with the confederates, himselfe following with encumbered legions: and having wasted with fire and sword those he knew to be our enemies, and adhere to the King, put himself in possession of Armenia: when as not long after came *Tigranes* cholen by *Nero* to take the kingdome, one of the nobilitie of the Cappadocians, & King *Archelaus* nephew: but by being kept a long time an hostage in the City, was humble, and lowly even unto servile patience: neither accepted by consent, some still favouring the Arsacides: but the most part hating the pride of the Parthians, desired rather the King given by the Romans. He had also a garriſon sent him by the Romans, a thousand legionary souldiers, three bands of allies, and two wings of horsemen. And to the end he might the easlier defend the new kingdome, part of Armenia, as it is adjoynded to Nipolis, Aristobulus, and part Antiochus had charge of. *Corbulo* came into Syria, which by the death of the Lieutenant *Vinidius* was without a governour and committed to his charge.

IX. An earth-quake in Laodicea. An order for appellations.

The same year, Laodicea one of the most famous cities of Asia, destroyed by an earth-quake, without any help of ours by her own wealth, recovered her selfe againe. But in Italy the ancient towne of Puteolum, got of *Nero* the privileges and surname of a colonie. The old souldiers assigned to inhabit Tarentum and Aurium, did not furnish the lack of people in those places: many of them being sent into Provinces, where they ended their service. And not accustomed to marry, nor bring up children, they left their houses without posteritie: for whole legions were not brought as in times past with Tribunes and Centurions and souldiers of the same band, that by consent and love they should make a common-wealth: but

but strangers the one to the other, of divers companies, without a governour, without mutuall love, as it were gathered on the sudden, of another kinde of people, rather a number then a colonie. The election of Pretors wont to be chosen at the will of the Senat, which was now done by suit and bribery; the Prince assumed to himselfe, and gave the charge of a legion to each one of the three which sued extraordinarily. And augmented the honour of the Senate, by ordaining that such as from ordinary Judges appealed to the Senators should incur the same penalty, as they did which appealed to the Emperour: for before that was free to every man, and not punishable. In the end of the year *Vibius Secundus* a Roman gentleman, at the suite of the Moores, was condemned of extortion and banished Italy, and supported by the favour of his brother *Vibius Crispus*, that he had no grievouſer a punishment.

X. Warre in England. Suetonius Paulinus conquered the Ile of Angleſey. The Queene Boudicca abused by the Romans.

When *Casinius Patus*, and *Petronius Turpilianus* were Consuls, there was a very great overthrow received in Britannie: where neither the Lieutenant *Auitus*, as I have already said, could do no more but keep that which was already gotten, and his successeur *Verannius* with small inrodes having wasted the Siluri*, was hindered by death from making any long warre: a man* *Southwale*. whilest he lived, famous for severity, but in his last will shewed himself openly ambitious. For after much flattering of *Nero*, added, that he would have subdued the Province to his obedience, if he had lived the two next yeeres. At that time *Paulinus* Suetonius governed Britannie, in skill of service, & opinion of the people (which suffereth no man without a concurrent) comparable with *Corbulo*, desiring to march his honour of recovering Armenia by subduing the enemy of this country. He maketh all preparation to invade the Ile of Mona* strong with the inhabitants, and a receptacle of fugitives; and buildeth flat bottomed vessels, because the sea is shallow, and landing uncertain. So the footmen having passed over, the horsemen followed by the foord, or by swimming, if the waters were high. Against them the enemies armie stood on the shore, thick in aray, well appointed with men and weapons, and women running among, in mourning attire, their haire about their eares with fire-brands in their hands like furies of hell: and the Druides round about, lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring out deadly curses: with the newnesse of the sight amazed the souldier, and stood stock still close together, not once moving a foot, as though they had presented themselves to the wounds. Then by the encouragement of the captaine, and animating each the other, that they should not feare a flock of women, and frantick people, they displayed their ensignes and marched on; overthrew such as encountered them, and thrust them among their own fires. Which being done, they placed garriſons in their townes, and cut down their woods; which through their execrable superstitions among them were reckoned holy. For they accounted it lawfull to offer sacrifice at their altars with the blood of captives and ask counsell of their gods by the aspect of mans intralles and fibres. Newes came to Suetonius as he achieved this enterprife, of a sudden rebellion of the Province. *Prasutagus* King of the Icenians*, very famous for his riches a* *Sussex, Norfolk, Cambridge-shire, Hunting-shire*. long time gotten, made *Cesar* with two of his daughters his heire by will, thinking that by that flattery his kingdome and house should have been warranted from in-

jury, which fell out otherwise: for his kingdome by Centurions, his house by slaves was wasted and spoiled as lawful booties. And to begin withall, his wife *Boudicca* was whipped, and his daughters deflowered. And the chiefeft of the Icenians, as though they had received the whole Nation for a prey, were dispossessed of all their ancient inheritance, and the Kings kindred reputed as slaves. By reason of which contumely and feare of worse, (after that they were reduced into a forme of a Province) they take armes again: the **Trinobantes* being stirred to rebellion also and others not yet broken to the yoke of servitude, by secret conspiracies had vowed to recover their libertie, bearing a bitter hatred against the old souldiers. For those which were lately brought into the Colony of **Camolodunum*, thrust out of their houses the ancient inhabitants, took their livings from them calling them captives and slaves: the new souldiers favouring the insolent fiercenesse of the old, as well for likenes and conformity of life, as hope of like licence. Besides a Temple erected in honour of *Claudius* of famous memory, was an eye-sore, and an Altar of perpetuall dominion over them: and the Priests which were chosen under colour of religion, wasted all the wealth of the inhabitants. Neither did it seem any hard matter, to extirpate that colony undefended & unfortified, which was not circumspectly foreseen by our Captaines, whilest they had a greater care of pleasure then good government. Amongst these things the image of Victorie set up in *Camalodunum* fell down without any apparent cause why, and turned back, as though it would give place to the enemy. And the women dis tempered with fury, went singing, that destruction was at hand. And strange noises were heard in their court, and the Theater gave a found like to a howling, and a strange apparition in an arme of the sea was a foretelling of the subversion of the colony. Further the Ocean bloody in shew, and dead mens bodies left after an ebbe, as they brought hope to the Britains, so they drove the old souldiers into a feare, who because *Suetonius* was farre off, craved aid of *Catus Decianus* Procurator. He sent not above two hundred men, and those badly armed, and the number not great which was there before, trusted to the franchise of the Temple. And those hindring which were confederates of the secret conspiracy troubled their designements: for they neither made trench nor ditch, nor sending away the old men and women, and keeping the young men only, being as secure as it had been in a full peace, they were surprized with a multitude of barbarous people, and all overthrowen, and wasted with violence, or consumed with fire: the Temple onely excepted, into which the souldiers had fled, which also within two dayes was besieged and taken. And the Britain being thus conquerour, and meeting with *Petius Cerealis* Lieutenant of the ninth legion which came to succour them, put to flight the legion, and slew all the footmen. *Cerealis* with the horsemen escaped to the camp, and defended himselfe in the fortresses. Through which overthrow, and hate of the Province, driven to take armes through the avarice of the Romanes, *Catus* the Procurator being afraid, sailed into Gallia. But *Suetonius* with wonderfull constancie passing even among the enemies, went on to London, not greatly famous by the name of a Colony, but for concourse of Merchants, and provision of all things necessary, of great fame and renowne: and being come thither stood doubtfull whether he should choose that for the seate of warre or not: and considering the small store of souldiers he had, and how *Petilius* had well payed for his rashnesse, he determined with the losse of one town to preserve the rest whole. Neither was he wonne by weeping and teares to give aide to such as demanded it, but gave signe of removing, and received such as followed as part of his army. If imbecillity of sex, or wearisomnes of age, or pleasantnes of the place kept any back, they were

* *Middlesex and Essex.*

* *Malden in Essex.*

all put to the sword by the enemy. The free towne of **Verulamium* received the like overthrow, because the barbarians forsaking their Castles and forts, and being well manned, spoiled the richest and fastest, and carrying it to a sure place, glad of the booty, went on to places more notable. It is certaine there were slaine in those places I have spoken of, to the number of seventy thousand citizens and confederates. Neither did they sell or take any one prisoner, or use any entercourse of traffick of warre, but kill, hang, burne, crucifie, as though they would require the measure they had suffered, and as it were in the meane time hasten to anticipate revenge.

XI. *Suetonius vanquished the Britaines, which Boudicca conducted: her slownes and death.*

NOW *Suetonius* having with him the fourteenth legion, with the Standerd-bearers of the twentieth, and the aides from places adjoining, which came to the number almost of ten thousand armed men, resolved to lay aside all delay, and trie the chance of a maine battel. And chooseth a place with a narrow entrance, and inclosed behinde with a wood, being well assured that he had no enemies but before him; and that the plaine was wide without feare of ambush. The legionary souldier then marshalled together in thick and close ranks, and the light harnessed closely about them, the horsemen made the wings. But the Britaines forces triumphed abroad in troupes and companies, by such multitudes that the like had not been seen; and of such fiercenes of courage, that they brought their wives with them, and placed them in carts in the utmost parts of the plaine, as witness of the victory. *Boudicca* having her daughters by her in a charriot, now going to one, now to another: Told them that the Britaines were wont to make warre under the conduct of women. But at that time, not as though she had descended of such noble ancestors, she sought neither for kingdome nor wealth, but a revenge as one of the common people, of their lost liberty, of her body beaten with stripes and the chastity of her daughter violated. That the desire of the Romanes was grown to that pisse, that they left none, of what age soever, nor any virgin undefiled. Nevertheless that the gods favored just revenge; that the legion which durst undertake the battel was slain, the rest had either hid themselves in their camp, or sought means by flight to save themselves: that they could not indure the noise and cry of so many souldiers, much lesse their fury and strength. If they would waigh with themselves the strength of the souldiers, if the cause of the war, they should resolve either to vanquish in that battel or die. That, for her own part being a woman, was her resolution, the men might live if they pleased and serve. *Suetonius* held not his tongue in so great danger, who although he trusted in the valour of his souldiers, yet interlaced exhortations and praiers. That they should condemn the loud and vaine threats of the barbarians; that there were more women seen in their army then young men; that being unwarlike and unarmed, they would presently yeeld when they should once come to feel the weapons and valour of the conquerors, who had so oft overthrowen them: yea where many legions have been, a few have carried away the glory of the battel, and it should be an augmenting to their glory, if with a small power they could win the praise of a whole army: that they should only continue the slaughter and butchery close together, by throwing of darts, then with their swords and pikes of their bucklers, not thinking on booty; for the victory once gotten, all should fall to their share. Such

* *Albano.*

a fervency and edge followed the captaines words; the old souldier experienced in many battels so bestirred himselfe, and shewed such forwardnes in lancing his darts, that *Suetonius* assured of the event, gave the signe of battel. And first of all the legion not stirring a foot, but keeping within the streight, as in a place of defence; after that the enemy was come neerer: and had spent his darts to good purpose, the legion in the end salied out in a pointed battel. The auxiliary souldier was of the like courage, and the horsemen with long lances breaking before them all they met, or made head against them. The residue shewed their backs, hardly fleeing away, by reason the carts placed about the plaine had hedged in the passages on every side. And the souldiers spared not so much as from killing the women; and their horses and beasts thrust through, increased the heape of bodies. That was a day of great renowne, and comparable to the victories of old times: for some there are which report, that there were slaine few lesse in number then foure score thousand Britaines, of our souldiers foure hundred slaine, and not many more hurt. *Boudicea* ended her life with poison. And *Pennius Posthumus*, Camp-master of the second legion, understanding of the prosperous successe of the fourteenth and twentieth Legions, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glory and contrary to the order of service, refused to obey the Captains commandement, slew himselfe. After this gathering the army together, they encamped again, ready to end the residue of the warre. And *Cæsar* augmented his forces by sending out of Germany two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse; by whose coming the ninth legion was supplied. The cohorts and wings were lodged in new winter garisons, and all those which were either openly against us, or doubtfull, were wasted with fire and sword. But nothing so much distressed that nation as famine, being negligent in sowing of corne, and of all ages given to war: and assuring themselves to live on our provision, being a fierce nation slowly gave care to any peace. For *Iunius Classicianus* sent to succeed *Catus*, and at variance with *Suetonius* hindred the common good with private grudges: and had bruited abroad that the new Lieutenant was to be expected, who without any hostile rancour, and pride of a conqueror, would entreat such as would yeeld with all clemency. He sent word likewise to Rome that they should look for no end of the warres, unlesse some other should succeed *Suetonius* attributing his perverse luck to his own overthwartnesse; and the prosperous, to the good luck of the common-wealth. Whereupon to see what state Britanny stood in, *Polycleitus* a Freed-man was sent, *Nero* greatly hoping, that by his authority there should not only an agreement be made between the Lieutenant and Procurator; but also the rebellious mindes of the Barbarians be won to a peace. Neither failed *Polycleitus* with his great hoste to seem burdnesome to Italy and Gallia; and after he had passed the Ocean sea, shew himselfe terrible even to our souldiers. But to the enemies he was but a laughing stock, who being in full possession of liberty, knew not what the power of freed-men was: and began to marvell that a Captaine, and an army which had so achieved so many great exploits could yeeld to obey a bondslave: all things nevertheless were made the best to the Emperor. And *Suetonius* being occupied in dispatching of business, after he had lost a few galleies on the shore, and the gally-slaves in them, as though the warre did continue, was commanded to deliver the army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had lately given up his Consulship; who neither provoked the enemy, nor egged by him gave his lazy and idle life, the honorable name of peace.

XII. Balbus a Senators testament forged: and Pedanius Rufus killed by his bondmen.

THE same year two notable lewd parts were committed at Rome: the one by a Senator; the other by an audacious bondman. *Domitius Balbus* sometime Pretor, being aged, without children, and of great wealth, lay open to much treachery. One of his neereft kinsmen, *Valerius Fabianus*, and *Consulleleæ*, forged a false testament in his name, having called thereunto *Vicius Rufinus*, and *Terentius Lentinus* Gentlemen of Rome: and they associated unto them *Antonius Primus*, and *Asinius Marcellus*. *Antony* was ready and bold; *Marcellus* nobly descended, and nephew to *Asinius Pollio*; of a good carriage and behaviour; saving that hee thought poverty the worst of all things. *Fabianus* then sealed the testament with those which I have named, and others of lesser calling: whereof he was convicted before the Lords of the Senate, with *Antonius*, and *Rufinus*, and *Terentius*, and condemned by the law *Cornelia* against forgery. But *Marcellus* the memory of his ancestors, and *Cæsar*s entreaty, acquitted rather from punishment, then infamie. The same day overthrew *Pompeianus Aelianus*, a young man, who had been *Quæstor* and privie to *Fabianus* practise, and was banished Italy and Spaine his native country. *Valerius Ponticus* sustained the like ignominy, because that eschewing the judgement of the Provost of the City, he had informed against some before the Pretor first under colour of some lawes, then by prevarication to escape punishment. Whereupon a decree of Senate was ordained, that he who should either buy or sell any such actions, should sustaine the same punishment, as he who was publicly condemned for forging of crimes in false accusations. Not long after *Pedanius Secundus* Provost of the city was slain by his bondman, either because he had denied him his liberty, which for money he had covenanted; or hating himselfe for the unnaturall lust of a youth, as not induring his Lord to be his rivall. But when all the bond-slaves of the house according to the old custome should have been condemned for that fact, through the flocking thither of people, which defended so many innocent persons, they grew almost to a mutiny, and even in the Senate it selfe, among which there was a faction, some condemning that overgreat security; & many on the contrary side holding it necessary that nothing should be chaged. Among which, *C. Cæsius* uttered his opinion as followeth. "I have oftentimes been present in this assembly. Lords of the Senate, when new decrees have been demanded contrary to the laws and ordinances of our ancestors: neither have I ever gainsaid them, nor that I doubted but that in times past they foresaw and took, better and more upright order for all affairs then now; and that those things which were altered were changed into the worse: but lest I should seeme by sticking too much to old customes, to extoll the thing I affected: withall I thought it not convenient with often contradiction, to overthrow this our authority whatsoever it be, to the end it might remaine strong and entire, if at any time the common-wealth should need of counsell. Which this day hath appeared, a Cõsul being murdered in his own house, by treason of his slaves, which none either hindred or bewrayed, although the decree of Senat be yet in force, which in this case threatned punishment to the whole family. Decree in good truth impunity. But whom shall any mans dignity warrant, seeing the Provostship of the city availed not? Whom shall a multitude of slaves defend, seeing foure hundred have not protected *Pedanius Secundus*. Whom shall any ones family helpe, if standing in feare of lawes our servants care not

not what danger we fall into. Shall we say, as some are not ashamed to invent, that this murder revenged his owne private injurie, because he had compounded for his fathers inheritance; or that some old slave had been taken from him? Let us pronounce sentence without any further adoe, that *Pedianus* seemeth to us to have been justly slain. Give me leave to reason of that point, that hath bene determined by wiser men: If we were now first of all to consider of the matter, doe you thinke that a slave had had the heart to murder his Lord, if no threatening word had before escaped him? if he had uttered nothing rashly? forsooth he concealed his intention, he prepared a weapon amongst such as knew nothing of it. Could he passe the watch, open the chamber doores, bring in light, commit the murder, all of his fellows ignorant of it? If slaves would bewray such attempts, they can give many signes: which if they discover, we alone may be safe among many lewd persons: in the end if we must needs die, yet not unrevenged of the wicked. The disposition of slaves hath alwayes bene feared by our ancestors; yea although they were borne in the same country and houses, and have just occasion presently to love their lords. But seeing we have nations of them in our families, using divers rites and customes, strange or no ceremonies of religions at all, this rascality thou shalt not be able to bridle but by force. But some innocents shall be cast away. When an army is discomfited, and every tenth souldier is culled out and beaten with a cudgell, the lot falleth also upon the valiant. Every exemplary punishment hath somewhat in it which is unjust, which being in particular to the prejudice of some, yet is recompensed by the general good of the whole. As no one man durst gainesay *Cassius* opinion, so many confusedly answered together, that there should commiseration be taken, of the number, age, sex, and undoubted innocency of many. Yet that opinion prevailed, which concluded they should be punished; but it could not be executed, a multitude being flocked together, threatening with stones and fire. Then *Cæsar* rebuked the people by an edict, and beset all the way, by which the condemned parties were led to punishment with a guard of souldiers. *Cingonius Varro* advised that the freed men which lived under the same rooſe with their master slaine, should be banished Italy. But that was withstood by the Prince, lest the ancient custome which clemency had not diminished, should by cruelty be made worse. The same men being Consuls, *Tarquinius Priscus* was condemned for extortion, at the suit of the Bithynians, the Senators greatly rejoicing thereat, who bare in minde that *Statilius Taurus* their Proconsull had bene accused by him. The people were numbred and valued in Gallia by *Q. Volusius*, and *Sext. Africanus*, and *Trebellius Maximus*; and whilest *Volusius* and *Africanus* contend for worth and nobility, and both disdayning *Trebellius*, they preferred him before themselves. That year died *Memmius Regulus*, in authority, constancy, fame, as much as might be, the imperiall highnesse shadowing him, greatly renowned: in so much that *Nero* being sick, and such as were about him flattering him, and saying that the Empire was at end if he should miscarry, made answer, that the common-wealth had a support and stay. Then they demanding in whom especially? he added, in *Memmius Regulus*. Neverthelesse *Regulus* lived after this shrowded by his quiet life, and because he was of new nobility, and not envied for his wealth. The same year, a place of all kinde of exercise called Gymnasium was dedicated by *Nero*, and oyle given when they wrestled naked to the gentlemen and Senate, according to the custome of the Greeks.

XIII. Libellers punished: of Veiento which should Neroes favour.

P. *Marius* and *L. Asinius* being Consuls; *Antistius* the Prætor, who as I have said before behaved himselfe licentiously when he was Tribune of the people, made opprobrious verses against the Prince, and published them in a solemne banquet at *Ostorius Scapulae* house. Whereupon he was accused of treason by *Cossinius Capito*, not long before received into the number of Senators at the request of his father in law *Tigellinus*. It was thought that then first of all that law was put on foot, which wrought not so great an overthrow to *Antistius*, as glory to the Emperour: by which the condemned party, by the Senate was delivered from death, by the negative voice of the Tribune. And albeit *Ostorius* protested he had heard nothing to beare witness of; credit was given to the testimony of his adversaries, and *Junius Marullus* Consull elect gave his censure, that he should be deprived of the Prætorship, and put to death according to the ancient custome. The rest after that yielding their assent, *Petius Thrasea* having sayd somewhat in the commendation of *Cæsar*, sharply rebuked *Antistius*, and declared: That it was not expedient, that the extremity of punishment should be used under a good Prince, & when the Senat was by no necessity bound to ordaine it: that there was no use now of an executioner and halter: and that there were penalties ordained by lawes, & punishments inflicted without note of the severity of the Judges, & infamy of times. With the losse of his goods he should be confined in some Iland, whereby how much the longer he drew his guilty life, by so much the more miserable it should be to himselfe in particular, & in time to come a notable example of publick clemency. *Thraseas* liberty of speech broke the silence of the rest. And after that the Consull had permitted the going aside to agree in their opinions, all of them (a few excepted) condescended to *Thraseas* opinion: amongst whom the forwardest in flattery was *A. Vitellius*, brauling and contending with every one of the better sort, but never replying to an answer: a certaine note to know a timorous and faint heart. But the Consuls not daring to put the decree in execution, with common consent wrote to *Cæsar*: who wavering betwixt shame and anger, in the end wrote againe: That *Antistius* no injury before offered him, had used most contumelious speeches against the Prince, whereof a revenge was demanded of the Senat. And it was convenient that a punishment should be ordained answerable to the greatnes of the offence. As for himselfe as he would have hindered the severity of their resolution, so he would not be against the moderation of the punishment: therefore they might determine as they thought good, giving them power if they lust to acquit him. These or the like speeches recited, & his dislike manifestly perceived: yet for all that neither did the Consuls alter this relation, or *Thrasea* shrinke from his opinion; or the rest gesse from that which they had once allowed; part of them left they should seeme to have exposted the Prince to envy, many shrowding themselves under the number of voices; *Thrasea* by his accustomed stoutnes of courage, and because he would not fall from his glory already gotten. *Fabricius Veiento* was accused of the like crime, for uttering many slanderous speeches against the Lords of the Senate, and Priests, in those bookes which he called *Codicillos*. *Talins Geminus* his accuser added further of him, that he had sold offices and favours of the Prince, and the right of obtaining honours: which was the cause why *Nero* undertooke the hearing of that judgement. Who after conviction banished *Veiento* out of Italy, and commanded

ded his bookes to be burnt, which as long as the reading and getting of them was dangerous, were much sought for; then liberty of having them granted they were forgotten.

XIIII. *The death of Burrhus: and who Tigellinus and Rufus his successors were. The decay of Senecaes credit, with an oration of his to Nero, with Neros answer.*

As publicke calamities dayly increase, so the remedies against them grew scarce. And Burrhus ended his life, but whether by sickness or poison, uncertaine. It was conjectured by sickness, because that his wind pipe within swelling by little and little, and in the end stopped, he yeelded up the ghost. Most men affirme, that by Neros commendement, making as though he would have applied a remedy to the palat of his mouth anointed it with poison; and that Burrhus understanding the practise, when Caesar came to visite him turned his face from him: and asking him how he did, only answered, I am well. He was much lamented in the City for the memory of his vertue: and harmlesse sloth of one of his successors, and enormous wickednesse, and adulteries of the other. For Caesar had made two Captaines of the Guard: *Fenius Rufus* through the favour of the people, because he dealt in Corne matters without gaine; and *Sesonius Tigellinus*, who held on his old course of uncleane and infamous life, which by custome was another nature in him. Tigellinus was more inward with the Prince, chosen as one privy to his secret pleasures. Rufus was of good reputation and fame with the people, and accepted of the souldiers, which he found by experience to breed Neros dislike. The death of Burrhus weakened Senecaes authority, because his good arts wanted the strength they had: having lost one as it were of their guides: and Nero inclined to the worse sort. Which with sundry sorts of calumniationes set upon Seneca, saying: That he continually heaped up wealth above the calling of a private man, and sought to win the peoples hearts; that in pleasant gardens, and stately building he did almost exceed the Prince. They objected also that he attributed to himselfe only, the praise of eloquence and made verses often, after he saw that Nero took a liking to them. For shewing openly a dislike of the Princes pleasures, he detracted from his skill in ridding, & scoffed at his voice when he sang, to what other purpose, but that nothing should seeme excellent in the Common-wealth, which was not thought to be his invention? Nero was now out of his child-hood, and in the strength of his youth; he should shake of his master, being already instructed with sufficient teachers, to wit his ancestors. But Seneca knowing of these accusations, by some way had a care of honesty; and Caesar more and more estranging himselfe from his familiarity desired a time to be heard; and having obtained it, beginneth thus. It is foureteen yeeres Caesar, since I have been put to thee as a guide to thy hope: and eight since thou hast governed the Empire. From that time untill this, thou hast heaped on me so many dignities and so much wealth, that there wanteth nothing to my felicity, but the moderation of them. I will allege great examples; not of mine owne calling, but of thine. Augustus thy great great grandfathers father licensed *M. Agrippa* to withdraw himselfe to Mitylenum to live a private life, and *C. Mecenas* to abide in the City, yet at ease as if he had been in a foraine country. Whereof the one a companion of his warres, the other tossed and wearied with many travels at Rome, had received large rewards, but answerable to their manifold deserts. As for myselfe, what was there in me for the requital of thy munificence, save onely my studies;

as I may say, nourished in the shadow? By which I have gotten credit and reputation: because I seemed to have been at hand & directed the youth with instructions: a great recompense in very deed of my travel. But thou hast done me besides this, great favours, and enriched me with infinite wealth, in so much that I doo not detest the matter with myself, saying: Am I, being but a gentleman only, and born out of the city, reckoned amongst the chiefeest peeres of the city? Can it be that my new rising can shine among noble men honoured with the marks of ancient antiquity? Where is that minde of mine which once was contented with a little? What, doth he make such goodly gardens; & walk in such mannor houses neare the walls of the city: doth he abound in such scope of grounds, and usury in so many places? One defence cometh to mind for all, that is, that it was not in my part to strive against thy gifts, but both of us have filled our measure, thou by giving as much as a Prince could bestow upon a friend, and I in taking as much as a friend could take of a Prince. That which is above this augmenteth envy, the which no doubt, as all mortall things, doth lie under thy greatnes, but lie heavily on my shoulders; therefore I need help: and as weary in service of war, or on the way, I would crave succour; so in this journey of my life, old and unable to wade through the smallest cares, seeing I cannot sustain the burden of my riches any longer, I crave thy aid and helping hand; command them to be managed by the procurators, and be received as thy own goods. Neither will I thrust my self into poverty, but give up those things, whose brightnes dimmed and dazeled me: that time which I was wont to bestow in my gardens & houses of pleasure, I will imploy in recreation of minde. Thou art in the floure of thy age, and the regiment of thy Empire established and settled many yeeres, and we thy old friends may betake our selves to rest. This also shall redound to thy glory, that thou hast raised such to great honours as could have contented themselves with a mean estate. Unto which, Nero answered almost as followeth. That I am able extempore to answer thy premeditated oration, I am principally indebted to thee, who hast instructed me how not only to acquit and discharge my self of things premeditated, but also of such as happen on the sudden. My great great grandfathers father Augustus suffered Agrippa and Mecenas after great labour to take their ease; but in such an age, that his authority might maintain whatsoever had been bestowed; yet he never took those rewards from them he had once given them. In war and dangers they had deserved them, for in these things Augustus youth was imployed: neither would thy weapons and hands have been wanting, if I had been in arms. But as the present state of times requires, thou diddest with reason, and counsell train up first my childhood, then my youth: and therefore the gifts which thou bestowedst upon me, whilest life lasteth shall remain with me. Those things which thou hast received of me, thy orchards, usury, country houses, are subject to casualty; and although they seem much yet many not equall with thee in knowledge have possessed more. I am ashamed to speak of such as have been slaves, which seem richer than thou. And therefore I blush that thou, who in affection art dearest unto me, dost not surpass all men in wealth and fortune. And thou art of thy age a lusty man, and able to enjoy thy wealth and commodity thereof, and we enter into the first steps of the Empire, unless pardy thou dost preferre thy self before Vitellius thrice Consul, or me before Claudius. But how much Volusius scraped by long sparing, so much my liberality cannot fill towards thee. If he slipperines of our youth be overprone to that it cannot not, thou drawest it back, and temperest carefully with advise our unseemly and unruly courage. Not thy moderation if thou shouldst restore thy wealth, not thy ease

“if thou shouldst forsake the Prince: but my coverousnesse, and the fear of my cru-
 “elty shall be in every mans mouth. And although thy continency should be high-
 “ly commended, yet were it not seemly for a wife man, from whence he procureth
 “infamy to his friend, from thence to seek glory to himselfe. To these his speeches
 he joynd imbracements and kisses, framed by nature, and practised by custome, to
 cloake hatred with false flattering speeches. *Seneca* (which is the conclusion of all
 speeches had with Princes) gave him thanks, but changing the course and manner
 of life which he used in authority, forbidding the multitudes which came to salute
 him, and avoiding such as would follow him; shewing himselfe seldome in the city,
 as though he had kept home, either through sicknesse, or busie at his study.

XV. Tigellinus credit. Plautus and Syllaes death.

Seneca being thus puld down, it was an easie matter to abate *Rufus Feni*us credit,
 in accusing him of the friendship he had with *Agrippina*: but *Tigellinus* credit
 daily grew greater, and thinking that his lewd practises, wherein only he
 was his crafts-master, should be more acceptable, if he could oblige the Prince
 by a league of naughty dealing; he began diligently to search out all his feares, and
 perceiving that *Plautus* and *Sylla* were suspected above others, *Plautus* being bani-
 shed of late into Asia, and *Sylla* into Gallia Narbonensis, he entred into the
 consideration of their nobility, and how the one was too neare the army of the
 “East, and the other that of Germany. That he for his own part had not in his head
 “as *Burrhus* had, contrary hopes to the Emperours, but regarded onely his safety,
 “which in some sort might be secured by his presence from the city practises: but by
 “what means could tumults far off be redressed? the Galli became prechant at the
 “name of a Dictator, and the people of Asia no lesse to be suspected through the
 “renown of *Drusus*, *Plautus* grandfather. *Sylla* was poore and needy, and therefore
 “bold and venturous, counterfeiting a lazines, untill he found a fit opportunity to
 “shew his rashnesse. *Plautus* abounding in wealth, did not so much as pretend a de-
 “fire of a quiet life, but made open shew of imitating the old Romanes: having ta-
 “ken upon him the arrogancy and sect of the Stoicks, which maketh them busie
 “headed and desirous to be set a work. Neither was there any further delay used
 but *Sylla* (those which were to doe the feat arriving at Marfils the sixth day) before
 feare or rumour, was slain being set at table, and *Nero* scoffed when his head was
 brought him, as cvilfavoured by untimely hoarinesse. But it was not so secretly kept
 that *Plautus* death was intended, because many had a care of his safety, and the dis-
 tance of the journey and sea, and the time between, had spread it abroad; and given
 out among the common sort, that he went about to stirre up *Corbulo* then Lord ge-
 nerall over great armies, saying, that if noble and innocent personages were thus
 murdered, he was most likely to come into danger. Further, Asia had taken armes
 in favour of this young man, and the souldiers sent to go forward with the enterpri-
 ses, being neither strong in number, nor in courage stout, seeing they could not
 performe that which they were enjoyned, turned altogether to new hopes. These
 speeches were common in idle persons mouthes. But *Plautus* Freed-man having a
 prosperous winde, prevented the Centurion, and delivered him a message from
 “*L. Antistius* his father in law, which was: That he should avoid a cowardly death,
 “and not trust a lazy life, nor seeking flatering holes; as to think that he should be pi-
 “tied for his nobility: he should finde good men and of courage ready to take his
 “part; in the meane time that no aid was to be rejected. If he had driven back
 three

threecore souldiers (for so many came) whilest the messenger could return to *Nero*,
 and another power be sent back, many things will follow, which may prosper and
 grow even to a warre. To be short, either he must provide for his safety by such
 counsell, or at all adventure there can come no worle to him by stoutnesse then co-
 wardise. But those perswasions did nothing move *Plautus*, either foreseeing he want-
 ed sufficient means, as being unarmed, and a banisht man, or for the irksomnesse
 of doubtfull hope, or for the love of his wife and children, to whom he thought the
 Prince would be more milde, if he troubled him not with care. Some report, that
 other messengers came to advertise him, that there was no cruell matter intended;
 and that two Philosophers *Ceranus* a Greeke, and *Musonius* a Tuscan borne, per-
 swaded him to abide a constant death, for an uncertaine and fearefull life. True it
 is, as he was found naked in the middle of the day, exercising his body, the Centu-
 rion killed him in the presence of *Pelago* an Eunuch, whom *Nero* had made over-
 seer of the Centurion, and of a band of men which served for the retinue of him
 which executed the Kings commandement. His head being brought to *Nero*, at the
 sight thereof he uttered these very words: Why doest thou not *Nero* (quoth he)
 hasten the marriage of *Poppæa* hitherto deferred by such feares, and put from thee
 thy wife *Octavia*, although of good and modest behaviour, yet for the memory of
 her father, and affection of the people disliked and ill thought of? Nevertheless, he
 wrote letters to the Senate, not confessing the murdering of *Sylla* and *Plautus*, but
 that both of them were of a busie and turbulent humour, and that he had a care of
 the safety of the common-wealth. Thereupon processions were ordained, and that
Sylla and *Plautus* should be put from the Senate, a matter of greater scorne and
 mockery then hurt.

XVI. Nero putteth away Octavia, and marieth Poppæa: and her complaints against Octavia, and her death.

*H*AVING thus received a decree of Senate, and perceiving that all his ungraci-
 ous acts were taken for worthy exploits, he putteth away *Octavia*, saying she
 was barren, and marieth *Poppæa*. She long a concubine, and having power
 over him as an adulterer, then as her husband, procureth one of *Othaviaes* ser-
 vitors to accuse her that she was in love with one *Eucerus* a bondman, a minstrell,
 borne at Alexandria. Thereupon many bondwomen were tortured, some of them
 overcome by extremity of torment, yielded to falsehood; and many stood stoutly
 in defence of their mistres innocency. Amongst whom, one of them, *Tigellinus* ear-
 nestly urging her, answered, that *Othaviaes* secret parts were chaster then his mouth;
 yet at the first she was put from him under colour of a lawfull divorce, and *Burrhus*
 house and *Plautus* possessions assigned her, both presages of ill luck. Then she was
 driven into Campani, with a guard of souldiers; whereof grew many complaints
 and lamentations, and those not in secret among the people, as having small wife-
 dome, and little to lose, so subject to fewer dangers, by reason whereof, though no
 whit sorry of that he had done, *Nero* recalleth his wife *Octavia*, and the people very
 joyfully went up to the Capitoll, and worshipped and thanked the gods, threw
 downe *Poppæas* images, and bare *Othaviaes* on their shoulders, strawed flowers on
 them, and placed them in the Forum and Temples, praised and honored the Prince
 for taking her againe. And now they had filled the palace with multitudes and
 cries, when as companies of souldiers sent, with blows and threats, thrust and sca-
 tered them some one way, some another; and changed all that the people had done
 by

by fedition, and reftored *Poppæas* images to their places againe. Who alwaies fell and cruell with hatred towards *Octavia*; and then with feare, left a more forcible violence of the people fhould fall upon her; or *Nero* be changed, feeing how the people were affected, cafting her felf at his knees, faid: That ſhe ſtood not now on thofe termes that the might reaſon of her marriage, (although ſhe eſteemed it more then her ſafety) but that ſhe was brought into danger of her life by *Octavias* clients and ſlaves, which ſhadowing themſelves under the name of the people, durſt venture that in peace, which could hardly have happened in war. Thoſe armes were taken againſt the Prince: there wanted onely a Captaine, which in a tumult would eaſily be found. *Octavia* might now leave Campania, and go to the city, ſeeing that at a beck in her abſence ſuch tumults were raiſed. What fault had ſhe committed? whom had ſhe offended? Whether is it becauſe ſhe was likely to bring forth a true and lawfull progeny to the houſe of the *Cæſars*? would the people of Rome there ſhould bea-ther brought into the imperiall highneſſe the iſſue of a miſtrell of Egypt? To be ſhort, if that be convenient for the ſtate, he ſhould rather willingly then conſtrayn- edly call his miſtreſs, or looke to his ſafety with juſt revenge. The firſt tumults are appeaſed by eaſie meanes: but if they did deſpaire of having *Octavia* for *Neros* wife, they would provide her a husband. This dolefull ſpeech applicable to feare and anger, did both terrifie *Nero*, and incenſe him. But the ſuſpicion of the ſlave was of ſmall credit, and the torture of the bondwomen had made the matter cleere: therefore it was thought convenient to have the confeſſion of ſome one, which might be charged with ſome praſtice againſt the ſtate. *Aniceus* the executioner of his mothers death ſeemed to be a fit inſtrument for the purpoſe, as I have already ſaid, Captaine of the navie at Miſenum, in ſome ſmall favour after the villany committed, but anon after moſt odious, becauſe the miniſters of great villanies are looked on as upbraiders of the ſame. *Cæſar* then cauſing him to be ſent for, putteth him in minde of the former ſervice, and telleth him that he onely had been the ſafeguard of his eſtate againſt his mothers treaſon, and that there was now an opportunity of no leſſe favour, if he could rid him of his wife, which greatly diſliked him. Neither ſhould he need hand or weapon, but only confeſſe he had committed adultery with *Octavia*: and promiſeth him great rewards, though for the preſent the world ſhould not know them, and pleaſant dwellings, or if he ſhould deny it, threatened him death. He like a blockhead as he was, his firſt villany making an eaſie way to this, inventeth more then was commanded, and confeſſeth it to ſuch of the Emperours friends, whoſe counſell as it were he had uſed in the plot. Then he was baniſhed into Sardinia, where he endured no poore exile, and died naturally. But *Nero* accuſed her that ſhe had corrupted the captaine of the gallies, in hope of winning him to her devotion: and forgetting that not long before he had accuſed her of barrenneſſe, publiſheth by edict, that to hide her laſcivious life, ſhe had deſtroyed the children ſhe had had by others then by him, and that thereof he was aſſured, and therefore baniſhed *Octavia* to the Iland Pandateria. No baniſhed woman did ever move the beholders to greater pity then ſhe. Some did yet remember *Agrippina* exile by *Tiberius*; and *Julia* baniſhed by *Claudius* was freſher in memorie: but both beſides the ſtrength of age, had taſted of ſome pleaſure, and comforted their preſent cruell hap with the remembrance of a better eſtate. Unto this woman, her firſt day of marriage was inſtead of a grave, being brought into a houſe in which ſhe could finde nothing but what was dolefull and lamentable: her father poiſoned, & her brother anon after. Then the maid greater then the miſtreſſe, and *Poppæa* married for no other end, but to ruine her; and laſt of all a crime objected

more

more grievous then any death. But this young princeſſe of the age of twenty years, being between the Centurions and ſouldiers as it were already deprived of life, with the preface of ſo many miſeries, yet could not yeeld to death. A few dayes after ſhe was commanded to be put to death, although ſhe proteſted ſhe was no wife but a widow onely, and a ſiſter of the Emperours, calling to *Germanicus* gholt to aide her and *Agrippinaes* likewise, in whoſe life time ſhe ſhould indeed have indured an unhappy marriage, but without danger of death. Notwithſtanding ſhe was ſhut up in priſon, and all the veines of her body opened; but becauſe the bloud ſtopped with feare iſſued forth ſlowly, ſhe was killed with the vapor of a very hot bath. And a deadlier cruelty alſo added, that *Poppæa* ſaw her head cut off, and brought to the city, for all which it was decreed, that gifts ſhould be offered in the Temples. Which we have uttered, that whoſoever ſhall either by us, or other writers, underſtand the events of thoſe times, may be aſſured, that as oft as the Prince commanded either baniſhment, or murder, ſo oft thanks were given to the gods; and thoſe things which in times paſt were marks of proſperity, were then badges of publicke calamity. Yet nevertheleſſe we will not hold our tongue if any decree of Senate hath been ordained, new and ſtrange by flattery, or by baſe and abject ſuffrage. The ſame yeare, it was thought he empoyned his chiefſt freed-men, *Doryphorus* as being againſt *Poppæas* marriage, and *Pallas* becauſe he kept from him infinite wealth by living too long. *Romanus* by ſecret informations accuſed *Seneca* as a confederate of *Piſoes*: but he was touched more neere the quick by *Seneca* for the ſame fault, which drove *Piſo* in a feare, and that commencement of great, but unproſperous treaſon againſt *Nero*.

THE FIFTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Vologeses King of Parthia crowned King of Armenia by his brother Tiridates is hindered by Corbulo to enjoy it, and expulsed by Tigranes.

WHilest these things thus passed, Vologeses King of the Parthians, understanding what successe Corbulo had in his affairs: and how Tiridates his brother being expulsed, and Tigranes a stranger made king of Armenia, resolved to revenge the contempt offered the greatnesse of the Artacides: yet considering the great power of the Romanes, and alliance a long time continued, was diversely perplexed, as one of his owne disposition slow and lingering; and then intangled with many warres by the revolt of the Hyrcanians, a strong and mighty Nation. And as he thus wavered, he was further exasperated by the news of fresh injury: for Tigranes gone out of Armenia, had wasted and spoyled the Adiabeniens, a Nation bordering farther and longer then any rodes of enemies heretofore. Which grieved not a little the chiefe Noble men of that Nation, that they were grown to that contempt that they should be forraged and robbed not of a Romane Captaine, but by the rashnesse of an hostage, so many yeeres held and esteemed no better then a bond-slave. Monobazus Governour of the Adiabeniens augmented their griefe, asking them what remedy, or from whence Armenia was already gone, and the countrey adjoyning would goe shortly after: and unlesse the Parthians would defend them, those which yielded to the Romanes should finde an easier servitude, then those which were taken. Tiridates chafed out of the kingdom by silence complaining not a little, was no small griefe, telling them that great Empires were not maintained by cowardlinesse; but they must trie the valour both of men and armes. For among great Princes, he seemed to have most reason and right, who had most strength. And it was the praise of private houses to keep their owne; but the glory of a King to war for other nations. Vologeses being moved with these speeches, calleth a Counsell, and placed Tiridates hard by him and thus began. "This man, born of the same father that I am, having yeelded unto me the name of the king in regard I am his elder, I did put in possession of Armenia, which is reckoned the third part of my kingdom. For the Medes P. acorus had before possessed, making account that in so doing I had tak away the inveterate hatred which reigneth between brothers & fully settled the state of our family. The Romans hinder this, and now break the peace also to their owne ruine, which they never yet disturbed but to their owne destruction. I will not deny but I had rather hold things gotten by my ancestors, by equitie then blood, by reason and glory is intire with fame of modesty; which neither ought to be contemned of the highest, and is esteemed of the gods. Having thus said, he put the Diademe on Tiridates head; and gave Moneses anoble Gentleman a gallant company of Horse-men, which usually followed the King, and withall the ayde of the Adiabeniens;

abenians; and commanded Tigranes to be chased out of Armenia; whilest he pacifying the sedition of the Hyrcanians, draweth his whole forces together and utmost power of warre, threatening the Romane Provinces. Whereof Corbulo being advertised by certaine messengers, sendeth two legions with Verulanus Severus, and Vectius Bolanus to ayde Tigranes, with a secret charge they should proceed rather orderly and advisedly, then hastily: for he had rather entertaine then make warre. And wrote to Caesar that it was needfull to have a Captaine of purpose to defende Armenia; and that Syria by Vologeses approach was in great danger. And in the meane time he lodgeth the rest of the legions by the banke Euphrates: levieth and armeth in haste a power of the country people, and intercepteth the enemies passages with a garrison. And because the country is scarce of water, he fortified hard by the fountains, and covered certaine small brooks with mounds of sand. Whilest Corbulo used this preparation for the defence of Syria, Moneses because he would prevent the rumour of his coming, marched with all speed: but yet found not Tigranes unadvertised of unprovided; who had put himselfe into Tigranocerta, a very strong towne, well manned and walled. Besides this, the river Nicephorius of a reasonable breadth, environeth part of the wals; & a huge ditch cast in length, where the river was distrusted as not sufficient. There were souldiers within to man it, and provision of necessaries: for conveying whereof, some having beene too forward in venturing, and on the sudden surprisled by the enemy, enflamed the rest rather with anger, then feare. But the Parthian wanting courage to performe the assault at hand, spent a few arrowes a loose; lost his labour; and put the besieged into no feare at all. The Adiabeni, as they began to rayse ladders and other engines, were easily thrust back, and by a sallie made by our men, hewd in peeces. Yet Corbulo, notwithstanding things prospered on his side, thinking it his best to use fortune moderately, sent some to Vologeses, finding himselfe grieved, that violence should be offered the Province: and that a King confederate and a friend should besiege the Roman cohorts; therefore that he should give up the siege, or else he would encampe in the enemies countrey. Casperius a Centurion chosen for that Embassie, went to the King at a towne called Nisibis, seven and thirty miles distant from Tigranocerta, and delivered his message very stoutly. Vologeses had long resolved with himselfe to avoid warres with the Romans: neither went things currently with him for the present, the siege tooke no effect; Tigranes was strong in men and provision; the besiegers put to flight; certaine Legions were sent to Armenia; and others in readiness for Syria to assaile him in his owne Contrey. That he had but a weake company of Horsemen; want of flower; for a multitude of Locusts had eaten up all grasse and leaves. Therefore concealing his feare, and making shew of more mildnesse, answereth that he would send Ambassadors to the Emperour of Rome, to demand Armenia and establish a peace. And commandeth Moneses to depart from Tigranocerta and himselfe turned back. These things many extolled as proceeding from the Kings feare, and Corbuloes threatnings. Some continued it that they had privily agreed to forbear war on both sides; and that Vologeses departing, Tigranes should also depart from Armenia. For why (sayd they) went the Romans forces "from Tigranocerta? why were those things abandoned in time of rest, which they "had defended in war? Could they have wintered better in the remote partes of "Cappadocia, in Cabbins erected on a sudden, then in the chiefe feare of the King? "dome lately possessed? Doubtlesse the warres were put off, that Vologeses might rather fight with some other, then Corbulo. Corbulo would not indanger his glory for many yeeres already gotten. Foras I have already sayd, he had demanded a speciall

ciall Captaine to defend Armenia; & notice came that *Cesennius Patus* was at hand and by that time he was come. Their forces were so divided, that the fourth and twelfth Legions, and withall the fift which was lately called from the Massians, and the aydes of Pontus, Gallatia, and Cappadocia should obey *Patus*: the third, sixth, and tenth Legions, and the souldiers which before remained in Syria should continue with *Corbulo*. The rest they would joyne or divide as occasion served. But neither *Corbulo* could indure a concurrent, and *Patus* unto whom it was sufficient glory, if he were reckoned the second, made small account of the service already done, saying: that there hath beene no slaughter made, no booty gayned; and that he had wonne townes onely with words, and not with deeds. He would impose tributes & lawes upon them and in stead of a shadow of a King, he would force them to live like conquered people under the Roman law. About the same time *Vologeses* Embassador, as before I have rehearsed, sent to the Prince, returned and nothing done. And the Parthians openly made warre; neither did *Patus* draw backe, but with two legions, whereof the fourth *Famissulanus Veftorianus* conducted, and the twelfth *Calpurnius Sabinus*, he entred Armenia with an unlucky presage. For having made a bridge and passing over Euphrates, without any manifest cause, the Horse which bare the Consular ornaments fled backward, and escaped. And the beast ready for sacrifice, neere to the Winter-campes which were a fortifying, the worke halfe finished, brake loose, and leapt over the trench: and the souldiers Javelins and darts were on a fire; the wonder so much the more to be noted, because the Parthians fight with weapons thrown with the hand.

II. *Patus goeth into Armenia: and his unskilfulness in service.*

BUT *Patus* setting nought by ominous signes, nor having sufficiently fortified his wintering campes, nor provision of Corn made, conducteth his army in all haste over the hill *Taurus*, to recover (as he said) the *Tigranocertians*, and to forrage the Countries which *Corbulo* had left untouched. And some Castles he tooke, and some glory and some booty he wan, if he had used his glory with moderation, and his body with circumspection. Having by long journeyes overrun those places which he could not keepe, and that the provision of victuals was spoiled and corrupted which he had taken, and the Winter now at hand, he brought his Army backe againe: and sent letters to *Caspar* as though the warre had beene ended, in words magnificent; but voyd of matter. In the meane season *Corbulo* having had alwayes a speciall care of the banks of Euphrates, lodged on them now a greater strength of Garrisons, then before he had: and lest the enemies troopes should hinder the making of a bridge (for they braved it with a gallant shew in the Champion which lay under them) he brought up the river vessels of huge bignesse, joyned together with timber-worke, and built Towers on them; bearing off the Barbarians with stones and speares out of Balistae and other engines, let flie farther, then that the Countrey shot of Arrows, could match us with the like againe. The bridge continued and finished, the opposite hills were sealed by the Cohorts of sallies, and afterward possessed by the Camp of the Legions, with such great celeritie and shew of puissant forces, that the Parthians, all preparation of invading Syria omitted, turned all their hope against Armenia. There *Patus* ignorant what was at hand, had the fift Legion far from him in Pontus: and had weakened the rest by inconsiderate licensing the souldiers to depart, until news was brought that *Vologeses* came with a great army resolutely bent to do great mischeif. The twelfth legion was sent for hoping

ping that thereby it would be noised that his forces were increased; but indeed that bewrayed his weaknesse, with which neverthelesse he might have incamped: and the Parthian deluded by drawing the warre in length, if *Patus* had been constant either to follow his owne, or others counsels. But he by men experienced in warre being counselled what was best against imminent casualties, lest he should seeme to have neede of their advice, would doe quite contrary and much worse. And then forsaking his standing campes, crying that he had no trench and rampire given him against the enemy, but bodies and weapons, issued out with the legions, as though he would fight a field. And having lost a Centurion and few souldiers, sent before to view the enemies forces, came backe againe greatly affrighted. And because *Vologeses* came on but coldly, refusing againe a vaine hope, lodged three thousand choyle men on the top of the hill *Taurus* hard by, to hinder the King to passe. He placed also certaine corners of Pannonians, which were the strength and sinewes of his horsemen, in one part of the plaine. His wife and sonne were shut up in a castle called *Arfamofata*, and a cohort appointed to guard them; and thus dispersed the souldiers, which united in one, would much better have made head against the straggled and roving enemy. It is reported that he was hardly brought to confesse unto *Corbulo* that the King was at hand: neither did *Corbulo* make any great haste, to the end that the dangers growing great, his owne prayse in succoring might be the greater. Neverthelesse he commanded three thousand to be set forward out of the three legions; eight hundred horse, and the like number out of the auxiliary cohorts. But *Vologeses* although he had understood that the passages were shut up by *Patus* on the one side with footemen, and on the other with horsemen, nothing altering his determination; what with violence, what with threatnings, having put the horsemen to flight, broke the Legionaries; one onely Centurion *Tarquinius Crescens* having courage to defend himselfe in a towre wherein he had a garrison: making often sallies, and slaying such Barbarians as came neare, untill he was forced by fire to yeeld. Of the footmen if any was unhurt he fled to by-places a farre off, the wounded returned to the campe, extolling the valour of the King; the cruelty and number of his souldiers, and all else for feare; such easily beleieving them as were in the like perplexity. The Captaine himselfe not once endeavoring to remedy the calamity, neglected all duties of service, and sent againe to intreat *Corbulo*, that he would come away in all post haste, to defend the ensignes and standarts, and the only name left of the unfortunate army: he for his owne part would whilest life lasted, remaine faithfull.

III. *Corbulo goeth to Syria to ayde Patus: who in the meane space maketh a dishonourable peace with Vologeses.*

CORBULO daunted nothing at all, leaving part of his forces in Syria to defend the fortresses built upon the shore of Euphrates, took his journey as the nearest way and plentifullest of victuals, by the *Comagians*, then by Cappadocia, and from thence to Armenia. There followed the army besides the usuall furniture and provision of warre, a multitude of camels loaden with corne, to drive away both the enemy and hunger. The first he met of those which were thoroughly affrighted was, *Pacchius* the Centurion of the first ensigne, then many other souldiers, who pretending divers and sundry causes of their flying away, he admonished to returne to their ensignes, and trust to *Patus* clemency. As for himselfe he was rigorous to none, but to the conquerers. Withall, he went to his legions, encouraged them

them, put them in minde of their old valour, and what occaſion they had to winne new glory. "That they fought not now villages and towns of Armenia for a reward of their travels, but Roman camps, and amongst them two legions. If unto every common ſouldier, the crown was given by the Emperors hands, as a ſpecial honor to him who had ſaved one citizen onely, how great and worthy an honor ſhall it be when the like number ſhall be ſeen of the ſuccourers & ſuccoured? And with theſe and the like encouragements generally cheered (and ſome there were whom their brothers perils and neer kindred inflamed of their owne proper motions) they haſtened their journey day and night. *Vologeſes* ſo much the more eagerly purſueth the beſieged, now affailing the trench of the legions, now the fort, where the fearefull or aged had fled for defence, approaching neerer then the Parthians cuſtome is, to allure by temeritie his enemies to battell. But the Romanes hardly haled out of their cabines, did but defend their rampires, part at the commandement of the captaine and others by their own cowardlineſſe looking for *Corbulo*, and if they ſhould be put to any diſtreſſe, purpoſed to ſhift for themſelves by the example of the overthrow at Caudian, and Numantina. Neither had the Samnites people of Italie, nor the people of Carthage which contended for greatneſſe with the Romanes, ſo the great power as the Parthians. Their anceſtors alſo, both valiant and commended of all, when fortune croſſed them provided for their ſafety. By which deſperation *Petus* the generall of the army utterly caſt down, yet ſent not his firſt letters to *Vologeſes* in humble ſort, but in manner of a complaint: "That he uſed hoſtilitie againſt the Armenians, ſubject alwaies to the Romans, or to a King choſen by the Emperour. That peace was alike profitable to both. That he ſhould not regard things preſent only. That he was come againſt two legions with all the power of his king. dome, but the Romans had the whole world beſides at commandement to aide the war. *Vologeſes* answered nothing touching the matter, but that he was to expect his brothers *Pacorus* and *Tiridates*, and that that place and time was appointed to conſult of Armenia. And that the gods had favoured them ſo much, being a matter worthy of the Arſacides greatneſſe, that withall they could determine of the Romane legions. After that, *Petus* ſent meſſengers to intreat a parley with the King, who commanded *Vaſaces* captaine of the horſe to go. Then *Petus* beginneth with the *Luculli*, *Pompeii*, and ſuch other Captaines as had conquered and given away Armenia. *Vaſaces* answered, that the Romanes had but a ſhadow of holding and giving away of Armenia, and that the right and power was with the Parthians. And having ſufficiently debated the matter on both ſides, *Monobazus Adiabenus* the next day was called a witneſſe of their agreement: which was that the legions ſhould no longer be beſieged, and all the ſouldiers depart out of the bounds of Armenia, and all forts and provisions to be delivered to the Parthians: which done, that *Vologeſes* ſhould have liſenſe to ſend Embaſſadours to *Nero*. In the mean ſpace, *Petus* built a bridge over the river Arſamites, which ran by the campe, under colour of paſſing that way: but the Parthians had commanded it to be done as a token of the victory, for it ſerved their turne, and our men went another way. And the rumour went, that the legions were ſent ** ſub jugum*, with other diſgraces which the Armenians were wont to uſe againſt the vanquiſhed. For they entered the trench before the Romane campe was departed, and beſer the way, challenging and leading away their horſes, and ſuch as had beene their ſlaves. Their apparell alſo and weapons were taken from them, and the ſouldiers yielded them for feare, leſt any occaſion of quarell ſhould be given. *Vologeſes* having gathered together our weapons and dead bodies, to witneſſe the overthrow of our people,

* *Speares pinche a croſſe like galloves, under which enemies vanquiſhed were forced to goe in deſpight.*
Sed ut exprimeretur
cauſam coſtrefſis,
ſubactum domi-
namq; effe gentem
ſub iugum actum,
ſed et Lictorib;

people, forbore from ſeeing the running away of the legions. A fame of moderation was ſought for, after he had ſatiſfied and filled his pride. He paſſed the river Arſamites on an Elephant, and every man neare the King on horſe back becauſe a rumor was ſpread that the bridge would fall under the burden, by the deceit of the makers. But ſuch as ventured to go over it, found it ſtrong and ſure.

IIII. *Petus cowardlineſſe. Corbulos diligence to ſuccour him.*
An agreement with the King of the Parthians.

MOſt certain it was, the beſieged had ſuch ſtore of corne left, that they fired their ſtorehouſes, and on the other ſide *Corbulo* declared, that the Parthians were in want of all neceſſary proviſion, and their flower all conſumed, ready to have forſaken the ſiege, and himſelfe but three daies journey off. He added farther, that *Petus* had promiſed by oath before the enſignes, in the preſence of ſuch as the King had ſent to beare witneſſe, that no Roman ſhould enter into Armenia, untill it appeared by *Neros* letters whether he agreed to the peace or not. Which things as they have been invented to increaſe infamy, ſo the reſt is not unknowne, that *Petus* went in one day forty miles, leaving the wounded ſcattered behind him: which fear of the fliers away was no leſſe ignominious, then if in fight they had turned their backs to the enemy. *Corbulo* meeting him at the bank of Euphrates with his forces, made no ſuch ſhew of his enſignes and armes, that he ſhould ſeem to upbraid him of his cowardlines. For his common ſouldiers ſad, and bewailing the cauſe of their fellowes, could not forbear weeping. They ſcarce ſaluted the one the other for teares. Strife of valour there was none, no ambition of glory, the only deſire of men in proſperity. Pity only bare ſway, and moſt of all with the meaner ſort. The captaines uſed few words, and thoſe complaining that their labour was loſt, that the warre might have been ended with the flight of his enemy. *Petus* answered, that all was whole and in good ſtate to them both, that they ſhould turn their enſignes, and joyntly invade Armenia, weakened by *Vologeſes* abſence. *Corbulo* answered he had no ſuch commiſſion from the Emperour: that he had gone out of the Province moved with the danger of the legions, and ſeeing that the Parthians attempts were uncertain, he would return to Syria. And that he was to pray for good fortune, that his footmen wearied with travelling ſo far a foot, might overcome the Kings horſemen going before cheerefully, having the advantage of the country. From thence departed *Petus* to winter in Cappadocia. But *Vologeſes* Embaſſadours ſent to *Corbulo*, warned him to pull down his forts beyond Euphrates, and leave the river indifferent to both. *Corbulo* demanded on the other ſide, that the garriſons ſhould depart out of divers parts of Armenia. And in the end the King yielded to it, and the fortrefſes which *Corbulo* had made beyond Euphrates were pulled down, and the Armenians left to their will. But at Rome, trophies and triumphant arches were erected in ſigne of victory over the Parthians, in the middle of their Capitoll, by order of Senat, the war yet freſh and not finiſhed, only for a faire ſhew, no conſcience made whether by deſert or not. Yea *Nero*, to diſſemble the cares of forrein affaires, did caſt come into Tyber, corrupted by the peoples over-long keeping it, to ſhew thereby a ſecurity and plenty of victuals: the price nothing enhanced, although almoſt two hundred ſhips were caſt away by tempeſt in the very haven, and a hundred brought up Tyber conſumed by caſual fire. After that, he appointed three Conſuls, *L. Piſo*, *Ducennius Geminus*, *Pompeius Paulinus*.

Paullinus, to take charge of the tribute, with an invective against other Princes which by excess of expences, spent more then the revnues came to, and he would bestow yeerely on the common-wealth * threecore millions of sesterces. There was a very bad custome commonly practised at that time when the choosing of officers was at hand, as casting lots for government of Provinces; which was, that many which were without children, colourably adopted some, and being thereby admitted among the Lords to draw lots for Pretorships and Provinces, immediately after manumitted those they had adopted. Whereupon, those which had childly went to the Senate with a great complaint, declaring the law of nature, the labour in bringing up of children, against the fraud and deceit and short time of adoption. That it was a sufficient recompense to the childlesse, that with great security without charge, they had credit, honors, and all things else offered them. That to them the promises of lawes long expected were turned into a jest, when a man without care, a father, without mourning, childlesse, on the sudden would be equall with the long desires of fathers. Whereupon a decree of Senat was made, that fained adoption should not benefit in any part to any publick charge, nor yet to succeed in others inheritances.

V. *Magistrates sent into Provinces no more rewarded. The Gymnase burnt. Pompeius town sunk with an earthquake.*

After this *Claudius Timarchus* of Candy, was accused of all the crimes, that rich governours of Provinces are wont to be touched with; and grown insolent with over great wealth to the oppression of the meener sort. One speech of his reached to the disgrace of the Senate, which was, that it lay in him whether the Proconsuls of Candy should have thanks given them, or not. Which occasion *Pains Thrasea* turning to the common good, after he had given his opinion that the accused should be banished Candy; added these words. It is proved by experience, Lords of the Senat, that most excellent lawes, and honest examples have their beginning by good men, from others offences. So the licence of Orators was cause of the law Cincia; the suing of Competitors of the Julian laws; the covetousness of Magistrates of the Calphurnian decrees. For the fault goeth before the punishment, and the remedy cometh after the offence. Therefore against the new pride of Provinces let us take some advice worthy of the Roman integrity and constancy, that nothing may be derogated from the protection of the allies, or the opinion conceived of us weakened, or a citizen be elsewhere judged, then before us, or reputed other then he is esteemed by us. In times past not only a Pretor or Consul, but private men also were sent to visit the Provinces which should report, what was thought of every ones duty and loyalty: and the people were afraid of a particular mans estimation and judgement. But now we adore strangers and flatter them: and as at the pleasure of one, thanks are now adaies given, so the accusation of one more readily received. Let the decree continue, & let the Provinces have power to shew their authority by such meanes: but let false praise, and wrung out by praies be restrained, no lesse then malice and cruelty. For there are more offences committed whilst we go about to win favour, then whilst we do offend: yea some vertues are odious, obdurate severity, and an invincible minde against favour. Hereupon the beginnings of our Magistrates are for the most part better, and the end declineth, whilst we hunt after suffrages: which if they were forbidden, the Provinces would be governed more justly and constantly. For as covetousness

"tousness is bridled through fear of being accused of bribery and extortion; so "thanksgiving being forbidden, ambition would be restrained. This opinion was approved with great consent of all: yet a decree of Senat could not be established, the Consuls denying the matter to have been propounded. Anon after by authority of the Prince they ordained, that none should propound it in the Council of the allies, that thanks should be given before the Senat, the Pretors or Proconsuls, and that no man should do that message. Under the same Consuls the place of exercise called Gymnasium was burnt with a flash of lightning, and *Neroes* image melted to a shapelesse lump of brasse. And by an earth-quake, the famous town of Pompey in Campania was ruined in a great part. And *Lellia* a virgin Vestall died; in whose place was chosen *Cornelia* of the *Coisian* family.

VI. *The birth of Nero and Poppæas childe. The death of the same daughter. The Parthian Embassadors receive no answer: and Corbulo made Lieutenant General of the warre.*

Emmianus Regulus, and *Verginius Rufus* being Consuls, *Nero* had a daughter by *Poppæa*, which he took as a matter above all mortall joy, and called her *Augusta*, and gave the same surname to *Poppæa*. The place where she was brought to bed was at Antium a Colony, where he himselfe was borne. The Senate had already commended *Poppæas* wombe to the gods, and had made publick vows; which were multiplied and performed. And there were added processions, and a temple to the goddesses *Fecunditati*; and combats ordained to the imitation of the Athenians. And that the golden images of Fortunes should be placed in the Throne of *Jupiter* Capitoline: and that as the Circensian play should be exhibited in the honour of the Julian family at Bovillas; so at Antium of the Claudian and Domitian: all which were vaine and fleeting things, the girle dying within foure monethes. Which gave occasion of new flatterings, some being of advice that she should be honoured like a goddesse, with a bed, a Temple, and a Priest. And *Nero* himselfe as before he was without measure glad, so now most sorrowfull. It was noted that when all the Senat ran to Antium at the new birth of the childe, and *Thraseas* forbidden: he took the contumelious repulse with a stout courage, as a presage of his imminent overthrow. It was reported, that *Caesar* bragged to *Seneca*, that he was reconciled to *Thrasea*, and that *Seneca* was glad thereof. From whence grew at once glory and danger to worthy men. In the mean time in the beginning of the spring, the Embassadors of the Parthians brought King *Vologeses* message and letters to the same effect. That he would not forgo all the former challenges so oft debated for obtaining of Armenia: because the gods, although arbitrators of puissant nations, had delivered the possessions to the Parthians, not without the ignominy of the Romans: that having of late besieged *Tigranes*, then *Petus* and the Legions; when he could have ruined them, yet suffered them to depart in safety. His force was sufficiently tried, & a proof given of his lenity. Neither would *Tridates* refuse to come to the City to receive the Diademe, if he were not hindered by a religion of priest-hood: he would go to the ensignes and images of the Prince, where in presence of the Legions he would luckily begin his government. *Vologeses* letters being of this effect, because *Petus* had written the contrary, as though all had been well, the Centurion who came with the Embassadors was demanded, in what state Armenia stood: he answered that all the Romans were departed from thence. Then the Barbarians scoffe being understood, who demanded that which they had already

die taken by force; *Nero* consulted with the chiefeft of the City, whether it were beft to make a doubtfull war with the enemy, or peace. It was not doubted but war. And *Corbulo* fo many yeeres practifed in the wars, knowing the fouldiers and the enemies, had the generall charge given him, left there fhould be a new error committed by fome other unskilfulneffe: for of *Petus* bad government they were forry and repented. Whereupon they were fent back without any conclufion, yet with gifts; whereby it might be hoped that *Tiridates* fhould not ask in vaine if he came by way of intreaty. The government of Syria was committed to *Cinnius*: the ftrengh of war to *Corbulo*; and the fifteenth Legion under the conduct of *Marinus Celfus* was brought out of Pannonia. Letters were fent to the Terrarches, Kings, Prefects, and Procurators, and Pretors, which ruled Provinces adjoining, that they fhould obey *Corbulo*: augmented almoft like unto that, that the people of Rome gave *Pompey*; when he was to war againft the Pirats. When *Petus* at his return feared greater matters; *Cæfar* thought it enough to scoffe and jeft at him almoft with thefe words. "That he would pardon him prefently; left being fo eafily brought into feare, he fhould be fick with longer penfivenes. But *Corbulo* fent the fourth and twelfth Legion, w^{ch} feemed unable for war, becaufe they had loft the valianteft among them and the reft affrighted into Syria; and conducteth the fixt & third from thence into Armenia, all intire and whole and accustomed to often and prosperous fucceffe; and added the fift Legion, which was in Pontus not daunted with the overthrow of the others: Withall, the fifteenth newly arrived, and fome chofen in Illyricum and Egypt, and all horfmen and footmen with aides of Kings allies, drawn together to Melitenes, where he purpofed to paffe the river Euphrates. Then having taken a furvey of the Army making an oration unto them, beginneth with many ftately and magnificall difcourfes of the Emperors government and his own exploits, avoiding the memory of *Petus* unlucky unskilfulneffe, which he uttered with great authority, that it ferved a war-like man in ftead of eloquence. Then taketh his journey that way which *Lucullus* had once paffed, opening the paffages which long continuance of time had fhut up. And not difdaining *Tiridates* and *Vologefes* Embaffadors coming to intreat of peace, fent Centurions to accompany them with no rough charge: "For matters were not yet grown to that head, that they fhould need a main battel. "That to the Romans many things had forted luckily, and fome to the Parthians, a leffon againft pride. Therefore it behaved *Tiridates* to accept as a gift the king: dome unwafte: and that *Vologefes* fhould better further the Parthians being confederate with the People of Rome, then mutually endamaging the one the other. "He knew what difcord they had within themfelves and what a fierce and unruly nation he had to rule: contrariwife, that his Emperor had every where a firm peace, "and no war but that. Befides his counfell he froke them into a feare, drove the Megiftanas Armenians which firft revolted, out of their houfes: battered down their caftles, filled with like feare the plains; the hills; the ftrong and weak. *Corbuloes* name was not yet hatefull unto the Barbarians, much leffe did they purfue him like an enemy, and therefore credit his counfell as faithfull. *Vologefes* therefore was not implacable headftroag, and commanded truce unto fome governments. *Tiridates* requirerh place and day of parley. A fhort time was affigned; the place, where of late the Legions were befieged with *Petus*, feeing it was chofen by the Barbarians in remembrance of their joyfull hap, was not refufed by *Corbulo*; that the diverfity of fortune might augment his glory. Neither was *Petus* infamy increased; which appeared plainly, in that he commanded his fonne who was Tribune, to appoint certain bands to bury and cover the dead bodies of the unfortunate confict.

VII. *Tiridates*VII. *Tiridates* fpeaketh with *Corbulo*: and yeeldeth up the towne of Armenia in the Romane campe.

THE day appointed, *Tiberius Alexander*, a noble gentleman of Rome, given as an aide to the warre, and *Virgianus Annins*, *Corbuloes* fonne in law, nor yet of age to be Senator; but affigned in the place of the Lieutenant of the fift Legion, came to *Tiridates* campe to doe him honour; and that having fuch pledges he fhould feare no treachery. And then were taken twenty horfemen on each fide. And the King feeing *Corbulo*, lighted firft from his horfe; and *Corbulo* did the like immediately, and both of them on foot, joyned right hands. Then the Roman praifed the young Prince, that leaving dangerous uncertainty, he would embrace fure and wholefome counfell. *Tiridates* having fpoken much of the nobleneffe of his flock, in the reft was temperate, faying: that he would go to Rome, and bring *Cæfar* new glory: *Asacides* humbly entreating, the Parthians being daunted with no adverfe encounter. Then feemed it good that *Tiridates* fhould lay his royall crowne before *Cæfars* image, and not take it againe but at the hand of *Nero*; and fo the fpeech was ended with a fhort falutation. A few dayes after, with a great pompe on both parts, they fhewed themfelves, his horfemen ranged into troups on one fide, with the enfignes of his Countrey; and on the other the army of the Legions marfhalled in order with glittering ftandards, and enfignes and images of the gods in manner of a Temple. In the middle was planted a Tribunal, and in it a chaire of eftate, with *Neros* image; unto which *Tiridates* went, and facrifices offered according to the cuftome, taketh the crowne from his head, and laid it under the image; which troubled the minde of fuch as had yet before their eies the slaughter and befieging of the Romane armies. But now fortune was changed, and *Tiridates* a fpectacle to the people; how much better then a Captaine? *Corbulo* added to his glory courtfeie and teaffings: and as the King marked any ftrange thing, and asked the caufe; as the beginnings of the watches brought by the Centurion, the banket ended with a trumpet, the pile of wood before the Augurall altar lighted with a torch: *Corbulo* made him anfwer, extolling every thing more then it was, to draw the new Prince into an admiration of the old cuftome. The laft day when he was to take his journey, he defired time to vifit his brothers and mother before his departure, and left his daughter for an hoflage in the meane fpace, and letters of fubmiffion to be fent to *Nero*. And departed thence, he found *Pacorus* with the Medes, and *Vologefes* at Ecbaranes not unmindefull of his brother: for he had requifted of *Corbulo* by fpeciall meffengers, that *Tiridates* might not fhew any token of fervitude, or deliver up his weapons, or be barred from embracing the Governours of Provinces, or attend at their doores; but have the fame honour at Rome that the Confuls had. Being accustomed to forrein pride, he was unacquainted with our manners, with whom the Law of rule and dominion beareth fway, vanities being laid afide. The fame yeere *Cæfar* honored the Nations of the fea Alpes with the rights and privileges of the Larians, and in the Cirque placed the Gentlemen of Rome before the people. For until that day they fate indifferently, becaufe the law Rofcian had taken no order but for fourteen orders. A fhew of Fencers was reprefented that yeere with like magnificence as others before: but many Noble women and Senatours wives were difcredited in the Theater.

V 2

VIII *Nero*

VIII. *Nero singeth on the stage. The fall of the same stage. Torquatus Silanus death. Nero attired like a woman weddeth Pythagoras.*

C *Lecanius*, and *M. Licinius* being Consuls, *Nero* more and more desired to frequent the stage without any respect: for as yet he had not sung but in his house, and gardens in plaies of youth, which now he despised as not frequented, and too meane for such a voice. Yet he durst not begin at Rome, but chose Naples as a Greek city, thinking that that might serve for a commencement to go to Achaia, where having obtained the famous, and in times past reputed sacred crownes, and by that means grown in credit, he thought he should stir a great desire in the citizens of Rome to hear him. The common rabble flocked together, or such as the fame of those plaies had drawn from the next colonies and towns, and such as followed him either to do him honor, or sundry other occasions; yea companies of souldiers filled the Theatre of Naples. There hapned as most men thought, a dolefull chance, but yet as he construed it, foretoking good luck, and sent by the favorable providence of the gods. For the people were no sooner gone, and the Theatre empty, but it fell down without hurt done to any. Therefore with songs composed for the purpose, thanking the gods, and celebrating the fortune of the late chance, going to the Adriatique sea, he stayed in the meane time at Beneventum, where, by *Vatinius* was exhibited a notable play of Fences. *Vatinius* was one of the shamelesse monsters of his court; brought up in a coblers shop, mis-shapen of body, and a scurrile jester: and therefore first employed in that practise; then by pickthanking and informing against the better sort, grew to such authority, that in credit and wealth, and power of doing hurt, he was worse then the worst. *Nero* then coming to the play he had set forth, no not at their pastime did they abstaine from doing of mischief. For the selfe same day *Torquatus Silanus* was constrained to die, because that besides the noblenesse of the *Julian* family, he said, that he was in the fourth degree lineally descended from *Augustus* of famous memory. The accusers were commanded to lay to his charge, that he was prodigall in gifts, and that all his hope lay in the alteration of the state. And that he had Noblemen about him which he called his secretaries, masters of requests, and Auditors, which were names of imperiall dignitie, and designements of great attempts. Then the chiefe of his Freed-men were bound and carried away. And when *Torquatus* condemnation was at hand, he cut the veines of his armes, and *Nero* as his manner was, made an oration after: that although he had beene culpable, and worthily distrusted his purgation, yet he should have had his life granted him, if he would have expected the Judges clemency. Not long after forsaking Achaia for the present (the causes were uncertaine) he came againe to Rome, hammering greatly with himself of going to the provinces of the East, and especially Egypt. Then by an edict witnessing his absence should not be long, and that all should goe well with the common-wealth, he went to the Capitoll to worship the gods. And as he entred the temple of *Vesta*, taken suddenly with a shaking over all his body, either the goddesse of the place terrifying him, or the remembrance of his villanies alwaies accompanying him with "fear, he changed his determination: affirming, that all cares were nothing to him, "in regard of the love of his country; that he had seen the sad countenances of the "citizens, heard their secret complaints, why he should go about to great a journey, "whose short and reasonablenesse they could not indure; as men wont to be comforted.

comforted with the sight of the Prince against all crosses and adversities. Therefore as in private friendships, the nearest pledges and kindred are most dearest, so the people of Rome had great power over him, and that he must obey them, seeing they kept him from going. These and the like speeches were pleasing to the people, desirous of pastimes, and which was their chiefe care fearing want of corn if he should be absent. The Lords of the Senate and the Nobility knew not whether he were more cruell farre off, or neare: then as the nature of all great fears is, they beleaved that which hapned to be worst. He to win an opinion that he was no where so merry as in the City, made bankets in publick places, and used the whole City as it had been his own house. Those bankets were most spoken of for riot and fame, which *Tigellinus* prepared, which I will lay down as a pattern of all, left the same wastefulnesse should be often repeated. In *Agrippas* lake therefore he built a boat, whereon the banquet was drawne with other boats. The boats were beset with gold and Ivory. The rowers were stale Catamites, placed according to their age and skill of unnaturall uncleannesse. He had prepared Fowl, and wilde beasts out of divers countries, and out of the Ocean. On the brink of the poole were brothell houses, filled with Noble women: and over against them were common trumpets naked, using filthy gestures and behaviour. And when the night was come, all the wood and houses about ragd with singing, and shined with lights. *Nero* himselfe deified with unlawfull and unnaturall lusts, left no wickednesse undone, because he would be most corrupt. And a few dayes after, he was wedded as it had beene solemnly to one of that polluted crue, called *Pythagoras*. The Emperour was covered with a yellow vail. There went before him those which gave him in marriage, the wedding bed was prepared, and wedding Torches: all was seen, which even the night doth hide in a married woman.

IX. *Divers parts of Rome burnt by chance, or by the malice of Nero.*

T Here followed a great misfortune, but whether by chance, or devise of the Prince, uncertain: for Authors have affirmed both: but of all, the greatest and most grievous that ever chanced to this city, by violence of fire. It began in that part of the Cirque that joyneth to the hills Palatine and Cælian: then taking in the ware-houses wherein was merchandise, which nourished the fire, increasing more and more by the blowing of the winde, burnt all the length of the Cirque. Neither were the houses compassed with any defences, or Temples walled, or any thing else to stay the fury of it. But spreading with violence, consumed first the plaine, then rising to the hills, againe waiting the low places, by swiftnesse of hurt prevented the remedies, the City being subject to it by reason of the narrownesse of the streets, turning and winding lanes on every hand, and unorderly as it was in old Rome. Therewithall the lamentations of fearful women, of aged men, and unskillfull youth, helping themselves, and succouring and leading the weak and impotent, or tarrying for them, some hastening, some abiding, some uncombed, and hindered all the rest: and often whilest they looked behinde them, the fire had hold on them, either on the side or before them: or if they had escaped to the next places, there was all on a light fire likewise: yea, those places which were thought far from danger, were found to be in the same case. In the end doubtfull what to eschew, or whither to flee, they filled the streets, and lay in the fields: some all their goods lost, and wanting daily food; other for love of some which they could not save, cast themselves away, although they had easie meanes to escape. Neither was there

any man which durst to quench it, through the often threatening of many which hindered them: yea some openly threw burning fire-brands into it, and cried aloud, that they had a warrant for it, either because they might rob and steale more licentiously, or because they were so commanded. *Nero* being then at Antium, came not to the City until the fire was come neare his own house, on that side that joyned with the palace and *Mecenas* Orchards. Yet it could not be hindered from burning his house and palace, and all else round about. But to give some comfort to the chafed and fugitive people, he opened Campus Martius, and the monuments of *Agrippa*, and his own gardens: and erected buildings in haste to receive the needy multitude. Utensiles were brought from Hostia and other neare townes, and the price of corn brought down unto * three nummos. All which although done in favour of the people, yet was not accepted; because a rumour was spread, that at the very time that the city was on fire, he went to the stage in his house, and sang the destruction of Troy, comparing present calamities with old dyasters. At last, on the first day, the fire ended at the bottome of the Esquilin hill, by beating down a huge number of buildings, that the field, and as it were the open heaven might withstand and encounter the continuall rage. And before the feare was past, it began afresh, but not so terrible in open places of the city, and therefore the hurt of people the lesse: but the Temples of the gods, and galleries devoted to pleasure, were almost all ruined. The obloquie of that fire was the greater, because it burst out to *Tigellinus* houses of pleasure, sometimes belonging to the Aemylans. And it seemed that *Nero* sought the glory of building a new city, and calling it by his name. For Rome was divided into fourteen wardes: whereof foure were untouched; three consumed to the ground: of the other seven, some markes of buildings remained, but rent and half burnt. It were no easie matter to reckon the number of houses, and buildings standing by themselves, called *Illes* and Temples which were consumed: but the ancientest in regard of religion, as the Temple which *Servius Tullius* built in honour of the Moon; and the great Altar and Temple which *Arcas Ewandus* consecrated to *Hercules*; the Temple of *Iupiter Stator*, vowed by *Romulus*; *Numas* palace; and the Temple of *Vesta* with the peculiar gods of the people of Rome, were consumed and burnt to ashes. Now wealth gotten in so many victories, excellent works of the Greeks inventions, then old and perfect monuments of rare wits, which in so beautifull a city, and flourishing more and more, with many other notable antiquities, ancient men have observed and spoken of, which could not be recovered. Some there were which noted, that this fire began the fourteenth Kalends of July, on which the *Senones* burnt the city after they had taken it. Some were so diligent therein, that they counted just so many yeares, and moneths, and dayes between both the fires.

X. *Nero* buildeth a sumptuous house. Order taken for the building of houses. *Nero* punished the Christians as though they had set the City on fire.

YET *Nero* used the destruction of his country to his benefit, and built a house, in which precious stones and gold were not so much wondered at (as a thing long used, and by superfluous riot common) as for the fields and pooles, in manner of wildernesses; on one side woods, on the other spacious fields, and prospects. The masters and contrivers of the work were *Severus* and *Celeris*, men of wit and

and audacity to enterprise that by Art which nature had denied, and foolishly cast away the Princes wealth. For they had undertaken to make a navigable ditch from the lake *Avern*, unto the mouth of *Tyber* along the rough & hard shore, or through the opposite mountaines. Neither is there any other moisture to feed the waters, but the marshes of *Pomptina*: other places being uneven craggie grounds, or drie; and if they could be wrought through, it would be an intolerable labour, and no cause why. *Nero* notwithstanding, desirous to bring incredible things to passe, laboured to digge the hills adjoining to *Averne*: where remaine the marks of his vaine hope to this day. But the houses which were ruined were not built without order, here and there as when the *Galli* had fired them: but the streetes drawn by measure and proportion, with spacious and large wayes; the buildings restrained to a certain height, and the courts made wide, and galleries added to defend the front of the houses called *Illes*: which galleries *Nero* promised to build at his own charges, and deliver them to their masters, the courts and floores made clean. And gave rewards according to every mans degree and wealth: and prefixed a time, within which the housings finished, or *Illes*, their masters should receive them. The marshes of Hostia were appointed to receive the rubbish: and that the vessels which brought come up the river *Tibris*, should be loaden down with rubbish: and that some part of the buildings themselves, without timber should be built with stone of *Gabi* and *Albanum*, which cannot be damified with fire. Now, that water intercepted by private men to their own use from the citie, might more abundantly flowe in many publike places, there were watchmen appointed to oversee it: and that every man should have some provisions to quench fires: and that every house should be invironed with his own walls, and not common to his neighbour. Which being ordained for the publike commoditie, brought ornament to the new citie. Yet some were of opinion that the old fashion of building was more wholesome, because the narrowness of the wayes, and height of houses could not so easily be peaced with the heat of the Sunne. But now the streets being open and wide, and undefended from shadow, they are scorched with greater heat. And these things were provided by mans counsell. Anon after, purging sacrifices were sought for of the gods, and the Sibyls books perused; by advertisement of which, prayers were offered to *Vulcane* and *Ceres*, and *Proserpina* and *Janus* made favourable by the Matrons, first in the Capitoll, then at the next sea. From which having drawn water, the Temple and the image of the goddesse was sprinkled, and the married wives prepared banquetting beds, and watcht in the temple in honour of the same goddesse. But the infamie was not wiped away, neither by mans help, nor largesse of the Prince, or pacifying of the gods: but that it was thought the fire came by commandement. Therefore to extinguish the rumour, *Nero* falsely accused and punished most grievously certain people, hated for their wickednesse*, which the common sort called Christians. The author of that name was *Christ*, who in *Tiberius* reigne was put to death under *Pontius Pilate*, Procurator of Judaea. And their dangerous superstition suppressed for the time burst forth againe: not onely through Judaea where it first began, but in the citie also: whether all wicked and shamefull things runne from all parts, and are solemnised and esteemed. First they were apprehended which confessed that religion; then by their detection an infinite multitude were convicted, not so much for setting the town on fire, as for the hate of all men against them. Such as were condemned, were scorned and mocked, and covered in wilde beasts skins, and torne in pieces with dogs, or fastened on crosses, or burnt in fire: and when the day failed, they were burnt in the night to give light.

Nero

* Five pence
ob. q.

* The author
being no
Christian, *Cal-*
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Nero had made the prospect of his gardens fit for that spectacle, and caused shews to be set forth in the *Cirque*, and himselfe either apparelled like a wagoner, thrust among the people, or ran the race with them. Whereupon pity was taken on those persons, though guilty and deserving exemplary punishment, seeing they suffered not for any publick good, but to satisfy one mans cruelty onely.

XI. *Nero rakesh money on all hands, and robbeth the Temples. Prodigious sights, and their meaning.*

IN the meane time Italy was wasted by contributions and borrowing of money; the Provinces ruined; and the confederates of the people of Rome impoverished and the cities which were called free. Yea the gods themselves were not privileged from being made a prey: but the Temples in the city were robbed, and the gold carried away, which the people of Rome in all ages, either in triumphs or vows, in prosperity or feare, had dedicated to the gods. Yea in Achaia and Asia, not onely gifts, but the images of the gods were taken away, *Acratus*, and *Secundus Carinatus*, being sent thither of purpose. The one a freed man ready to all villanies: the other exercised in the Greekish learning, in words only, but his minde not seasoned with any good arts. It was reported that *Seneca*, because he would shake off from himself the infamy of sacriledge, desired licence to depart to some country house a far off: which not being granted, he fained himself sick of the gout and kept his chamber. Some have given out that poison was prepared him at *Neroes* commandment, by a freed man of his own, called *Cleonicus*, and avoided by *Seneca*, as forewarned by the freed man, or by his own feare, sustained his life with a simple diet, crabs, and if he were athirst wth running water. About the same time the Fencers at *Preneste* offering to make an escape, were hindered by a guard of souldiers which watched them; the people both fearfull and desirous of novelties, and now muttering and whispering of *Spartacus*, and calling to minde the hurts which happened in times past. Not long after news came of a great misfortune by sea, not by war (for a more firm peace was seldom seen) but *Nero* had commanded the navy to return by a certain day to *Campania*, not excepting the hazards of the sea. The Pilots therefore although the sea were rough put from *Formium*; and the South west winde blowing strongly, whilest they strove to win the Promontory of *Misenum*, they dashed against the *Cumanian* shoeres, and lost almost all the gallies, and many other smaller vessels. In the end of the yeare prodigious wonders were noised as messengers of imminent misfortunes. Great and often flashes of lightnings, and a blazing star alwayes purged by *Nero* with the blood of noble men. Monsters of men and beasts born with two heads and cast into the streets, or found in the sacrifices when the custome is to slay them when they be great with young. And in the territory of *Placentia* neare the way a calf was brought forth with a head in the leg. The Soothsayers interpretation of it was, that the Empire was to have another head, but neither strong nor hidden, because stifled in the panch, and brought forth by the way side.

XII. *A conspiracie against Nero by L. Pisos friends.*

After that *Silins Nervus*, and *Atticus Vestinus* entered the Consulship, a conspiracie was begun, and grown strong against *Nero*: unto which Senators, gentlemen, souldiers, and women gave their names avie, as well for the ha-
tred

tered they beare *Nero*, as good will to *L. Piso*. He was defended from the *Calphurnians* & of great nobilitie by his fathers side; in high reputation with the people for his vertue, or appearances like unto vertue: his eloquence he had employed in defence of the citizens: used liberalitie towards his friends, & to strangers courtesie & affabilitie. He had also the gifts of fortune: was of a tall stature, and comely countenance; but gravity in behaviour he was farre from, or moderation in pleasures. He gave himselfe to courtesie, bountie; and sometimes to dissolutenesse: which many allowed of thinking it not necessary, that in so great sweetnes of vices, he, who was destined to highest rule, should be streight laced, or over severe. The beginning of the conspiracie proceeded not from his owne desire: yet can I not easily tell, who was the first author, or at whose instigation that was begun, which so many enterprised. The forwardest to have been *Subrius Flavius*, Tribune of the Pretorian cohort, and *Sulpitius Asprius*, a Centurion, the constancy of their end doth shew. And *Lucanus Amicus*, and *Plautius Lateranus*, Consull elect, came with deadly hatred against him. Peculiar causes inflamed *Lucan*, because *Nero* suppressed the fame of his verses, and had forbidden him to publish them, vainly comparing his owne unto them. *Lateranus* Consull elect, no injury, but love of the common-wealth associated unto them. But *Flavius Scevinnus*, & *Afranius Quinctianus*, both Senators, undertook the action, contrary to the opinion which was had of them. For *Scevinnus* bare a lascivious minde, and therefore led a lazie and drowlie life: *Quinctianus* infamous of his body, and defamed by *Nero*, by reproachful verses, fought to revenge his injurie. Therefore discouraging among themselves, or with their friends, of the Princes wickednes; that the Empire drew to an end, and that choice was to be made of one to support the afflicted state, associated unto them *Tullius Senecio*, *Cervarius Proculus*, *Valcatius Araricus*, *Julius Tugurinus*, *Munatius Gratus*, *Antonius Natalis*, *Martius Festus*, gentlemen of Rome: among which *Senecio* having been of *Neroes* inward familiarity, and then retaining a shadow of friendship, was perplexed with the imagination of many dangers. *Natalis* was a partaker of all *Pisos* secrets. The rest hoped after a change. Besides *Subrius* and *Sulpitius*, whom I have spoken of for greater strength, there were drawn in *Granius Silvannus*, and *Statius Proximus*, Tribunes of the Pretorian cohorts, *Maximus Scaurus*, and *Venetius Paulus* Centurions. But for the chiefeit strength, they relied on *Fennius Rufus*, captain of the guard, who being for life and reputation worthy praise: *Tigellinus* through his cruelty and uncleane life, surpassed in credit and favour with the Prince, and charging him with many false accusations, brought *Cesar* off into a feare, as if he had played the adulterer with *Agrippina*, and therefore for love of her, carefully plotting a revenge. Therefore when the conspirators were fully assured by his owne often speeches, that the captaine of the guard was one of their faction, they were now more ready to consull of the time and place of the murder. It is reported that *Subrius Flavius* had a sudden motion to set upon *Nero* singing on the stage, and running hither and thither in the night unguarded, his house being on fire: on the one side the opportunity of finding him alone; on the other, the company of people, witnes of so worthy an exploit pricked forward his most valiant courage, if the desire of escaping (an enemy to all great attempts) had not kept him back. In the meane time, betwene hope and feare lingering and deferring, one *Epicaris*, unknowne by what meanes he came to the knowledge of the attempt (and before that time carelesse of all that honest was) began to incense and blame the conspirators: and in the end grieved with their slacknes, being then in *Campania*, went about to corrupt the chief of the navie, which lay then at *Misenum*, and bind them to consent to the practise with this
begu-

beginning. There was in that navy one *Volusius Proculus*, a coronell of a thousand men, and among others an instrument in murdering *Neroes* mother, and as it was judged not sufficiently rewarded according to the greatness of the fact. He acquainted of old, or newly growne into friendship with this woman, and shewing how much he had deserved of *Nero*, and yet how his labour was lost, complaining much and declaring a purpose of revenge, if meanes were offered; put *Epicharis* in hope he might be induced to conspire and draw others with him to the same confederacy. Neither was the helpe of the sea small, but offered many occasions, because *Nero* tooke great pleasure on the sea at *Puteolum* and *Misenum*. Whereupon *Epicharis* added more, and opened all the Emperours villanies: and that the Senate had provided, how he should be punished for overthrowing the common-wealth: that he would only prepare himselfe, bestow all indeavour, draw to his side the valiantest of the souldiers, and assure himselfe of worthy recompense. Nevertheless, she concealed the names of the conspirators, whereby *Proculus* betraying the matter, took no effect, although he had carried all he had heard to *Nero*. For *Epicharis* sent for, and brought face to face before the appeacher, supported by no witnesses, easily confounded him. Nevertheless she was kept in prison, *Nero* suspecting that those things were not false which were not proved true. Yet the conspirators, for feare of being betrayed, thought it convenient to change the place of the murder, and execute it at *Baias*, in a house of *Piso*s; whither *Caesar* came oft, as delighted with the pleasantries of it, and there used to bathe and to banquet without any guard, careless of the greatness of his estate. But *Piso* refused, pretending it would breed him envy, if the solemnities of his table, and gods of hospitality should be distained with the murder of any Prince whatsoever. Therefore that it might be better performed in the city, in that hatefull house built with the spoiles of the citizens, or in a publike place, seeing it is undertaken for the publike weale. Thus they debated the matter in common, but yet with secret feare, lest *L. Silanus*, a man of great nobilitie, and by *C. Cassius* discipline, under whom he was brought up to all renowne, should lay hold on the Empire, all which were free from the conspiracy: joyning to helpe him, and such also as would pity *Nero* as a slave by treachery. Some beleevied, that *Piso* would not meddle with *Vestinus* the Consuls fierce courage, lest he should attempt the bringing in of liberty; or if another Emperour should be chosen, ascribe the bestowing of the state to himselfe; for he was not privie to the conspiracy, although *Nero* to satiate his inveterate hatred laid it to his charge, though guiltlesse. At last, they resolved to accomplish their designement on that day that the *Circensian* plaies were represented in honour of *Ceres*; because *Caesar* shewing himselfe then little abroad, or shut up in his house or gardens, came to the plaies at the *Cirque*; and therefore might eallier be come unto, because he took delight in the pastime.

XIII. The order of the conspiracy. How it was discovered. *Epicharis* constancy: and cowardlines of some of the conspirators.

They concluded the order of their conspiracy to be, that *Lateranus* under colour of making request for some aid of maintenance of his estate, should fall at the Princes knees; and being of a stout courage, & great stature overthrow him unawares, and keepe him downe. Then as he lay along and hindered from rising, that the Tribunes and Centurions according to each mans boldnes should run

in and murder him, *Scevinus* requesting to be first, who had taken a rapier out of the Temple of health in *Etruria*; or, as others report of fortune, in *Ferentanum*; and carried about him as some sacred thing to do some notable act. *Piso* in the meane time should stay in *Ceres* Temple, from whence the Captaine *Fenius* and the rest should carrie him to the campe; and *Antonia*, *Claudius Caesars* daughter followed him, to winne the peoples favour, as *C. Plinius* doth report. Our meaning was not to conceale this, howsoever it hath been left us; although it should seem absurd and frivolous (unlesse the desire of dominion surpasse all other passions and affecti- ons) that *Antonia* should lend her name, or endanger her self for him, or that *Piso* (the love towards his wife so well known) should binde himself in marriage to any other whatsoever. But it was strange how all was kept close, among so many of divers callings, degrees, ages, sexes, rich and poore; untill the detection began in *Scevinus* house: who the day before the feate should be effected, long conferring with *Antonius Natalis*; then returning home, sealed his testament; having drawn therapiers (of which I have spoken) out of the scabbard; and angry that it was dull with long keeping, commanded it to be sharpened at the point and scoured; giving the charge of that care to his freed man *Milichus*. Withall he made a more sumptuous banquet then his custome was: and made some of his bondmen he best liked free; and unto others gave money. And he himselfe was sad and easily seen; his head was fraughted with great imaginations, although he dissembled mirth with impertinent talk. In the end warned the same *Milichus* to prepare rowles to binde up wounds, and things necessary to stanch blood; either as one knowing the conspiracie, and untill then trusty; or ignorant of it, and then first took hold of suspitions, as some have thought by the consequents. For when this servile minde, weighed with himselfe the rewards of his falsehood, and represented to his own imaginations huge summes of money and great authority, honesty gave place; and his masters safety, and the memory of his received liberty. He took also the counsell of his wife (a womans counsell indeed, and the worser) which drove him into a further feare, affirming that many freed men and slaves were by, which saw as much as he: the silence of one availed nothing, but ones should be the recompense; if he prevented the rest in detecting it. Whereupon as soon as it was day, *Milichus* goeth to the *Servilian* gardens: and being driven from the doores, said, he brought hainous and great matters to discover, and thereupon led by the porters to *Epaphroditus* *Neroes* freed man: and anon from him to *Nero*, declareth that there was imminent and dangerous strong conspiracies at hand, and all the rest which he had either heard or conjectured. He sheweth also the weapon prepared to kill him, and commanded the party accused to be sent for: who drawn by the souldiers "and beginning his purgation, answered: That for the rapier he was accused of, "his father in times past made great reckoning of it, and therefore he had it in his "chamber, and that it was stolen away by the fraud of his freed man. That his testa- "ment had been often sealed by him, not keeping the dayes when in memory. Mo- "ney and liberties he had heretofore given to his slaves: but then more bountifully; "because his estate was decayed, and his creditors being eager on him, he distrusted "his testament. Indeed he was alwaies wont to make liberrall bankers, & lead a plea- "sant life, not well liked of severe & hard Judges. He commanded no medicaments "for wounds, but because the rest of his accusations were plainly vain, he thought "good to adde this crime, and make himselfe accuser and witnes. He confirmed his speech wth constancy, and rebuked *Milichus* as one not to be admitted to bear wit- nesse, being a lewd and naughty person, and that with such a resolution in words and

countenance, that the accusation had come to nothing, if his wife had not put him in minde, that *Antonius Natalis* had had much secret conference with *Severinus*, both of them being most inward familiars of *Piso*. *Natalis* therefore was sent for, and both of them severally examined what their speech was, and touching what matter. Then grew a suspicion because their answers agreed not. And being put into irons, they were not able to endure the sight and threatnings of the torture. Yet *Natalis* as better acquainted with the whole conspiracy, and withall skilfuller in accusing, first confesseth of *Piso*; then added *Annæus Seneca*, either because he was a messenger betwene him and *Piso*, or because he would purchase *Neroes* favour: who bearing deadly hatred to *Seneca*, practised all inventions to bring him to destruction. *Natalis* confession known, *Severinus* with the like imbecillity, or believing that all had been discovered, and that no profit could rise by keeping counsell, appeached the rest. Among which *Lucanus*, and *Quinctianus*, and *Senecio* long denied the matter. And afterward corrupted by promise of impunity, to excuse their backwardnes, *Lucanus* named *Atilla* his mother; *Quinctianus*, *Glicius Gallus*; *Senecio*, *Annus Pollio*, their chiefeft friends. And *Nero* calling to minde in the meane while that *Epicurius* was in indurance through *Volusius Proculus* information; thinking that a womans body was not able to indure much griefe, commandeth her to be rent with tortures: but her, neither stripes, nor fires, nor the rage of the tortures, which so much the more cruelly racked her left they should be contemned by a woman, could overcome: but she denied the crimes objected, and so the first day of torture was contemned. The next day when she was brought to the same tortures in a beating chaire (for her members out of joynt and broken, she could not put foot to ground) fastning a lace which she drew from her breast to the bow of the chaire, in manner of a sliding knot, put her neck into it; and waighing down with the heft of her body stopped that little breath she had left. A notable example that a freed woman should defend in such great cruelty of torture strangers, and almost unknown to her; when as men, and free-born, and gentlemen of Rome, and Senators not touched with tortures, detected the dearest of their kindred. For *Lucanus*, *Senecius*, and *Quinctianus*, stuck not indifferently to bewray their confederates; *Nero* growing more and more fearfull, although he had doubled his guard. Further, he filled the city and the walls with bands of souldiers, and beset both sea and river with watch and wards. And to and fro, by the Forum, the houles, the fields, and towns adjoining, footmen and horsemen scoured up and down, intermingled with Germans, whom he best trusted, because they were strangers.

XIII. Accusations continued. *Piso* would not take armes: his death with *Lateranus* and *Seneca*.

After that, continuall troupes one after another were drawn to their answer, which lay before the gates of the gardens. And when they had entred in, to defend themselves every man triumphed over the conspirators. If they had spoken together by chance, if met one another on the sudden, if at a shew, or banquet they had been seen together, it was accounted a crime: and besides *Neroes* and *Tigellinus* bloody interrogatories, *Fenius Rufus* not yet detected, urged also vehemently: and to winne an opinion that he had not been consenting to the attempt, was cruell against his confederates. The same *Fenius* held back *Subrius Flavius* then present, and nodding with the head, whether in the very hearing of the matter he should draw his sword, and execute the murder; and brake his heat even then

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putting his hand to his weapon. Some there were which seeing the conspiracy detected, whilest *Milichus* was examining, and *Severinus* doubteth whether he should confesse or not, perswaded *Piso* to goe to the fort of the guard, or go up to the *Rostre*, and found the affection of the souldiers and people, saying: "That if the confederates would joyne together, the rest which were not privie would follow them: that the fame of an attempt was a great matter, & could do much in new enterprises. That *Nero* had made no provision to withstand him; stout men were daunted with sudden enterprises; much lesse would that stage player, accompanied with *Tigellinus* & his concubines take arms against him. Many things are done by venturing, which to the faint-hearted seem hard. It was a folly to hope for silence and fidelitie in so many minds & bodies of partakers: by torment or reward all things are made easie. And some would come to clap irons on him & put him to a shameful death. How much more commendable were it for him to die, embracing the common-wealth, & seeking aid for liberty. Although the souldier should faile him and the people shrink from him, if it should cost him his life, his death would be glorious as well to his ancestors, as his posterity? But nothing moved with these speeches, shewing himselfe little abroad, then keeping within doors, confirmeth his minde against death: untill a band of souldiers came, which *Nero* had chosen among the young souldiers, and such as lately were received into service; suspecting that the old were made on *Pisoes* side. And cutting his veines, yeelded up the ghost. His testament was full of filthy flatteries toward *Nero*, through the love of his wife, whom commendable only for her beauty, & nothing futable to his calling, he took from a friend unto whom she was married. Her name was *Arria Galla*; her first husband, *Domitius Silius*, he by patience, the by unchastnesse spread abroad *Pisoes* infamy. Next followed the death of *Plautus Lateranus* Consull elect, and that with such haste, that he suffered him not to imbrace his children, nor have so much as that short time of choosing his death: but led away to a place where slaves were executed, was killed by the hand of *Statius* the Tribune: full of constant silence, never once reproching the guilt of the same fact to the Tribune. Then followed the death of *Annæus Seneca* most joyfull to the Prince; not because he had found him manifestly privy to the conspiracy, but because he would shew his cruelty with the sword, seeing poyson took no effect. Only *Natalis* thus farre did utter, that he was sent to *Seneca* being sick to visite him and complaine, why he barred *Piso* from having access to him: and that it would be better to entertaine their friendship by familiar conversation: And *Seneca* to have answered, that their interchange of speech & often communication was profitable for neither of them; yet that his safety did depend on *Pisoes* welfare. These things *Granius Silvianus* Captaine of the guard, was commanded to carry to *Seneca*, and aske him whether he acknowledged *Natalis* speeches, and bring *Senecaes* answer. *Seneca* by chance, or of purpose, returned that day from Campania, and remained in a countrey house foure miles from the city. Thither came the Tribune the next evening, and beseteth the house with a company of souldiers: then openeth unto him the Emperours charge as he sat at meat with *Pompeia Paulina* his wife, and two other friends. *Seneca* answered, that *Natalis* had been indeed sent to him: and complained in *Pisoes* behalfe that he was forbidden to visite him: and that he excused himselfe with sicknesse, as being desirous of quietnes. Why he should preferre the welfare of a private man before his own safety, he had no cause. Neither was his inclination much given to flattery, as *Nero* best knew; who had oftner tried *Senecaes* libertie of speech, then servile pleasing. When these speeches were brought back by the Tribune in presence

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of

of *Poppea*, and *Tigellinus*, who was of the cruell Princes inward counsell, he asketh whether *Seneca* prepared himselfe any voluntary death? The Tribune affirmed, he found no signes of feare in him, nor tokens of sadnesse in words or countenance: and thereupon he was commanded to go back, & give him warning he should die. *Fabius Rusticus* doth report, that he returned not the same way he came, but turned aside to *Fenius* the captaine: and having imparted unto him *Cæsars* commandement, asked him whether he should obey it or not, who advised him to do his commandement, which was a cowardlines fatal unto them all: for *Silvanus* was one of the conspirators, and was now a furtherer of the cruelty, to whose revenge he had before consented: yet he spared both his tongue and presence, and sent to *Seneca* one of the "Centurions, to denounce him the last necessity. He nothing amazed, called for his "testament, & the Centurion denying it, turned to his friends, & said: That seeing "he was not suffered to requite their merits, he protested he left the yet one thing "which of all other he held most precious, which was the pattern of his life: of "which if they were mindful, they should carry away the fame of good learning, & "of so constant friendship. Withall, hindreth their teares, now with speech, now "more earnestly as it were rebuking them, and calling them back to constancy. Al- "king where were the precepts of wisdom? where the resolution so many yeeres "premeditated against imminent dangers? unto whom was *Neroes* cruelty un- "known? neither did there remain any thing to be done after he had murdered his "mother and his brother, but that he should adde the death of his bringer up and "master. When he had discoursed this or the like, as it were in general, he embraced his wife, and having somewhat confirmed her against present fear, prayeth & intreateth her to temper her griefe, lament no longer, but in the contemplation of her former life spent in vertue, bear the lack of her husband with honest comforts. She on the contrary side assured him, that she was resolved to die, and demandeth the hand of the executioner. Then *Seneca* loth to hinder her glory, and dearly loving her, left he should leave her, whom so tenderly he affectioned, to the injuries of "others, said: I had taught thee comforts of life, but thou hadst rather the glory of "death, I will not envy thy example, let there be of this so short a death, an equal "constancy in both; but thy renowne will be farre greater. After which words they both cut the veines of their armes at one time. *Seneca* because his old body, and leane with a slender diet, gave the blood flow passage, cut also the veines of his legges, and hamis, and being wearied with cruell torments left he should discourage his wife with his griefe, and himselfe descend to impatiency, by seeing the torment she endured, perswadeth her to go into another chamber. And in the very last moment, his eloquence not filling him, calling him to dictate his speech, delivered many things, which published in his owne words, I purpose not to alter or change with other termes. But *Nero*, having no peculiar hatred against *Paulina*, lest the odiousnesse of his cruelty should grow greater, commandeth her death to be hindered. Whereupon her bond and freed men at the souldiers commandement, bound her armes, and stopp the blood. But whether she knew it or not, is uncertain, for (the common people being alwaies ready to speake the worst) there wanted not some which beleaved, that as long as she feared *Nero* to be implacable, she sought to have the glory of accompanying her husbands death; then a milder hope offered, that she was overcome with the sweetnesse of life, unto which she added a few yeeres after, with a laudable memory towards her husband: but her face and other parts of her body were grown so pale and wan, that it easily appeared her vitall spirits were much diminished. *Seneca* the meane time perceiving himselfe to linger

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and pine away with a long death, intreateth *Staius Annaius* his known friend, and expert Physician, to give him of that poison with which the condemned by publick judgement at Athens are put to death, whereof long before he had made provision: which being brought him he drank in vaine, the parts of his body already cold and the conduits stopp'd against the force of poison. In the end he went into a bath of hot water, and sprinkling his slives next about him, saying, That he offered up that liquor to *Jupiter* the deliverer. Then put into the bath, and with the vapour of it having yeelded up the Ghost, was burnt without any funerall solemnity, as he had commanded in his last Will, when very rich and in authoritie he disposed of his minde. The report was, that *Subrius Flavius*, with the Centurion in secret counsell, yet not without *Senecaes* privitie, had determined, that after *Nero* should have been slaine by the helpe of *Piso*, *Piso* should also have been slaine; and the Empire delivered *Seneca*, as one just and upright, chosen to that high authoritie onely for the excellencies of his vertues: yea, and *Flavius* own words were published to be these. It skilleth not for the shame of the matter, if a Minstrell be removed, and an actor in a tragedy succeed him: for as *Nero* had sung with the instrument, so *Piso* in tragically attire.

XV. Many souldiers punished. *Fenius* death. *Flavius* *Subrius*, and *Sulpitius* *Afers* answer to *Nero*.

THE conspiracy of the souldiers could be no longer kept close, the detectors being very eager to bewray *Fenius Rufus*, whom they could not indure should both be of counsell to the plot, and an examiner of others. Therefore urging and threatening *Scevinus*, shewing himself obstinate, told him that no man knew more then himselfe: and exhorted him, that he would shew himselfe willing to requite so good a Prince. *Fenius* could neither answer this, nor hold his tongue, but entangling himselfe in his own words, shewed a manifest feare, and the rest, but especially *Cervarius Proculus* a Gentleman, labouring all they could to convict him by commandement of the Emperour, *Cassius* a souldier which stood by, and was of exceeding strength of body, laid hold on him, and bound him. Not long after, by their appeaching, *Subrius Flavius* Tribune was overthrowne, first all leading the dissimilitude of his manners and life for his defence, and that he being a man of armes, would never in so dangerous an enterprize, associate himselfe with unarmed effeminate persons: after that farther preft, embracing the glory of confession, and demanded of *Nero* for what reasons he had proceeded so farre as to forget his oath. I "hated thee (quoth he:) neither was there any of the souldiers more faithfull unto "thee the I, whilst thou deservedst to be loved. I began to hate thee after thou becamest a paricide of thy mother, and wife; a wagoner, a stage-plaier, and a setter "of houses a fire. I have reported his very words, because they were not published as *Senecaes* were: neither was it lesse convenient to know the unpollished, but weighty words of this souldier. It is certain there hapned nothing in all that conspiracy more grievous to *Neroes* cares: who as ready and prompt to all mischieves, so unaccustomed to heare of that he had done. The punishment of *Flavius* was committed to *Pejanus Niger*, Tribune. He in the next field commanded a pit to be digged, which *Flavius* finding fault with as not deepe enough, said to the souldiers standing by, This is not according to the order of service. And being willing to stretch out his neck stoutly, I would to God (said he) thou wouldst strike so stoutly. Who quaking

quaking very much, when he had scarce cut off his head at two blows, bragged to *Nero* of his cruelty, saying, that he was killed with halfe a blow. The next example "of constancy the Centurion *Sulpicius Asper* did shew; for *Cæsar* asking him why he "had conspired his death? answered briefly: That so many his villanies could not "otherwise be redressed. Then he sustained the punishment commanded. Neither did the rest of the Centurions degenerate in bearing their punishments. But *Fenius Rufus* had not the like courage, but set down his griefes and lamentations in his testament. *Nero* expected that *Vestinus* the Consull should also be drawn into the action, judging him violent, and an enemy to him: but the conspirators would not communicate their designements with him; some by reason of old grudges; but more, because they thought him rash, heady and infociable. Furthermore, *Nero*'s hatred against *Vestinus* proceeded of their inward familiarity, the one contemning the Princes known cowardlinesse: and the other fearing the fell courage of his friend often jesting at him with bitter scoffs: which when they carry much truth with them, leave behinde them a biting memory. Besides, there was a fresh cause of malice betweene them, because *Vestinus* had married *Statillia Messalina*, not ignorant that *Cæsar* kept unlawful company with her. Therefore no crime, no accuser appearing, because he could put on no shew of accusation, he fled to his absolute power, and sendeth *Gerellanus* the Tribune with a band of souldiers, and inchargeeth him to prevent the Consuls designments, seise upon his house, which was as it were his fortresse: and slew his chosen company of youth, because *Vestinus* had his house looking over the market place, and handsome slaves all of one age. He had fulfilled that day all the duties of a Consull, and making a banquet, fearing nothing, or else dissembling his feare, the souldiers entred in; and when word was brought him that he was called by the Tribune, he rose without any delay, had all things prepared him in a trice, shut himselfe up in his chamber, and had his Physician at hand which cut his veines; and being yet lusty, was carried to a Bath, put in hot water, not once uttering a word, which could argue either griefe, or compassion on himselfe. Those which were at table with him, were in the meane time beset with a guard, and not dismissed till the night was far spent; and then *Nero* imagining and laughing at the feare they were in, as looking for their imminent ruine, said, they had paid enough for the Consuls good cheare.

XVI. *Lucanus and Quinctianus death. Neros liberality to the souldiers. Who Nymphidius was. The Senators slattery toward Nero.*

After that, he commanded the death of *M. Annius Lucanus*, who perceiving as his blood went out, his feet and hands to waxe cold, and spirits by little and little to forsake the exterior parts of his body: his heart yet strong, and his wit fresh, remembreing verses made by himself, in which he represented a soldier wounded, and dead with the like kinde of death, rehearsed the verses themselves, which were the last words he spake. After that *Senecio* and *Quinctianus*, not according to their former effeminate life, and the residue of the conspirators, were put to death, neither speaking nor doing anything worthy memory. But in the meane time, the City was filled with funerals, the Capitoll with sacrifices, one having his brother, another his sonne put to death, or friend, or neer kindred, gave thanks to the gods, deckt his house with Baies, fell downe at the Emperours knees,

and

and wearied his right hand with kisses. And he thinking it to be done for joy, rewarded with impunity *Antonius Natalis*, and *Cervarius Priscus* speedy detection: *Mithridates* enriched with recompenses, took unto him a name, which in the Greeke signifieth a saviour. And *Granius Silvanus* the Tribune, although quit, yet slew himselfe. *Statius Proximus* frustrated the pardon which he had received of the Emperor by the vanity of his death. After this, *Pompey*, *Cornelius Martialis*, *Flavius Vespas*, and *Statius Dimittias*, were deprived of the Tribuneship, not because they hated the Prince, but yet supposed so to do. *Novius Priscus*, for the friendship he had with *Seneca*, & *Clitius Gallus*, & *Annus Pollio*, diffamed rather than convicted, were sent into banishment. *Antonia Flaccilla* *Priscus* wife followed him: *Egnatia Maximilla* did the like with *Gallus*: at the first all their wealth, which was great, left them: then taken away, both which increased their glory. *Rufus Crispinus* was banished also, under colour of the conspiracy, but hated of *Nero* because he had been *Poppæus* husband. *Virginus Rufus* great reputation was cause of his exile: for *Virginus* furthered the studies of youth with eloquence; and *Musonius* with precepts of Philosophy, *Cluvidennus Quinctus*, *Iulius Agrippa*, *Blitius Catulinus*, *Petronius Priscus*, *Iulius Albius*, as it were an Army to make up a number, were banished to the Isles of the Ægean sea. But *Cadidia Scevina* wife, and *Cecennius Maximus* were banished Italy, knowing by the punishment only that they were called in question. *Annus Lucanus* mother *Atilla*, though not acquitted, yet was let go without punishment. These things done *Nero*, and calling the souldiers together to an Oration, he bestowed by pole upon every souldier under bands, two thousand Nummi; and corne without price, which they had before, according to the rate it was sold. Then as though he would declare some exploit done in warre, assembled the Lords of the Senate, and bestowed the ornament of triumph upon *Petronius Turpilianus* Consull, *Cocceius Nerva*, Prætor elect; *Tigellinus* Captain of the guard: and so extolling *Tigellinus* and *Nerva*, besides their triumphall Images in the Forum, he placed their Images also in the Palace. He gave *Nymphidius* also the ornaments of a Consull, of whom I will speake a little, because now is the first occasion offered, for he also was part of the Romane miseries. He therefore sonne of a freed woman, which had abandoned and made common her comely body to Princes bond and freedmen, affirmed he was begotten by *C. Cæsar*, because by some chance he was tall of personage, and of a sterne grimme countenance: or else *C. Cæsar* being desirous of light women, had abused his mother also. But *Nero*, the Senators assembled, and an Oration made among them, published an Edict to the people; and added the informations and confessions of the condemned; because he was often defamed in the peoples mouth, as though he had executed innocent persons for envy or feare. Nevertheless, those which had a care of knowing the truth, did neither then doubt, but the conspiracy was begun, growne to ripeness, and set on foote againe; as those which returned to the city after *Neros* death confessed. But in the Senate, all of them according to each mans griefe abjecting themselves to flattery: *Alienus Clemens* bitterly inveighed against *Iunius Gallio*, amazed with the death of his brother *Seneca*, and intreating for his own life, calling him enemy and parricide: untill the whole Senat shewed their dislike therein; lest he should seeme to abuse publick calamities, and make them occasion of his private grudge; or draw the Prince to new crueltie, forgotten, and tempered with clemency. Then order was taken, that gifts and thanks should be rendered the gods, and peculiar honour done to the Sunne, unto whom there is an old Temple in the Cirque, in which the enterprize should have been accomplished; who disclo-

sed by his divine power, the secrets of the confederacy: and that the Circensian pafime in honour of *Ceres* should be exhibited with more horse-races; and that the moneth of April should beare the surname of *Nero*: that a Temple should be built to *salus*, in the place from whence *Scevinus* had taken the Rapier, which he himselfe had offered up in the Capitol, and wrote under it, *To Jupiter the revenger*. Which presently was not noted, but after that *Iulius Vindex* had taken armes, it was interpreted as a foretelling and presage of future revenge. I finde in the commentaries of the Senat, that *Certalis Amicus* Consul elect, gave his censure, that a Temple should be built with all speed at the common charge to divine *Nero*; which he thought convenient, as though exceeding the highest mortall degree, he had deserved to be worshipped of men: which after was known to be a token and foretelling of his end. For the honour of the gods was never given Prince untill he were dead, and gone out of this mortall life.

THE

THE SIXTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *Nero consumeth much in seeking out a hidden treasure which Cefellius Bassus dreamt of. The death of Bassus. Nero contendeth on the Stage for the prize of playing on the Harpe.*

After that time, Fortune began to delude *Nero* through his owne vanity, taking hold of a promise made by *Cefellius Bassus*: who being an African borne, and busie headed, built an assured hope upon the shadow of a dreame which he had in the night. And come to Rome, having bought access to the Prince, declareth that there was a Cave in his ground of a huge depth, wherein was contained great quantity of gold uncoyned and unwrought in a masse, as in old time it was wont to be hidden. For there lay a wall of very heavy bricks on the one side; and on the other, pillars standing upright: all which had layne hidden many yeers to increase the wealth of the present time. And as conjecture doth shew, *Dido* the Phenissian, fleeing from *Tyrus*, after she had built Carthage, hid that treasure there; left the new people with over-great wealth should become wanton and riotous: or the King of the Numidians their old enemy, for greedinesse of their gold sometime be incensed to make war against them. Whereupon *Nero*, not well assured of the credit of the Authour, or certainty of the businesse, nor any sent to view and learn whether a truth were reported: of himselfe encreaseth the rumour, and sendeth some to bring away all, as it were a pray already gotten. Gallies and choise vessels were appointed to helpe to hasten the matter: the people having no other speech in their mouth, but that treasure, through the credulousnesse of the discovery, though not reporting of it all alike. And it fell out by chaunce that the Quinquennale pastime, which every fift yeere being represented, was then the second time celebrated: which ministred the orators their chiefest subject to commend the Prince, saying: That the earth did not now bring forth only the usuall fruits, nor gold mingled with other metals; but a new plenty: and that the gods themselves bestowed wealth in all abundance: and many other things with great eloquence, and no lesse servile and base flattery they faired; being assured of easie beleeife in the hearer. Riotousnesse in the meane time grew greater by vaine hope, and the old wealth was consumed, as though the other had beene offered, prodigally to waste many yeeres. Yea from thence largesses were bestowed: and the expectation of that wealth, was a cause in part of the publike poverty. For *Bassus* having digged his ground, and large fields round about, avouching boldly this or that to be the promised cave: not onely souldiers followed him, but the cuntry people were taken to dig and labour; at length leaving his sottishnes, and marvelling that his dreames never proved false before, and that he was never deceived untill then, rid himselfe of shame and feare by killing himselfe. Some have reported that he was imprisoned, and set at liberty againe incontinently, his goods first taken to the Princes treasure. In the meane time the Senate, the Quinquennale pastime drawing neere, to shadow his shame, offereth the victory of singing
and

and withall the crowne of eloquence to colour the reproch of his singing on the Stage. But *Nero*, saying that he needed not the authority and favour of the Senate in that respect; as able of himselfe to make his party good with his concurrents, and little doubting but that by the uprightnesse of the Judges he should obtaine his deserved praise, sang first of all a verse on the Stage: then the people instantly craving that he would publish all his studies (for those were their words) he entereth the Theater, and observeth all the orders of the Harpers: as that being weary, yet he should not sit downe; that he should not wipe of his sweat, but with the garment he wore; that no excrements should be seene at his mouth or nose. And last of all kneeling, and shewing a reverence to the assembly with his hand, expected the Judges sentence with a counterfeit feare. And the City people accustomed also to approve the gestures of the players, answered him with a certaine measure and artificiall applaus. Thou wouldst have thought they had rejoiced, and perhaps they did, for the injury of the publicke discredit. But those which from towies far of straying as yet the ancient severity and custome of Italy, and from remote Provinces unacquainted with dissolute behaviour, came either as Embassadors, or for private busines, could neither endure that sight, nor applaud any way so dishonourable a labour; but a weary with their unskillfull clapping of hands, and troubling the skillfull, were often beaten by the souldiers, placed in thicke aray, lest any moment of time should be lost by an untuned and disproportionable crie or stothfull silence. It is certaine that many horsemen which laboured to passe through the crowd and thicke multitudes were troden under feete; and others whilest they continued day and night in their places, were stricken with deadly sicknesse. And yet if they should have bene ablent their feare was greater; many openly, and more privily observing the names and countenances, cheerefulness and heavyness of the lookers on. Whereupon punishments were inflicted upon the poorer sort forthwith; the hatred against Noblemen dissembled for the time, shewed it selfe within a short space after. And it is reported that *Vespasian* was rebuked by *Phebus* a Freed man, as though he had bene some what drowsie with sleep, and was hardly defended by the intreaty of the better sort: and afterward escaped imminent ruine by a greater chance.

II. The death of *Poppæa*. Banishment and death of others.

After the pastime was ended, *Poppæa* died by a sudden anger of her husband striking her with his foot being with child. Neither do I believe that she was poisoned, although some writers do so report; of hatred rather then truth; for he was desirous of children and blinded with the love of his wife. Her body was not burnes the Roman manner was, but embalmed according to the custome of foreigne Kings, stuffed with sweet odours, and buried in the tombe of the Julians. Yet publicke funerals were solemnised, and he himselfe prayed her beauty before the people assembled; that she had bene the mother of a divine daughter; and other gifts of fortune he commended in stead of vertues. The death of *Poppæa* as in shew sorrowfull; so to the rememberers of her loose life and cruelty, joyfull; *Nero* made more odious by giving new matter of hatred, by hindering *C. Cassius* from being present at her exequies; which was the first token of his ruine, not long deferred. And *Silanus* bare him company for no crime committed, but because *Cassius* for his ancient riches and gravity of manners, *Silanus* for noblenesse of birth and modest youth, were worthy prayse above the rest. Having therefore sent an Oration to the Senate, declared that they were both to be removed from the Commonwealth.

wealth. And laid to *Cassius* charge, that among the images of his ancestors, he had done honour also to the image of *C. Cassius*, which had this written under it: To the captaines of the paris. For seeds of civill warre, and a revolt from the house of *Cæsar* might have bene intended by those words. And lest he should use the memory only of a hatefull name to ground a quarell on; he joynd *L. Silanus* a young man of a noble stock, rash and heady, under a pretence and colour of moving new broiles. Further, he rebuked *Silanus* for the same matters, as before he had done his uncle *Torquatus*, as though he did already dispose of the cares of the Empire, and give his freed men charge of his accounts, requests and secretariships: things both vaine and false. For *Silanus* was wary and fearefull, and by the death of his uncle circumpect in his actions. After this he induced some under the name of accusers, which falsely charged *Lepida*, *Cassius* wife, *Silanus* aunt, of incest with her brothers son; & with certain execrable rites of sacrifices. There were drawn in as privy thereto, *Vulcatius Tullinus*, and *Marcellus Cornelius*, Senators; and *Calpurnius Fabius*, a gentleman of Rome: who appealing to the Prince, and disappointing the present condemnation; anon after *Nero* being busied about some great mischiefs were forgotten as men of small reckoning. Then banishment was decreed against *Cassius* and *Silanus* by order of Senate; and that *Cæsar* himselfe should dispose of *Lepida*. *Cassius* was exiled to the Iland Sardinia, expecting there further order from the Lords of the Senate. *Silanus* conveyed to Hostia, as though he should be carried to *Naxos*; was after shut up in a towne of Apulia, called *Barium*. And there, wisely bearing his most unworthy adversitie, a Centurion sent to kill him laying hands on him, perswaded him to cut his veines: who answered, that he had a minde resolute and ready to die, but he would not permit an executioner to have the glory of the service. But the Centurion, although seeing him unarmed, yet strong, and more inclining to anger then feare, commanded his souldiers to dispatch him. Neither did *Silanus* omit to resist, & lay on blows as well as he was able with naked hands untill he fell downe overmatched with the Centurions wounds on his face as it had been in a skirmish. With no lesse courage died *L. Vetus*, and *Sexia* his mother in law, and his daughter *Pollutia*: hatefull to the Prince, as though by living, they should upbraid him with the murder of *rubellius Plautus*, *L. Vetus* sonne in law. But the first discoverer of his crueltie towards them, was one *Fortunatus* a freed man of *Vetus*, who having pilfered away his masters goods, and fearing an enquiry, began to accuse him, associating *Claudius Domitianus* with him, who imprisoned by *Vetus* Proconsull of Asia for his misdeeds, *Nero* delivered in recompence of the accusation. Which being understood by the party accused, and that there was no difference made betwixt him and his freed man, he departeth to *Formianum*, where a secret guard of souldiers watched him. His daughter was with him, who besides the imminent danger, through long griefe, fell, and cruell, as soon as she had seen the murderers of her husband *Plautus*, grew to further extremitie: and having cast her selfe about his neck embred with blood, kept still the blood, and her apparell besprinkled with it, remaining a widow, drowned in continuall griefe, using no other food, then was necessary to keep off death. Then her father exhorting her, she goeth to Naples. And, because she was kept from the speech of *Nero*, lying in waite for his going abroad, she crying aloud that it would please him to heare the innocent, and not commit one who had been his companion in the Consulship to the disposition of a freed man, sometime with a womanish lamentation, sometimes going beyond her sexe, with anger and bitter termes, untill the Prince shewed himselfe inflexible, and no way moved, either with prayers or hatred he might incur. And warneth

warneth her father to cast away hope, and resolve himselfe to the present necessity. Withall newes came, that the matter should be heard before the Lords of the Senate, and a cruell sentence intended. Thereupon some advised him to pronounce *Cæsar* his heire for the most part of his goods, and so helpe his nephewes with the rest; which he refused, lest he should dishonour with this last servile act his life past almost in liberty: and gave all his mony among his bondmen, and if any thing could be carried away, that every one might serve himselfe; three beds only reserved for his funerall obsequies. Then in the same chamber, with the same knife they cut their veines, and with speed each one covered with a simple garment, for modesty sake, they were put into bathes. The father looking on the daughter, the grandmother on her neece, she on both, praying a-vy for a speedy end to leave the others alive, though to follow incontinently after. And fortune herein kept the order, the eldest dying first, then the next in age. And being accused after their buriall, & ordained that they should be punished according to the ancient manner: *Nero* was against it, suffering them to make choise of their manner of death, for such kind of scoffes were used after the murders committed. *P. Gallus* a gentleman of Rome, because he was inward with *Fenius*, and not an enemy to *Vetus*, was banished: the freed man and accuser rewarded for his paines, and a place given him in the Theater among the beadles of the Tribunes. And the month of May which followed Aprill, and called *Nero*, was changed into the name of *Claudius*, and July into *Germanicus*: and *Cornelius Osius*, whose censure that was, said that therefore the month of June was past over, because two of the *Torguatus* already executed for their misdemeanors had made the name of June unlucky. A yeere continued with so many lewd actions, the gods have marked and made notorious by tempests and diseases. Campania was destroyed with boysterous stormes of winds, which did every where beat downe houses, woods and graine, and brought the violence of it to places adjoining to the city. Where the rage of the pestilence spared none, although there was no manifest shew of corruption of the aire to be seene. Yet the houses were filled with dead bodies, and the waies with funerals; no sexe, no age, free from danger, as well bond, as free borne indifferently perished: amidst the lamentations of their wives and children; who whilest they sat by them and bewailed, were often burnt in the same funerall fire. The death of gentlemen and Senators although indifferent with others, lesse lamented, as though they had by a common mortality prevented the Princes cruelty. The same yeere they mustered in Gallia Narbonensis, Africke and Asia, to supply the Legions of Illyria, which wore out either with yeeres or sickness were freed from their oath. The Prince relieved the calamity of Lugdunum with* forty hundred thousand sesterces to recover the losses of their city: which summe of money the Lugdunenses had before bestowed in troubled times.

III. The death of certaine noblemen, for desire of their wealths or other jealousies.

Suetonius, and *L. Telestinus* being Consuls, *Antistius Sosianus* banished, as I have sayd before, for making slanderous verses against *Nero*, understanding that pickthanks were so honoured, and the Prince so forward to murders, busie minded, and not slow in taking hold of occasions, insinuateth himselfe through conformity of fortune, into the favour of *Pammenes* a banished man of the same place, and for his skill in the Chaldean art, supported by the friendship of

of many. This *Antistius* supposing that messages and consultations came not to him in vaine, understanderth withall that he had mony yeerly supplied him by *P. Antistius*. Neither was he ignorant that *Anteius* through the love he bare to *Agrippina* was hateful to *Nero*; that his wealth, as it had bene of others, might be a motive to procure his destruction. Whereupon having intercepted *Anteius* letters, and stolne his writings wherein the day of his nativity and things to come, were hidden among *Pammenes* secrets, and withall found those things which had bene composed of the birth and life of *Ostorius Scapula*: wrote to the Prince, that he would bring him great newes touching his owne safety, if he might obtaine a short intermission of his banishment: for *Anteius* and *Ostorius* watch for opportunity to lay hold on the soveraignty, and searched out their owne and *Cæsars* destinies. There upon swift vessels were sent and *Sofianus* brought with all speed. And his accusation divulged, *Anteius* and *Ostorius* were reckoned rather among the condemned then accused; in so much that no man would have sealed *Anteius* Testament, if *Tigellinus* had not bene their warrant. *Anteius* was first admonished not to delay the making of his Testament: but he having drunken poison, weary of the slow working of it, by cutting his veines hastened his death. *Ostorius* at that time was farre off in the confines of Liguria, whither a Centurion was sent to make him away with all speed. The cause of the haste proceeded of that, that *Ostorius* being for matter of warre of good reckoning, and deserved in Britany a civill crowne, of a mighty strength of body and skilfull in armes, drove *Nero* into a feare lest he should assaile him; alwaies timorous and fearfull, but then more then ever, through the conspiracy lately detected. The Centurion therefore when he had beset all escaping places, openeth to *Ostorius* the Emperours commandement. He converted against himselfe his courage often tried against the enemy. And because his veines when they were opened yielded but little blood, using the hand of his slave only to take out a Rapier and hold it stedfast: he drew his right hand to him and ran himselfe thorow the necke. If I should have written of forrein wars, & deaths sustained from the common-wealth, with divers other accidents and chances: yet I should not only have seemed tedious to my selfe, but to others also: abhorring the deaths of Citizens, being dolefull and continuall, although honourable. But now a servile patience and so much blood lost at home, doth trouble my minde and oppresse it with griefe. Neither doe I require any other defence or excuse of those who shall know these things, but that they hate them not, for dying so cowardly. That was certainly the anger of the gods against the Roman State, which ought not so easily be run over with once writing, as in the overthrow of Armies, or taking of Townes. Let this prerogative be given the posterity of worthy personages, that as how they are distinguished from the confuse multitude in the solemnitie of their funerals: so in the delivery of their last ends, that they may receive and have a proper and peculiar memory. For within a few daies by the same violent course, *Annæus Mella*, *Cerealis Anticus*, *Rufus Crispinus*, and *C. Petronius* perished. *Mella* and *Crispinus* were Gentlemen of Rome, and equal in dignity with Senators. *Crispinus* once Capitaine of the Guard, and honored with Consular ornaments, and of late through the conspiracy, exiled into Sardinia, having received tidings he should die; slew himselfe. *Mella* borne of the same parents as *Gallius* and *Seneca*, forbore purchasing of dignities, by a preposterous ambition, to the end that a Roman Gentleman might be equalled in authoritie to the Consuls. Withall he thought it a shorter course of getting wealth, to manage the affairs of the Prince in quality of a Procurator. The same *Mella* was *Annæus Lucanus* father, which was a great credit to him: but after his death, seeking out too narrow

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ly his goods, stirred up an accuser against him, one *Fabius Romanus*, one of *Lucius* familiar friends: which falsly fathered upon him and the father, the privy of the "conspiracy, by counterfeiting of *Lucius* letters: which *Nero* having perused, commanded to be carried him, gaping after his wealth. But *Mella*, which was then the readiest way to death, loosed his veins, having bestowed in his testament a huge summe of money upon *Tigellinus* and on his son in law *Cossutianus Capito*, that the rest might stand good. He added to his will as it were a complaint of the injustice of his death: That he died for no causes deserving punishment: but *Rufus Crispinus* and *Anicius Cerealis* enjoyed their life, being the Princes enemies. Which words were thought to have beene forged of *Crispinus* because he was already slaine; of *Cerealis*, because he should be slin. Who not long after killed himselfe, lesse pitied then the rest: as bearing in minde that he had discovered a conspiracy to *C. Caesar*.

IIII. The constant death of *C. Petronius*, and what life he led.

OF *C. Petronius*, a few things above recited are here againe to be repeated. He passed the day in sleepe, and the night in delightfull sports, or other affaires of life. And as others, industry; to this man, sloth had raised to fame: a riotous and wastfull spender he was, not accompted like many, which run through all, but using riot to his credit. And his words and deeds how much the freer, and shewing a certaine carelesnes; so much the more gratefully received, as favoring somewhat of simplicity. Notwithstanding being Proconsull of Bithynia, and anon after Consull, he shewed himselfe quicke and stout, and able to wade thorow great matters. Then falling againe to his vices, or else shew of vices, was received esteeming nothing pleasant or delightfull, unlessse *Petronius* had approved it. Thereupon grew *Tigellinus* malice against him, as against a concurrent, or one more skillfull in pleasure then himselfe, whetting *Neroes* cruelty (unto which all other lusts gave place) against him: objecting the friendship he had with *Scevinus*, corrupting a slave to be his accuser: taking from him all meanes of defence, and the greatest part of his family drawn into prison. By chance about that time *Caesar* went to Campania, and *Petronius* gone as farre as *Cumas*, was there stayed; and notable any longer to indure the lingring betweene hope, or feare, yet did not rashly kill himselfe, but cutting his veins, and binding them up as pleased him, opened them againe; and talked with his friends, though not of any serious matter, or worthy to purchase the glory of constancy: but gave care to those which discoursed with him, yet nothing of the immortality of the soule, or oppinions of wise men, but of light verses, and easie songs. On some of his slaves he bestowed gifts & on some stripes. He went sometimes abroad, and gave himselfe to sleepe, that although his death was constrained, yet it should be like a casuall death. Neither in his Testament (as most men were wont to doe) did he flatter *Nero* or *Tigellinus* or any other favorite, but wrote downe the unclean life of the Prince, underfained names of stale calamities abused against nature and of women, with the strangenesse of the abuse of either of them; and sealed up, sent it to *Nero*, & brake his seale, least afterward it might serve to breed dangerto others. And *Nero* doubting how the invention of his night pleasures should come to light, *Silia* by being the wife of a Senator not unknown, and abused in all his licentious lusts; and very familiar with *Petronius*, came to his minde, whom he thrust into banishment, as not having kept se-

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cret those things: she had seen and suffered: moved thereto by his own particular hatred rather then just occasion. He delivered *Nimicius Thermus* once Pretor, to *Tigellinus* privie hatred, because *Thermus* freed man had laid some criminall matter to *Tigellinus* charge, which he should pay for by torment of torture, and his master by undeserved death.

V. *Neroes* hatred against *Thraseas Pætus*, and *Bareas Soranus*.

SO many worthy men being murdered in the end *Nero* coveted to destroy vertue it self, by killing *Bareas Soranus* and *Thraseas Pætus*, of old enemy to both, and new occasions rising against *Thraseas*, because he went out of the Senate, as I have already said, when *Agrippinaes* cause was debated; and because that in the pastime of youth called *Juvenales*, he shewed not so acceptable indeavour as was expected: with grudge pierced the deplier, because the same *Thraseas* at *Padua* where he was born in the Cestian playes, intituted by *Amenor* the Trojan, sang in tragicall attire. The day also that *Antistius* the Pretor was condemned for outrages against *Nero*, he gave a milder sentence, and obtained it: and when the honour of the gods was ordained for *Poppæa*, absent of set purpose, was not at the convoy of the funerall. Which things *Capito Cossutianus* did not suffer to be forgotten, besides his over-readie inclination to naughtines, enemy to *Thraseas*, because that by his authority, countenancing the deputies of Cilicia, he lost his cause, when they pursued *Ca-* "pito for using injustice and extortion in his office. He objected farther: That in the "beginning of the yeer *Thraseas* did avoid the oath, which was not present with the "rest at the offering up of vows, although he were one of the fifteen Priests, yet he "never offered sacrifice for the health of the Prince, or heavenly voice, that hereto- "fore he hath been often present, & diligent, shewing himself a favorer, or an adver- "sary to the ordinary consultations of the Lords of the Senat, but hath not once en- "tered the Curia this three yeares: and very lately when every man ran who first "might, to punish *Silanus* & *Vetus*, he attended rather on his clients private busines: "that was now a revolting, and a faction, and if many durst do the like, it would "breed to a war. As in times past (said he) the city desirous of garboile, spake of "C. Caesar, and M. Cato, so now of thee O *Nero* and *Thraseas*, and hath his adherents or "rather followers, with imitating, though not his obstinacy of opinions, yet his beha- "viour and countenance, severe and sterne, do cast thy lasciviousnes in thy teeth. "This man only is carelesse of thy health, no way procuring thy honor, he little re- "gardeth the Princes prosperous successes. What, is he not filled with thy griefes, "and sorrows? It proceedeth from the self same minde not to beleeeve *Poppæa* to be "a goddesse, and not sweare to observe the ordinances of *Augustus* and *Iulius* of fa- "mous memory. He despiseth holy things, abrogateth laws. The diurnals of the "people of Rome are curiously read in the provinces and camp, that it might be "known what *Thraseas* hath not done. Either let us condescend to his ordinances if "they be better: or let the captain and author be taken away from desires of novel- "ties. This sect brought forth the *Tuberones* and *Favoniaus*, unpleasing names to "the ancient common-wealth. That they may overthrow the state, they pretend "liberty: but if they should overthrow it, they will give an assault to overthrow li- "berty like wife. In vain thou hast extinguished *Cassius*, if thou wilt suffer the follow- "ers of *Brutus* to grow and take head. In fine, write thou nothing of *Thraseas*, leave us "the Senat arbitrator of the cause. *Nero* extollet *Cossutianus* stoutnesse, whet on

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with choler, and joyneth with him *Marcellus Epirus*, of a quick and lively eloquence. As for *Barea Soranus*, *Ostorius Sabinus*, a Roman gentleman had required he might accuse him for matter committed in the Proconsulship of Asia: in which he augmented the displeasure the Prince bare him for unjustice and industry: and because he had been very carefull in opening the haven to the Ephesians; and had left unpunished the violence of the city Pergamena, which hindring *Acratus Cæsars* freed man to carry away their images and pictures. But the fault indeed laid to his charge, was his friendship with *Plantus*, and ambition in alluring the province to new hopes. The time chosen to condemne him, was, when *Tiridates* came to take the kingdome of Armenia; that domestically wickednesse might be obscured and hidden with the rumours of the strangers arriving; or else that he might shew the greatnesse of an Emperour by the death of worthy men, as a royall act. Whereupon all the city being run out to receive the Prince, and behold the King, *Thrasea* forbidden to go to meet him, lost not courage therefore; but wrote to *Nero*, demanding his accusations, boldly affirming that he would purge himself, if he might have knowledge of the crimes, and licence to clear them. These writings *Nero* received very greedily, in hope that *Thrasea* being terrified and dejected, would have written somewhat sounding to the magnificence and excellency of the Prince, and discredit of his own reputation: which falling out otherwise, fearing the countenance, and courage, and liberty of the innocent, commanded the Lords of the Senat to be assembled. Then *Thrasea* consulted with his his friends, whether he should adventure his purgation, or let it passe. Those which thought it best he should enter into the Senat house, said, they were assured of his constancy, and that he would say nothing but what should augment his glory. Cowardly and timorous men did shut themselves in secret places at the time of their death. The people should see a man offering himselfe to death; the Senate should heare words more then humane, as it were of some divine power, that *Nero* himself might also be moved with the miracle: but if his crueltie should continue, certes the memory of an honorable death should be distinguished with posterity from the cowardlines of such as perished with silence. Contrariwise, such as thought it convenient to expect within doores what might happen, said the same of *Thrasea*; but yet that skoffes and injuries were at hand: he should therefore withdraw his eares from checks and reprochfull speeches: not only *Cossutianus* and *Epirus* are prompt to naughtinesse: some there are which peradventure would let their hand walk and strike, through the cruelty of *Augustus*: yea the good do the like for fear. That he would rather deliver the Senate whom he had always honoured, of the infamie of so great a villanie: and leave it doubtfull, what, having seen *Thrasea*, the Lords of the Senat would determine. That *Nero* should be ashamed of his wickednes, was to trouble himself with a vain hope: and that it was much more to be feared, lest he should grow cruell against his wife, his family, and the rest of his children. Therefore that undefiled and uncorrupted, whose steps and studies he had imitated in his life, theirs also he should follow in the honour of his death. There was present at this consultation *Rusticus Arulenus*, Tribune of the people, a hot young man, who for desire of praise, offered to oppose himselfe to the decree of Senat. *Thrasea* could his courage: lest he should begin a vain enterprise unprofitable to the criminall, and dangerous to the opposer. As for himselfe he had ended his yeares, and that he ought not forsake the manner of his life so many yeares continued: but he entred now into offices, and was in his choise to accept or refuse such as are behinde. That he should weigh well and ponder with himself what course of governing he should

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enter into, of taking charge in the common-wealth in such a time as this. Whether it were fit for him to come into the Senat, or not, he would have it rest in his own consideration.

VI. *Thraseas accusation and death.*

THE next day two armed Pretorian cohorts, beset the temple of *Venus* the mother: the waies to the Senat a company of gownd-men had filled, not hiding their weapons: and a thick array of fouldiers dispersed in the place of assemblies and Temples, amidst whose looks and threats the Senatours went into the court; where the Princes oration was heard by his Quaestors mouth. None noted by name, he blamed the Senatours, That they neglected publike duties, and that by their example the gentlemen of Rome were become lazie. For what marvell was it, if from Provinces far off they came not to Rome, when as the most part having obtained the Consulship and priestly dignities, gave themselves rather to passe the time with all pleasures in their gardens? Which the accusers took hold of as it were of a weapon. And *Cossutianus* leading the dance, and *Marcellus* with great vehemency: Cried that this touched the whole state, that through the disobedience of the inferiours, the lenity of the commander was made lesse. The Lords of the Senat until that day had been too milde in suffering *Thrasea* to forsake their side, his sonne in law *Helvidius Priscus* in the same madnes; *Pacinius Agrippinus*, heire of his fathers hatred against Princes, and *Curtius Montanus* composing detestable verses to scoffe and abuse men without punishment. He found a lack of a Consul in the Senat, of a Priest in vows, in an oath a Citizen: but against the ordinances and ceremonies of our ancestors, *Thrasea* had openly put on the person of a traitor, and an enemy. Finally, that he should come and play the Senator, and as he was wont, protect the backbiters of the Prince, and give his censure what he would have amended or changed: for they could more easily endure one finding fault with all things, then endure his silence now, condemning all things. Dorth peace throughout the world displease him, or victories without losse of the armies? That they would not suffer him have the desire of his overthwart ambition, who grieved at the common prosperity, thought the place of assemblies, the Theater, and Temples, solitary places, and threatned his own banishment. These things unto him seemed not decrees, nor magistrates: nor this the city of Rome: that he would abandon, and separate his life from that city, whose love in times past, and now whose sight he had cast off. When with these and the like speeches *Marcellus* had inveighed, grim and threatening, in voice, countenance and eyes kindled with rage: not that known, and by often use of dangers, usuall heaviness, but anew and a deeper feare seised the Lords of the Senat, beholding the hands and weapons of the fouldiers. Besides that, the reverent representation of *Thrasea* came to their imagination: and some there are which had compassion that *Helvidius* should suffer punishment in regard of harmlesse affinity. What was objected against *Agrippinus*, but the lamentable fortune of his father? When as he innocent also, was ruined by *Tiberius* cruelty. *Montanus* a vertuous young man was banished, because he made shew of his wit, though not with any diffamatory verses.

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VII. So-

VII. Soranus daughters Oration in Senate, and his death.

IN the meane season *Ostorius Sabinus*, *Soranus* accuser, cometh in, and beginneth with his friendship had with *Rubellius Plautus*: and that being Proconsull of Asia, he carried himself rather as fitting his own nobility, then the common good, by entertaining and nourishing sedition among the citizens. These were itale matters, but as if they were fresh he joynd the daughter to the fathers danger, alleading that he had bestowed money upon Magicians. So it was indeed, through the love and affection *Servilia* (so was she called) bare her father, and undiscution of age; yet she consulted of nothing but of the safety of their house, or whether *Neroes* wrath would be pacified, or the Senators hearing of the cause, would be to the prejudice of her father. She was called into the Senate, and stood one from the other before the Consuls tribunall, the father very aged, the daughter under twenty yeares, a widow, and desolate, her husband *Annius Pollio* of late banished; and not so much as looking towards her father, whose dangers she imagined she had increased. Then the accuser asking her whether she had sold her dowrie ornaments, and taken her jewell from her neck, to get money to practise magicall superstitions? first protesting herself on the ground, with a long silence and weeping, then embracing the altars, said: I have not called upon any wicked gods, I have made no diuells invocations, nor any thing else by my unhappy prayers, then that this my very good father, thou, *O Caesar*, and you Lords of the Senat, would save alive. So I have given my jewels and apparell, and ornaments of my dignity, even as I would have done my bloud and life, if they had demanded it. Let these men heretofore unto me unknown, look what names they carry, what arts they practise: I made no mention of the Prince, unlesse it were among the gods. Yet my most unfortunate father knoweth it not: if it be an offence, I alone have offended. *Soranus* took the words out of her mouth as she was yet speaking and cried, that she went not with him into the Province: for her age *Plautus* could not know her; she was not confederate with her husbands crimes; she was guilty onely of over-great and tender love: and therefore whatsoever should sort to his lot, he besought them that they would separate his cause from hers; withall, hastened to cast himself in the armes of his daughter which came to meet him, if the Serjeants putting themselves between them had not hindered both. By and by the witnesses were heard; and how much pity the cruelty of the accuser had moved, so much anger *P. Egnatius* the witness stirred. This man being a client of *Soranus*, and then hired to oppress his friend, pretended gravity of the Stoicall sect, in demeanour and countenance to represent the patterne of honest exercises; but in minde was traiterous, and deceitfull, covering avarice, and a lewd minde: which being discovered, and made known by money, hath taught us to beware of such, as under colour of liberal sciences are false in friendship: no lesse then of those which are notoriously noted for vice and treacherous dealing. The same day was shewed a notable example by *Cassius Asclepiodotus*, who for wealth, being the chiefe among the Bithynians, used the same tokens of kindeesse towards *Soranus* in his adversity, as before he had done in time of prosperity: for which cause being deprived of all his goods and cast into banishment, by the justice of the gods which lay before us a president as well of good as of bad. *Thrasea*, *Soranus*, and *Servilia* had their choice given them what death they would have. *Helvidius* and *Paconius* were banished Italy. *Montanus* was granted to his father, with condition that he should beare no charge in the commonwealth. To the

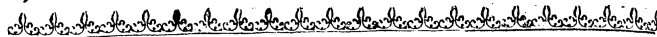
the accusers *Eprinus* and *CoSutianus*, to each were given * 5. millions of sesterces, to * *About 30062*
Ostorius 12. hundred thousand *, and the ornaments of a Questor. Then toward the *pound. 10. shil.*
evening, the Consuls Questor was sent to *Thrasea*, being then in his gardens, visited *About 9375.*
with a great company of noblemen and women, very attentively hearing the doctor *Demetrius*, one of the Cynicall sect, of whom as it was to be conjectured by his countenance, and heard if they spake any thing loud, he demanded sundry questions of the nature of the soul, and of the separation of the spirit from the body; untill *Domitius Casicianus*, one of his familiere friends came, and declared what the Lords of the Senate had decreed. Those which were present bewailing and moaning *Thrasea* with all speed were exhorted to depart, lest their lot should be to partake the dangers of a condemned person, and perswadeth his wife *Arria*, who would have died with him, to follow the example of her mother *Arria*, to keep herself alive, and not bereave their daughter of them both, and of her onely stay and support. From thence he went to his gallery, where the Questor found him, rather cheerefull then sad, because he had understood that *Helvidius* his sonne in law was only banished Italy. Then having received the order of the Senate: he brought *Helvidius* and *Demetrius* into a chamber, and stretching out the veines of both his armes, after he saw the bloud gush out, sprinkling it on the ground, and calling the Questor nearer, said: *Let us sacrifice to Jupiter the deliverer*. Behold, "young man, yet the gods preserve thee from the like luck: neverthelesse thou art "born in those times in which it is expedient to strengthen thy minde with constant examples: then the flow going out of the bloud, causing grievous torments, turning to *Demetrius* *

The rest of the Latine is lost.

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THE DESCRIPTION OF GERMANIE: AND CV- STOMES OF THE PEOPLE, BY CORNELIVS TACITVS.



ALL Germany is divided from the Galli, the Rhætians, and Pannonians, with two rivers, Rhene and Danubius; from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutuall fear of one the other, or high hills. The rest the Ocean doth environ, compassing broad and wide gulphs, and large and spacious Ilands; the people and Kings of which hath been of late discovered by war. The river of Rhene having his beginning on the top of the inaccessible steep Rhætian Alps, and winding somewhat towards the West, falleth into the north Ocean. Danubius springing from the top of the hill Abnoba, not so steep, passing by many nations, falleth by six chanelles into the Porrick sea: the seventh is lost in the marishes. I may think that the Germans are home-bred and the naturall people of their country, and not mixed with others, coming from other places; because such as in times past fought new habitations, came by sea and not by land: and that huge and spacious Ocean, & as I may term it, different from the other, is seldom travelled by our men. For besides the danger of the rough and unknown sea, who (unless it were his native soil) would leave Asia, or Africk, or Italy, and plant himself in Germany? Being a country of it self rude, and the aire unpleasant and rough, to look on illfavoured; not manured nor husbanded. They give it out as a high point in old verses (where is the only way they maintain the memory of things, as their Annales) that the god *Tuisco*, son of the earth, and his son *Mannus*, were their first founders and beginners. To *Mannus* they assigne three sons; whose names the Ingavones took, a nation neare the Ocean: the Istævones, and Herminones lying between them both. But some through a licence which antiquity doth give, affirm that the King had moe sonnes, from which moe sonnes took their names; as the Marfi, Gambrivi, Suevi, Vandali, all true and ancient names. As for the name Germany, it is a new name lately coyned: for those which first passed the river of Rhene and drove out the Gallois, were now called Tungri, now Germany: so the name of one people, not of the whole nation, growing great by little and little: as they were all at the first called for fear, as best liked the Conqueror; so at last, Germans, being a name of their own invention. And they recorded that *Hercules* came amongst them of all that ever was the valiantest person. They go singing to the wars. And have certain verses by singing of which, calling it Barditus, they encourage their people, and by the same song foretell the fortune of the future battel: for they both strike a feare into others, and are themselves stricken with feare, according to the measure and tune of the battel: seeming rather an harmony of valour then voices; and do affect principally a certain roughnes of the voice, and a broken confuse murmur, by putting their targets before their mouthes, to the end their voice by the reverberation might sound bigger and fuller. Yea some are of opinion, that *Vlysses* in his long and fabulous wandring, being brought to this Ocean, came into Germany, and

and built the town Afciburgium upon the banke of Rhene, and inhabited at this day, which he called *Germanopoli*. And that an altar consecrated to *Vlysses* hath been found in the same place, with his fathers name *Laërtes*: and there are yet monuments extant, and certain tombes inscribed with Greek letters, in the confines of Germany and Rhætia: which I intend not to confirme by reasons, or confute; and therefore I leave it to every mans judgement to beleve or not. For mine own part I hold with them, which think that the people of Germanie, not changed and altered by marrying with other nations, have continued the true and pure nation like unto none but themselves. And therefore you see they have all one feature and making, though they be infinite in number: fire and gray eyes, yellow haire, great bodies, and strong at a push onely. Travell and pain they cannot endure: nor yet thirst nor heat; but to hunger and cold the aire and the country hath enured them. The soile, although differing somewhat in kinde, yet generally is wilde with woods, or unpleasant and ill-favoured with marishes: moist towards Gallia: more windie towards Noricum and Pannonny: barfull enough; but bad for fruit-bearing-trees; cattell plenty, but for the most part harlatric runts: their kine and labouring beast hath no beauty in him: all their joy is in plenty of them: and therein consisteth their wealth, and the wealth they chiefly desire. Silver and gold whether the angry or favourable gods have denied them, I doubt. Neither will I affirm that there is no vein in Germany which yeeldeth silver and gold: for who hath sought it? the possession of these metallis or use, they do not greatly affect. Yet vessels of plate you may see among them presented to their Embassadors and Princes; but as finally accounted of, as if they were of earth: although the borderers for commoditie of traffick, like gold and silver well; and do acknowledge and choose some coin, bearing our images. Those which dwell further in the land, goe more simple to work, and according to the old manner, have no buying and selling, but by exchange of commodities. The older the money and longest known, the better liked, as that which is toothed about like a sawe: or hath the picture of a charriot drawn with two horses. They desire rather silver then gold: not for any liking unto it; but because that, being in smaller money, it is easier put away in buying and selling of small wares. Iron they have little among them, as by their weapons it may be gathered. Few of them use swords or great lances: but carry Javelines, or as they term them Frameas, with a narrow and short iron; but so sharp and handsome, that as occasion serveth, with the same weapon they can fight both at hand, and as farre off: and the horseman is contented with a shield and Framea. The footmen use weapons, to throw one man a great many, and that a great way off: naked, or covered with a light cassock. Handsomnes and neatnes in attire they do not brag of, but trim and distinguish their shields onely with varietie of colours. Brigantine or coat of fence few have. Salet or head piece scarce any one useth. Their horses are neither beautiful to the eye, nor swift, nor managed to the carriage according to our fashion; but to go on straight, or turn on the right hand so close and round, that not one drags behinde another. All things well considered, their greatest strength consisteth of footmen: and therefore in their fight they mingle the one with the other; the footmen which are a chosen number out of the youth, and placed before the battel, neither going too hastily before the horsemen, nor drailing after, but marching in proportionable measure with them. There is a certain number set down, that is, of every township or borough an hundred, for so they term themselves: and that which was but a number at the first, is now a name and an honour. Their battels be pointed: to give ground, so as they charge lustily after, they think rather a point.

a point of good policie then cowardlines. The bodies of their souldiers they carry away, even in doubtfull battels: to abandon his shield is the chiefest disgrace and offence: an ignominious person is barred from their sacrifices, and from their assemblies; and many which have fled from battels, have for shame hanged themselves. Their Kings they choose by noblenes of birth, and their Captains by valour. The Kings power is restrained, and not to do what he listeth; and their Captains if they be forward in fight, and in the point of the battel, are admired and revered rather for their example, then commandery. Power to punish, to imprison or beat, none have but Priests: yet not that as a punishment, or at the Captains commandment; but as it were by the commandment of God, whom they beleve doth assist warriors in battels; and carry before them certain images, and monuments taken out of the woods. And which is the chiefest encouragement of all, they make not their pointed battel at hap hazard, of all persons as they come; but of their family and friends, and kinsfolk, with their children not farre off; from whence they may heare the howling of their wives, and crying of their children: which are to all, sacred witnesses of their valour, and best commanders. They go when they are hurt to their mothers and wives; which are not afeard to number or suck their wounds; and carry the souldiers meat, and encourage them to stand to it: It is reported that some battels, even ready as it were to be lost, and discomfited, have been by the womens earnest prayers, exposing their bodies to the danger, and by shewing how neere at hand their captivity was, recovered again: which in regard of their wives is a greater grieve and heart-break unto them; in so much that those cities are more straightly bound, which amongst other hostages have delivered also noble mens daughters: for they dream that they have in them I know not what holiness and foresight of things, which maketh them regard their counsell, and give credit to their oracle. Under *Vespasian* of famous memory, we have seen *Velleda* a long time, and with many nations counted as some divine thing: and in times past did adore *Aurinia*, and many others, not of flattery, or as though they would have made them goddeses.

II. Their religion and policie.

Of all the gods, they adore especially *Mercurie*: unto whom they think it lawfull certain dayes, to offer men in sacrifice: but *Hercules* and *Mars* they pacifie with beasts, lawfully killed to that use: and some of the Suevians sacrifice to *Iffs*. What reason they have to use that strange sacrifice I know not: unless it be that the image of that goddesse being fashioned in form of that kinde of boat, doth declare that their religion hath been brought them from a strange countrey. They think it a matter ill becomming the greatnes of the gods, to inclose them within walls, or paint them in mans shape. They consecrate woods and forests, which secreet places they call by the names of gods: which they see only by apprehension and reverence.

Soothsaying and lots they observe above all others. Their custome in casting of lots is without fraud: for they cut a branch from a fruit bearing tree, into many pieces; and distinguished with severall marks, cast them upon a white garment, at adventure: then if the matter belong to a communalty, the Priest, if to a private person, the master of the house having prayed the gods, and looking up to the heaven, taketh up every of them three times: and interpreteth them according to their marks. If the lots fall contrary to their mindes, they consult no more that day, touching

the same matter. But if they do, yet they will trie what further credit there is in Soothsaying: for they are not ignorant in this countrey of observing the singing of birds, and their flying, consulting with their gods of both. And it is a thing peculiar unto that countrey to trie the presages and warnings of horses, which are bred and maintained in those woods and Forrests, white, unbacked, or unlabored: which are harnessed and put to a sacred charriot, the Priest, King, or Prince of the city do follow, observing their noise and neying. Of all presages this is of greatest credit with the Priests, Noblemen, and common people: thinking themselves ministers of the gods; and the horses privie to their secrets. They have another observation among them, by which they search out the event of great and weighty battels; which is this. They get some one, how they can, of that nation with whom the warre shall be; and take another choise man of their own, and arme them, each according to his fashion, and so trie their valour: and by that prejudice, conjecture on whose side the victory shall fall. In small matters, the Princes themselves determine of them: but if they be of importance, they all in generall consult: but yet so, that those things whose determination belong to the people, are concluded before the Prince. And unless some casual or sudden accident fall out, they make their assemblies certain dayes, either in the first quarter or full moon, thinking that to be the luckiest time to begin their works. The number of dayes they reckon not, as we do, but of nights; and in them make their appointments and summonces to appear, thinking that the day is governed by the night. Their liberty is cause that they meet not together, nor as they are commanded, but spend two or three dayes in expecting one another. They fit armed as they come, and the Priest, who hath authority to punish, commandeth silence. Then the King or Prince, or every man according to his age, nobility and renown of warre, or as he is eloquent, beginneth to speak. Using rather perswasion then authority of commanding. If their opinion mislike them, they reject it with a murmuring noise: if it liked, they shake their javelins: but the most honourable manner of liking is to approve it by their weapons. It is lawfull in their council to accuse and arraigne in criminal causes. Punishments are distinguished by the offence: traitors and fugitives they hang on trees, the cowardly and unwarlike, and such as were unnaturally lewd of their bodies, they did drown in mud and marishes, and cover them with hurdles. The drift of that diversitie of punishments was, to declare that it was expedient to shew offences as they were, in punishing, but hide hainous crimes. But in lesser trespasses, according to the quality of the punishments, the parties convicted, are fined in some number of horses, or other cattell: whereof part goeth to the King, or city, part to the party damnified, or to his kindred. In the same counsels they choose rulers, to administer justice in towns and villages: which have an hundred chosen out of the people, to accompanie them, which are as their counsell and authoritie. They consult neither of publike nor private affairs but armed: but yet it is not the manner for any to take weapons, unless he have been judged before by the city able to use them: and then in the counsell, either one of the governours, or his father, or some one of his kindred, doth honour the young man with a shield and a Frumace. This is with them a gown; this is the first honor given to young men: before reputed a part of their particular house, but from thence forward, of the common-wealth. High nobility, or merit of predeceffors, maketh their children although they be but young, worthy of dignity, which associate themselves to the stronger, and long tried: and take it for no disgrace, to be seen among their followers: among which there be likewise degrees according to his discretion of whose traine they be. And there is a great emulation among

among the followers who should be in greatest favour with his Prince: and amongst the Princes, who should have the greatest number following him, and most courageous. This is their honor, this is their strength, to be guarded alwaies with a company of choice youth: which is a credit and reputation, in peace, and in war a defence. And it is not only an honour and glory in ones own nation to have a gallant number, and a valiant, in his train, but is also a matter of reputation with cities adjoyning: as men fought unto by Embassadors: and presented with gifts: and do oftentimes by their onely fame end warres. When they come to joyne battel, it is a dishonour to the Prince to be overcome in valour: and to his followers, not to go as far in prowesse as their Prince. Now to returne alive from that battel, in which his Prince is slain, is a perpetuall infamie and reproch: being the principallest part of their oath, to defend and maintaine him, and ascribe their own exploits to his glory and honour. Princes fight for victorie; the followers for the Prince. If the citie wherein they are borne, grow lazie with a long peace, and idlenes; most of the young noblemen, goe of their own will to those nations, wherein there is warre: because that nation disliketh rest and quietnesse: as winning greater renown in doubtfull and hazardous attempts; and not able to entertain so great number of followers, but by violence and warre: sometimes by the liberalitie of their Prince getting that horse of service, and bloody and conquering sword. Their banquets are large, but rude diet, instead of pay: but matter to minister liberality, cometh by warre and rapine. To manure the ground, or expect the season, thou canst not so easily perswade them; as to provoke the enemy, and deserve wounds: to get that with the sweat of their browes, which thou mayest win by the losse of thy blood, they hold as an idle and slothfull part. When they are not busied in the wars, they give not themselves much to hunting: but spend more of their time in idlenes, as a people much given to sleep and feed. When the valiantest and warlikest are idle, they commit the care of household affairs and tillage, to women and old men, and to the weakest of their family; and do themselves grow heavy and lazie: a strange diversitie of disposition, that the same men should so much love sloath, and hate quietnesse. The custome is in cities to bestow by pole upon the Princes, either of their cattell or graine, which is received as an honour, yet supplieth their wants. But above all, they are exceeding glad if any thing be presented them by neighbour nations, which do send sometimes in particular, sometimes in common; as choise horses, great weapons, furniture for horse, and chaines; and now we have taught them also to receive money. It is well known that the Germans dwell in no cities, nor will not suffer their houses to joine together, but asunder, the one from the other, as they liked best of their fountains, fields or wood. They build not their villages as we do, one house close to another: but every man leaveth a space about his house, either as a remedie against misfortunes of fire, or by unskilfulnesse in building. Parget and mortar they use not, nor tiles: and use to all buildings unsquared and unwrought timber, without any beutie or delight, but to daube some places very diligently with such a cleare and shining earth, that it resembleth a picture, or draught of colours. It is a fashion amongst them to dig deepe caves under ground, and cover them over with dung, as a succour in the winter, and garner for their grain; tempering the rigour of the cold by such places: as if at any time the enemy come upon them, he forrageth all open places, but hidden under ground, are either not found, or els are saved, because they are driven to seek them. They all weare a kinde of cassock called *signum*, clasped, or for want of one, fastned with a thorne, and having no other garment, but naked, lie all day in the harth, or by the fire. The richer sort are distinguished from the

the others by their garments, which are not large and wide as the Sarmates and Parthians use to weare them, but strait and shewing the proportion of every part of the body. Besides, they weare certaine pelts made of beafts skins; those neare the Rhene-bank carelesly; but those which are farther off more curiously, as never trimming themselves with far set marchandise. They make choise of certain beafts, and here and there speck their skins with spots: and the like with the skins of beafts taken in the farthest Ocean, or unknown sea. The man and womans attire differeth in nothing, saving that the women often use linnen garments trimmed and interlaced with purple: and the upper parts of their bodies without sleeves, their armes bare, and their bosome naked and uncovered. Yet matrimony is severely kept among them, the thing most commendable of all their manner of life: for of all barbarous people, they alone content themselves, every man with one wife, except some very few: which not for unruly lust, but for their nobilitie are sued unto for sundry marriages. The wife gives not a dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. Their parents and neare kinsmen are present, when they give any gifts the one to the other: which are not exquisite as to daintie dames, or for to beautifie and trimme the new married wife, but oxen, and a horse with furniture, and a shield with a sword, and lance. With these gifts the wife is taken, and the also doth bring her husband some armes: this is the greatest bond: these are the secret ceremonies: these they think to be the gods of marriage. And lest the woman should think herself exempt and free from bonds of vertue, or hazards of war, in the very beginnings and first speech of marriage, she is put in minde, that she cometh as a companion of his labours and dangers: and that she shall suffer and venture the same in peace and warre that he doth: that is the signification and construction of the oxen yoked, of the horse with bridle and furniture, this the meaning of the weapons and armes given on one side and the other: thus she must live, thus she must die: she receiveth that which she must deliver unviolated and pure to her children, which their daughters in law do receive as worthy things, and yeeld againe to their nephewes. They live therefore in most strait chastitie, uncorrupted with the allurements of shewes and spectacles, or provocations in banquetting. As well men as women are ignorant of the secrets of learning. Adulterie is seldom committed in so populous a nation, and the punishment for it incontinently inflicted, as best liketh the husband: who having cut her haire, turneth her naked out of his house in the presence of her kinsfolks, and driveth and beateh her throughout all the town: no pardon given to her that hath violated her chastitie: neither for her beauty, nor age, nor wealth, can she ever after finde another husband. No man laugheth at vices: neither when any is corrupted, or doth corrupt do they say, it is the time. Yet there is one thing more commendable in those cities, that only virgins do marry, and that only once, and the man the like, contracting with the hope and desire of one wife. As they have but one body, one life, so they take but one husband: that they might have no other thoughts, nor farther desires, nor love him as so deserving it, but because of matrimony. To prescribe a certaine number of children, or kill any of their neare kindred, they count it a heinous crime. Good manners are of greater authoritie and force among them, then elsewhere good lawes. They grow to have these great lims and bodies which we marvel at, naked and slovenly in every house. Every mother nurseth her owne children with her owne breasts, and send them not to nurses or other women. Thou shalt not know the Lord from the slave, by any note of daintie and nice education: for they live amongst the same cattell, and on the same ground, untill age doth distinguish the free.

free-borne, and his valour make him known. Young men gave not themselves too timely to company with women; and therefore decay not so soone: neither are maides hastened to marrie: they are of the same yeares, of like growth: they are marched with such as are of like strength; and the children expresse and shew the strength of their parents. Sisters children are as much set by in their uncles house, as in their fathers. Some are of opinion, that this bond of blood is the straitest and holiest, and most of all required, in taking of hostages: as those which are of a more constant minde, and in the family the greatest part: yet every mans children succeed as heires: and testament they make none at all. If there be no children to succeed the next in degree are brothers, uncles by the fathers side and by the mothers. The more kindred, the greater affinity, the more an old man is honoured: and to be without children, is of no reputation. They must as well become enemy to their fathers enemies or kinsmens, as friend to their friends. Their hatred is not implacable: for mans slaughter it self is satisfied and redeemed with a certain number of beasts, which contenteth the whole family, and is profitable for the common good: for where libertie is, there private enmities are dangerous.

III. *Their domesticall life and behaviour.*

Greater hospitality and entertainment is no where more bountifull then there, being a curled deed to barre any man his house: and not give him meate and drink according to his abilitie. When all is spent, the last hoste will be a guide and companion unto him to the next house uninvited: for that skilleth not; but are received with like curtesie: in respect of hospitalitie making no difference whether he be of acquaintance or not. If any thing be demanded of him which is going away, the manner is to grant it; and he may with like facilitie aske again. Gifts are things which please them well: but those which give them doe not think they doe you a benefit therein, and those which receive them not bound or beholden for them. They entertaine their guests courteously: immediatly after they rise (which for the most part is very late and the day well spent) they wash, and most commonly in warme water, as having long winters: and when they have washed, they fall to eat, every man his stool and his messe to himself: then they fall to their businesse, and as oft to banquet and make good cheere all armed. To sit a tipling a day and a night is no disgrace to any. There arise many quarrels (as commonly it happeneth where drunkards meet) which seldome end with brawling and injurious tearms, but often with murder and hurt. In their bankets they consult of peace and warre, make atonements betwixt such as are at debate, make marriages, and choose their Princes: as a time when the minde is never more open to plaine dealing; or more stirred up to great attempts. The people being neither craftie nor subtil, through the libertie of the place doth then most discover the secrets of his breast. Every mans minde then being open and discovered, the next day, they weigh and examine it; with a regard had to both the times. They deliberate when they cannot dissemble; and resolve when they cannot erre. Their drink is a liquor made of barley and corn, corrupted into the likenes of wine. But those which dwell neare the bank of Rhene, buy wine: their meats are simple; wilde apples, fresh venison, or curds or creame: they drive away hunger without any solemne service, or dainties: but against thirst they use not the like temperance. If thou wilt please their humour in drunkenesse, in giving them what they aske: they will be as easly overcome with vices as armes. They have but one and the same kinde of

time

time in every assembly. Young men, which know the sport cast themselves naked, and leap betwene swords and lances. Practise bred the art of doing it, and Art the grace; yet neither for gaine nor recompense: albeit the reward of bold and rash toies is the delight of the beholder. And (which thou wouldest marvel at) fresh and fasting, they play at dice, as a matter of serious and earnest businesse, with such a rash desire of winning & loosing; that when all else is lost, they lay their liberty and body upon the last throw: and he who is overcome, entereth a voluntary servitude: and although he be younger and stronger; yet suffereth himselfe to be bound and sold. Such is their obstinacy in a bad matter; which they call faith: but slaves of this condition they make away by merchandise, to rid themselves of the shame of such a victory. Their other slaves they employ not in certaine affaires of house, as we do ours; but every one governeth his owne house and household. The Lord enjoineth him to pay a certaine of corne, or cattell, or apparell, as he doth his tenant, which the bondslave performeth & no more: other duties of house belong to the wife and children. It is a rare matter to beat their slaves, or over-labor or imprison them: yet they are wont to kill them, not by discipline & severity, but carried away with sudden anger, as against an enemy, saving that it is unpunished. The freed men are not much above the slave; they seldome beare any sway in the house or city, saving in those countries which have a King. For there they are in greater authority, then either free borne or noble men; in other countries freed men being of unequal condition, make liberty better known. To practise usury, and enrich themselves with it, they know not what it meaneth: which is better kept then if it were forbidden. All the ground the inhabitants about doe possesse, according to their number: which they divide among themselves, according to their calling; which is easly done by reason the fields are so spacious. Their earable land they change by yeares: and let one lie, not labouring to overcome the fertillnesse and largenesse of it by industry, by planting of orchards; in-closing their meadows; and watering their gardens: onely they use much tillage. Hereupon they divide not the yeare into so many seasons, as we do: the winter, spring time, and summer, they understand, and have names for: but as for the autumn, as well the name, as the commodities it bringeth, are unknowne. Ambition they use none in their funerals: onely that one thing is observed; that the bodies of the noble men are burned with a certain kind of wood. The pile of the funeral fire, they doe neither fill up with apparell nor sweet odors: every mans arms, and some horse were burnt likewise. The tombe is raised up with turves of earth: great works and laborious monuments they despise as heavy for the dead, lamentations and teares they quickly forbear; but grieve and sorrow slowly. It is seemely enough for women to mourne; and for men to remember the dead. This is it which we have learned in general, of the beginning and customes of the Germanes. Now I will lay downe the ordinances and customes of every people in particular; and how they differ; and what nation have gone out of Germanie, to the Gallois.

IIII. *What Gallois have passed into Germany.*

Plinius of famous memory, the chiefeft of all authors doth deliver, that the state of the Gallois hath in times past bene of greater force and power, then now it is: and therefore not unlike, but the Gallois went into Germany. For what great hinderance could the river be; that, every nation as he was strong, should not get himselfe in possession and change seats, yet unoccupied, and not divided by any

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power of kingdomes? Therefore the Helvetians held that which lieth between the Hercynian Forrest, and the two rivers Rhene and Moene: and the Boij that which is beyond, both nations of Gallia. The name of the Bojemi doth yet continue, and doth signifie the old memory of the place, although the inhabitants be changed. But whether the Aravisci from the Osi, a people of Germany, came into Pannonia; or the Osi from the Aravisci into Germany, is yet uncertaine: considering they use the same language, lawes, and customes: for being equal in times past in poverty and liberty, the commodities and discommodities of both the banks were common to them alike. The Treveri & the Nervij ambitiously seem to have their beginning from the Germans: as though by this glory of blood they should be unlike, and differ in cowardlines from the Gallois. Without all doubt the banke of Rhene is inhabited with the people of Germany, the Vangiones, Treboci, Nemets, The Ubij, albeit they have deserved to be a Roman colonie: and desire to be called rather Agrippinians by the name of their foundresse, though not ashamed of their beginning, have heretofore past over; and for good proofe of their fidelity, have beene planted upon the banke of Rhene, to keep off others, and not for any safety of their owne. Of all these Nations, the chiefeft in valour are the Batavians, which enjoy small part of the banke of Rhene, but inhabite an Ilande of the River of Rhene, in times past a people of the Catti, and went by reason of civille- dition into those countries to be a part of the Roman Empire. The honour and markes of ancient alliance doe yet continue, for they are neither contemned by paying tributes, nor oppressed by the Farmer of publike revenewes. They are exempted from charges & contributions, as reserved for use of war, as it were armes & weapons. The Mattiaci doe the like allegiance: for the greatnes of the people of Rome hath been enlarged further then the old bounds of the Empire did extend and beyond the Rhene. Therefore in regard of their habitation and bounds, they inhabite the banke, but in heart and minde dwell with us: in other things like the Batavians; saying that by reason of their soyle and ayre, they are more forward and stout. I will not account them among the people of Germany, albeit they are planted beyond Rhene, and the Danube, of whose land the tenth is rayfed. The lewdest of all the Gallois, and whom need hath driven to venture, have possessed that countrey as doubtfully holden. Not long after, having enlarged their bounds, and placed fortresses farther, they are within the compasse of the Empire, and are a part of the Province. Beyond these, the Cattians begin from the Hercynian Forrest, but have not so wide and marshy a countrey, as the other cities in which Germany doth open and spread it selfe: for the hills are one by another, and continue a certaine space, and then by little and little waxe thinner: and the Hercynian Forrest doth containe the Catti, and is the bounds of their territory. They are a people hardened to labour, well set, sterner countenanced, and of greater courage. As Germans goe, they are sensibly wise men, and considerate: they preferre choise men, hearken to their leaders, know their ranks, know where advantages are, bridle their heate, dispose of the day to their benefit, intrench in the night, hold fortune among things doubtful, and esteeme of valour as of certainty: and which is most rare, and understood onely by discipline, they repose more assurance in their leader, then in the army. All their strength consisteth in footemen, whom besides their armes they load with yron tooles and provision. Thou maiest see others goe to skirmish: but the Catti march for warre. They seldome skirmish, or fight at adventure. Their horsemen are of this property, that they either quickly win the victory, or yeeld. Suddenness is neare unto feare; lingring draweth nearer constancy. And that, which is

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seldome used among other people of Germanie, through their boldnes, and hardnes it is growne to a common consent among the Carateans: that is, when they come to ripe yeeres, they suffer their haire and beard to grow at length; & neither put off that vowed ornament of the face, and as it were a bond of vertue, untill they have killed an enemy. Upon blood and spoile, they uncover their forehead, and say, they have payed backe the price of their birth; and thinke themselves worthy of their countrey and parents: the cowardly and unwarlike remaine in their ill favourednes. Besides this, every man as he is most valiant, weareth an yron ring (an ignominious thing to that people) as it were a bond, untill they rid themselves of it by killing an enemy. This quality pleaseth many of the Carateans. And then they grow gray, respected of their own people and enemies: these begin every battell: these make alwayes the first ranke; strange to behold: for in time of peace, they are altogether as fierce in countenance. There is not one of them that hath a house, or living, or care of any thing. As they come to every mans house they are maintained: prodigal of other mens; and contemners of their owne: untill through feeble old age, they are no longer able to indure so hard a labour.

V. Of the Tencterians, Chamavians, and Frisians.

NEXT unto the Catti, the Usipij and Tencteri do inhabit the Rhene, running in a certaine channell, and which may suffice for a bound. The Tencteri besides their ancient renowne of warres, excell the rest in service of horse: and the Carateans deserve no greater commendation for footmen, then the Tencterians for horsemen. So did their predeceffors ordaine it, and successors follow it. These are the childrens pastimes; this the emulation betwixt young men; and old men continue the same; and horses are delivered, as rights of inheritance among the family: and the sonnes receive them, though not the eldest, but he who is most courageous, and likeliest to make a martiall man. Hard by the Tencteri, in times past the Bructeri did inhabit; but now it is reported that the Camavians, and Angrivarians, are entered into that countrey, and wholly rooted out and chased the Bructerians, by agreement of nations adjoining: either as hating them for their pride, or for sweetnes of pray, or some favour of the gods towards us; as not denying us the spectacle of the battell, wherein there were slaine three score thousand, not by the Romans armes and weapons: but, which is more glorious, to shew us pastime, and please our eye. I wish that if those people cannot love us, that they would hate one another, seeing that the state of the Empire fatally declining, fortune can do us no greater favour, then sow sedition among the enemies. The Angrivarians and Chamavians, have behinde them the Dulgibini and Chafvari, and other nations not greatly spoken of; and before them the Frisians. The Frisians are called great or small, according to their strength: the Rhene bordering both unto the Ocean, and besides that, do comprehend huge & spacious laks, which the Roman navy hath past: yea and the Ocean it selfe we have entred into, and tried on that side. And the same goeth, that Hercules pillars are there yet to be seene; either because Hercules went so farre, or else because by common consent all that is any where magnificall, is attributed to his renowne. Drusus Germanicus wanted not courage: but the Ocean hindered us for being over inquisitive of him or Hercules. After that, no man assayed to doe it, as being an act of greater devotion and reverence, to beleave the actions of the gods, rather then know them. Hitherto we have seene the West part of Germany: towards the North it goeth bowing with a great compasse. And first

of all the people of the Chauceans, although they begin at the Frisians, and possess part of the shore, coast all those nations I have made mention of, untill they winde into the Catti, and so spacious and huge countrey the Chauci do not onely hold, but fill likewise: of all the Germane nation the noblest, and desirous to maintaine their greatnesse by justice: without covetousnesse or unbridled lust, quiet and retired, stir up no wars, never waste, spoile, nor robbe. And which is a speciall marke of their valour and strength, they got not their superiority over others by any wrongs offered. Yet they are all ready for warre, and if occasion require to make an armie, wanting neither horse nor men: and although they lie quiet, yet their reputation is never the lesse. On the side of the Chauci and Carti, the Cherusci have nourished long, being never provoked, an idle and lazie peace, which was more sweet then safe unto them, because there is no sure peace between stirring and strong people. For when the matter is come to hand-strokes, modestie and good dealing be termes which belong to superiours. So the Cherusci in times past good and just, are now called cowards and fooles: and the fortune of the Carti being favorable, is cause that they are counted wise. The Fosi, a people bordering upon the Cherusci, are touched with their ruine, companions in their adversitie, though in prosperity they were inferior unto them. Neere unto the same coast of the Ocean, the Cimbrians inhabite; now a small people, but highly renowned: having yet remaining certaine markes of their old glory; to wit, on both the banks, trenches and lodges: by the circuit of which, thou maist yet measure the greatnesse and strength of that Nation, and beleve the number of so great an army. It was fix hundred and forty years after the foundation of our Citie, before the Cimbrians armes were heard of, when *Cacilius Metellus*, and *Papirius Carbo* were Consuls. From that time unto the second time that the Emperour *Trajan* was Consul, by just account, are two hundred and ten years: and so many years we were a conquering Germanie. In the middle time, there were many losses on both parts. Not the Samnites, nor the Carthaginians, nor the Spaniards, nor the Gallois; no nor the Parthian have so often troubled us: the libertie of the Germans being more earnest, then the kingdom of the Arsacides. For what can the East object against us, saving the death of *Crassus*, when he had defeated *Pacorus*, before troden downe by *Ventidius*? But the Germans, having either slain or taken *Carbo* and *Cassius*, and *Scaurus Arelmus*, and *Cervilius Cepio*, and *M. Manlius*, have defeated also five Consularie armies, and *Varius* with three legions in *Cæsars* time: neither have *C. Marim* in Italy, or *Iulim* in Gallia, *Drusus*, and *Nero*, and *Germanicus*, molested them in their houses without blows. After that *C. Cæsars* great threatnings were turned to a jest. Then there was quietnes, untill our civill wars gave them occasion, when they had taken the standing camps of the legions, to have a desire to enter Gallia: from whence being againe driven out, in late times, they have been rather triumphed over then vanquished.

VI. The Suevians and other people.

Now we will speake of the Suevi, which are not one nation as the Catti and Tencteri: and possessing the greater part of Germany, and severed by peculiar names and countries: although by one generall name they be called Suevi: whose marke is to curl their haire and tie it on knots. By that the Suevian is distinguished from the other Germanes; and the free born Suevian from the bond man. That in other Countries is used also but seldome times, either for affi-

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nitie with the Suevians; or as it often happeneth by imitation, and whilest they be young: but the Suevians even untill they be old and gray, have their haire standing an end, & often tie it on the crown only: princes wear it after a finer fashion. That is the harmelesse care they have of their beauty. For they use it not either to winne love, or be beloved: but turn it up to a certaine height, to seem to the enemy more terrible, when they goe thus trimmed to the warre. The Semnones say, they are the most ancient of the Suevians, and the most noble. The credit of their antiquity they confirme with this ceremony. At certaine times, all of one blood meet by their deputies in a wood, reputed holy by the auguration of their forefathers, and ancient reverence; where publicly killing a man, they celebrate the barbarous beginnings of their ceremonie. Yet there is another reason why the wood is had in reverence. No man entrench into it, but bound with somewhat as an inferiour person, & acknowledging the power of the god. If he fall by chance; it is not lawfull for him to rise, or get up; but is rowled out: all their superstition tending to this, that from thence the nation had his beginning: that there dwelleth the god, ruler of all others; and unto whom all other things are subject and obedient. The fortune of the Semnones giveth this authoritie: their countrey is inhabited by an hundred villages; and by their great body, they take themselves to be the head of the Suevians. Contrary, the Longobards are renowned, by reason their number is so small: that being hemmed in with many, very puissant nations, yet maintaine themselves, not by doing any duty to any but by warres and dangers. After them the Reudigni, and Aviones, and Angli, and Varini, and Eudoses, and Suardones, and Nuithones, are defended by rivers or woods: having no notable thing particular in any, saving that generally they adore Herthum, that is, the mother earth, whom they beleve to be present at mens affairs. There is a wood called Castrum in an island of the Ocean, and a chariot dedicated in it, covered with apparell, which one Priest onely may lawfully touch. He knoweth that the goddesse is in some secret part of the house, and followeth her with great reverence as she is led by Kowes: and make those holy dayes & places of joy which she vouchsafeth to honor with her presence. Warre they make none, nor put on any armour, nor shew any weapon: but peace and quietnesse is onely knowne and loved: untill the same Priest bring backe the goddesse to her Temple, filled with the conversation of mortall men. Then the chariot and the apparell, if you will beleve it, the divinitie it selfe is washed in some secret lake: bond-men minister unto her, which the same lake doth incessantly swallow up. Whereof ariseth a secret terror, and an holy ignorance, what that should be, which they onely see which are a perishing. And this part of Suevia, reacheth far within the countrey of Germany, the nearer (that I may describe that part which lyeth by Danube, as I have done that which lieth along the Rhene) is the Citie of the Hermunduri, faithfull to the Romanes: and therefore of all the Germans traffique, not onely upon the bank of Rhene, but even within the heart of the countrey, and in the most famous colonie of the Province Rhetia. These goe all over without a guard: and whereas we see other Nations, sometimes our arms, sometimes our campe; to these we lay open our houses, and villages, as people not desiring them. In the countrey of the Hermunduri, the river Albis bath his beginning, in times past a famous river and well knowne; but now onely heard of. Neere unto the Hermunduri dwell the Narisci, the Marcomani, and Quadi. The greatest renowne and strength that the Marcomani have, is in that they got their dwellings by valour and driving out in times past the Boiens. Neither do the Narisci, and the Quadi degenerate. And that is as it were the frontier of Germany, on that

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that side which the Danube borders. The Marcomani and the Quadi, had even untill times of our memory, Kings of their own Nation, of the noble stock of the Maroboduni, and Tudri; but now they suffer strangers; which have their strength and power, by the authoritie of the Romanes: and seldome use our armes, but are often helpt with our money. Neither are the Marfigni, Gothini, Osi, Buri, which are behinde the Marcomani and Quadi, of lesser valor: among which the Marfigni, and Buri, resemble the Suevians in speech and attire. The Gallican tongue doth convince the Gothinos, and the Panonicall the Ofos, not to be Germans; and that they endure to pay tribute; part of the tribute the Sarmates, part the Quadi charge them with, as strangers. The Gothini, the more for their shame, digge for mines of iron: and all these people inhabit small store of plaine ground, but wood-lands, and hill tops. Suevia is divided by a continuall ridge of hills, beyond which dwell many Nations: among which, the name of the Lygians is farthest spread into many Cities. It will suffice to reckon the strongest, as the Arios, Helveconas, Maninos, Elysios, Naharvalos. Among the Naharvalians there is a wood long agoe consecrated to religion, over which a Priest apparelled in womans attire is Superintendent: but the Romanes interpret them to be the gods *Castor* and *Pollux*. The name of the god is *Alcis*. Images there are none, nor signe of strange superstition: yet they are revered as brothers, and two young men. But the Alii besides their strength, wherein they go beyond the other people I have made mention of, fell and cruel, do set forth their naturall fiercenes with art and time: for they use black targets, and die their bodies with the same colour; and choose the darkeft nights to fight in, striking a terror with the shadow of so deadly an army, into the enemies; none of them able to endure so strange and as it were hellish sight, the eies being first overcome in all battels. Beyond the Lygians the Gothones live under Kings in a more severe government then the other people of Germany, and not in full liberty. Then from the Ocean follow the Rugii, and Lemovii, all of them bearing for their marke round bucklers, and short swords, and living under the subjection of Kings. After those are the cities of the Suionians, situated in the Ocean; besides men and armor, strong in shipping; which in making differ from other vessels, in that both ends are foreparts, ready to land at each end, without sayle, or oares in a ranke in the sides, but the mariners are at libertie ready to change hither and thither, as occasion serveth, as in some other rivers. Those people esteeme of riches: and therefore one hath amongst them absolute rule and government, and not at the will of the subject. They are not all licenced to weare weapons as in other parts of Germany, but their weapons are shut up under a keeper, and that a slave, because the enemy can make no sudden incursion against them, by reason of the Ocean. If the souldiers be idle and at rest, they easily grow insolent: and indeed it is not for the Kings profit to commit the charge of armor to noble men, or free borne, or freedmen. Beyond the Suionas, there is another sea so low and almost immovable, that many thinke it to bee the bounds which compasse in the whole world, because that the Sunne continueth so cleare and bright, from his setting till the rising, that it darkneth the starres. And some are farther perswaded, that the sound of him is heard as he riseth out of the sea; and many shapes of gods seene, and the beames of his head. So farre the fame is true, and that there was the end of nature and the world. Now on the right shore of the Suevian sea, the Æstians inhabit whose manner of life is like the Suevians, but their language more like the Britains language. They adore the mother of the gods: for a skutchion of their superstition, they carry the pictures of wilde Boares. That serveth them for all weapons and all defence, and assurethall those

those that worship that goddesse, even amongst the enemies. They have small use of iron, but great of clubs. They sow corne and plant fruits, more painfully, then ordinarily the slothfull Germane is accustomed to do. They search out what the sea will yeeld: and onely amongst all, gather on the flats, and on the very shore *Rosin**, which they call *Glesum*. Yet they have not fought out (so barbarous they are) what is the nature of it, or by what meanes it is engendered. Yea a long time it lay as nought worth, like other purging of the sea, untill our wantonneffe gave it a name. They have no use of it themselves: but gather it soule and filthy: and so bring it, and marvell at the price we give for it. But it is the juyce of trees; for there shine in them some birds or fowle, which wrapped in the humour, and afterwards wax hard, are so shut in it. And as in the secret places of the East, there are fertile Woods and Forrests, which sweat Frankincense and Balmes: so may I beleieve that in the Ilands of the West, there are others, which beeing neere to the Sunne beames, yeeld an humour, which melted, runneth unto the next sea, and by force of tempest is carried to the opposite shore. If by fire thou wilt make proove what the nature of Amber is, it will burne like unto wood pitched and refined: and nourisheth a fat and strong favouring fire: then waxeth pliant and clammy like *Rosin* or Pitch. Hard by the Suionians, be the Sitones: alike in all things, saving one, which is, that a woman is their ruler: so farre they degenerate, not onely from liberty, but also from bondage: and there is the end of Suevia. I am in doubt, whether I should reckon the Peucinians, Venedians, and Fennians, among the Germans or Sarmates, although the Peucinians, which some call *Bastarnas*, resemble the Germanes in language, behaviour, housing, and dwelling: but all are generally, slovenly and lazie: and the noblemen allied by marriage with the Sarmates, are somewhat transformed into their usage: and the Vinedians have learned many of their fashions also. For they scowre and rob all the hills and woods which lye between the Peucinians and Fennians. Yet these may rather be accounted Germanes, because they build houses, carry targets, and are good footmen. None of which the Sarmates doe use, but alwaies ride in chariot, or on horseback. The Fennians are very barbarous and beggerly: having neither armes, horses, nor houses; no food but herbes; no apparell but leather pelts; no bedding but the ground: having all their hope in their arrowes, which for want of iron, they head with bones. Man and woman liveth by the same hunting: for the Women follow, and aske for part of the prey. Young children have no other succour against wilde beasts, and hard weather, but some coverture made of boughes: that is the lodging of young and old. That they thinke to be more glorious and magnificall, then toyle in manuring the earth: and trouble themselves in buildings; and turmoyle betwixt hope and feare, about their owne and other mens goods. Thus secure against men and gods, they have won this hard point, that they need make no vows at all. The rest is fabulous, as that the *Hellusii*, and *Oxionæ*, have the vilage and countenance of men, but the bodies and members of beasts: which I leave as a thing to me unknowne.

THE
END OF NERO
AND BEGINNING
OF GALBA.

FOVRE BOOKES
OF
THE HISTORIES OF
Cornelius Tacitus.

THE LIFE OF .
AGRICOLA.

The sixth Edition.



LONDON,

Printed by J. L. for Richard Whitaker, and are to be
fold at the signe of the Kings Armes in *Pauls*
Church-yard. 1640.



TO
HER MOST SACRED
MAJESTIE.

HPresent here to your Majesties view my imperfections in their owne colours, and the excellencies of another man with much losse of their lustre, as being transported from their naturall light of the Latin by an unskilfull hand into a strange language, perchance not so fit to set out a peece drawne with so curious a penfill. The cause of undertaking a worke of this kinde was a good will in this scribbling age not to doe nothing, and a disproportion in the powers of my minde, nothing of mine owne invention being able to passe the censure of mine owne judgement, much lesse, I presumed, the judgement of others. The cause that I published it under your Majesties name and protection (beside the testification of my bounden duty) was the great account your Highnesse most worthily holdeth this History in; hoping thereby, that as some for the excellency of the wine, have liked also the lees, so it might peradventure please you, to accept into some degree of favour this worke as it is, though by chance from vessell to vessell having taken winde and lost his pleasing taste to the palate, yet retaining somewhat of his former strength, and much of his substance. But the principall cause was to incite your Majesty by this as by a foile to communicate to the world, if not those admirable compositions of your owne, yet at the least those most rare and excellent translations of Histories (if I may call them Translations, which have so infinitely exceeded the originals) making evident demonstration to all who have seene them, that as the great actions of Princes are the subject of stories, so stories composed or amended by Princes, are not only the best patterne and rule of great actions, but also the most naturall Registers thereof, the Writers being persons of like degree and of proportionable

proportionable conceits with the doers. And so wishing your Majesty either so much leisure your selfe, or a Tacitus to describe your most glorious raigne, I commit this Booke (whereof I claime nothing to my selfe but the faultis) to your most gracious patronage, and the curtesie of the Reader, from whom, at least from his hands that shall finish out the rest, I hope to finde both pardon for my faultis, and some pay for my paines.

The Almighty blesse your most excellent Majesty with a long, happy, and prosperow raigne, and the only true meanes thereof, many watchfull eyes to foresee, many valiant hands to fight, and many godly hearts to pray for the peace of your state.

Your sacred Majesties

most humble Subject and Servant,

HENRY SAVILE.



A. B. To the Reader.

Here is no treasure so much enriches the minde of man as learning; there is no learning so proper for the direction of the life of man as Historie; there is no historie (I speake only of prophane) so well worth the reading as *Tacitus*. For learning Nature acknowledgeth a reason, by leaving industry to finish her unperfect work: for without learning the conceit is like a fruitfull soile without tilling, the memorie like a storehouse without wares, the will like a ship without a rudder. For Historie, since we are easlier taught by example then by precept, what study can profit us so much, as that which gives patternes either to follow or to flye, of the best and worst men of all estates, countries, and times that ever were? For *Tacitus* I may say without partialitie, that he hath written the most matter with best conceit in fewest words of any Historiographer ancient or moderne. But he is hard. *Difficilia quæ pulchra*: the second reading over will please thee more then the first, and the third then the second. And if thy stomach be so tender as thou canst not digest *Tacitus* in his owne style, thou art beholding to *Savile*, who gives thee the same food, but with a pleasant and easie taste. In these foure bookes of the storie thou shalt see all the miseries of a torne and declining State: the Empire usurped; the Princes murdered; the people wavering; the souldiers tumultuous; nothing unlawfull to him that hath power, and nothing so unsafe as to be securely innocent. In *Galba* thou mayest learne, that a good Prince governed by evill ministers is as dangerous as if he were evill himselfe. By *Otho*, that the fortune of a rash man is *Torrenti similis*, which rises at an instant, and falls in a moment. By *Vitellius*, that he that hath no vertue can never be happy: for by his owne baseness he will lose all, which either fortune, or other mens labours have cast upon him. By

Vespasian, that in civill tumults an adviced patience, and opportunity well taken are the only weapons of advantage. In them all, and in the state of Rome under them, thou mayest see the calamities that follow civill warres, where lawes lye asleep, and all things are judged by the sword. If thou mislike their warres, be thankfull for thine owne peace; if thou doest abhorre their tyrannies, love and reverence thine owne wife, just, and excellent Prince. If thou doest detest their Anarchy, acknowledge our owne happy government, and thanke God for her, under whom *England* enjoyes as many benefits, as ever *Rome* did suffer miseries under the greatest tyrant.

THE END OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA.



Alerius Trachalus, and *Silius Italicus* being Consuls: *Cajus Julius Vindex*, Lieutenant of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, perceiving that private conspiracies against the person of *Nero* had been often intended and ever discovered, determined to give the first onset in armes and openly goe to the field. *Vindex* was by his Father of a Senators house, by birth French and extract from the line of their ancient Kings, of body puissant, quick of conceits, of a ready dispatch, skilfull in armes, and bold attempt: his province peaceable, and therefore utterly disarmed of forces: no Legion, no garrison under his government. Notwithstanding as in a body corrupt, and full of ill humours, the first paine that appeareth, be it never so slender, drawes on the rest, disquieteth old ages and straines, actuateth what else is unsound in the body: so in a state universally disliked, the first disorder dissolveth the whole. Tea and oft so it happeneth in both, the disease that grew first, and gave cause to the other, being recured, the rest notwithstanding worke out the finall destruction. Now *Vindex*, before he declared himselfe, well weighing the weakness of his state, and withall his owne person incapable of the Empire, as being but a stranger, without followers, without friends or allies among the Nobility, deliberated to cast it on some other man of more reputation, who also by neerenesse and strength might second his attempt. *Corbulo* was lately murdered by *Nero*; *Vespasian* farre off warring in *Iewry*: *Suetonius Paulinus* at home without army, the most famous men of that age for military matters. Of high *Germany* *Virginius Rufus* was Lieutenant, with three Legions, next neighbour to *Vindex*, only of a meane gentlemans house. In low *Germany* *Fonteius Capito*, with foure Legions, and *Clodius Macer* in *Africke* with a competent army, neither of them likely to repaire that which *Nero* had ruined. There remained then in armes *Servius Sulpitius Galba*, a man of great wealth and ancient Nobility, who had been eight yeeres Lieutenant in neerer *Spaine*, to the reasonable contentment of the countrey, with an host of one Legion, and the *Aydes* belonging thereto. Upon him *Vindex* finally resolving dispatcheth into *Spaine*, and other countries adjoining, severall letters declaring his purpose to the Lieutenants. *Galba*, in whom age had abated the heat of ambition, experience and dangerous times engendred a wary and fearefull proceeding, thought as then upon nothing lesse then diademes and kingdomes, having given himselfe over, for certaine yeeres past, to an idle and obscure kinde of life, sequestred as it were, and retired from affaires for feare of *Nero*; under whom to doe ill was not alwayes safe, alwayes unsafe to doe well, and of doing nothing no man constrained to yeeld an account. Whereupon the letters arriving, he stood much amazed, divided in minde what course he should follow: to trust them? peradventure it was but a traine: to disclose them and send them to *Nero*? that were indeed to put in his head an eternall jealousy, and himselfe into a needlesse perill: and perhaps also there might be good meaning. Whereupon in so doubtfull a case, the extremes seeming dangerous, he tooke the meane way, suppressing the letters, and not entering into the cause any further, reserving to governe himselfe in the rest, as events and occurrences should lead and direct him. The other Lieutenants sent all their letters to *Nero*, betraying *Vindex*, betraying the cause, whereof themselves anon were partakers.

Now *Vindex* certaine dayes after the Calends of March, though not fully assured,
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yet hoping well of Galbaes intent, and presuming good lucke to so good a meaning, assembled them of his province, such chiefly as were chiefe in their countrey for credit, and chiefly had bene touched in goods or in honour. To whom recounting in order the tyrannies of Nero, namely his paring of "France to the quicke, to the utter destruction of so many men, the universall decay of so goodly a countrey, he exhorted them all to take armes, to succour themselves, to succour the Romans, and to free the whole world from so heavy a yoke. Or if, which the gods forbid in so good a case, yet let us (quoth he) sell him our lives in the field with honour, seeing we cannot possesse them with safety. For another Prince (our broken state, and age voyde of vertue, not bearing a free common-wealth) we have here at hand, man of great birth, great wealth, and great forces, one that hath made honourable proofe of himselfe, at home, and abroad, in all respects worthy the place, Galba Lieutenant of "Arragon. If you like of the man, there remaineth then only we muste the countrey to the most that we may, without whose swords all talke of warre is but vaine, and this pernicieus. His demands being all accorded by common consent, he leueth a power, many men, and few souldiers, taken upon the sudden, not disciplined, not trained to the order of service; he publisheth edicts dissaming the person and government of Nero. Then causing Galba to be proclaimed, he writes him a letter, now, or else never, to declare himselfe in favour of mankind against that monster of Nature, to furnish the body of an hundred thousand French men in armes, and more if need were, of a head. The Sequani, Aedui, Aruerni, Remi, and the flower in a manner of France, were all of the party, conferring men, horse, armour, money, and what else was requisite for service in field. Rufinus, Flavius, Asiaticus with others were appointed Captaines, and Vienna seat of the Warre; whose next neighbours, and ancient enemies, the Lugdunenses banded themselves against them and the cause, or the cause for their sake. Many conflicts between them, and skirmishes during the warre, so thicke, and so hotly pursued, that one might perceive much private choler passe under the shadow of publike pretences. The Lingones likewise and Treveri, and some other Cities, forsaking their fellows, linked themselves with the Legions confining. Three Legions, as before it is said, with their aydes, Verginius had in his charge; who seeing all France on a fire, and that now of force he must either rebell with the rest, or warre with the rebels (for so they were styled till they prevailed) in private beholden, for publike respects misliking of Nero, no admirer of Galba, with Vindex proceeding highly displeased, the example being unscene, that a Province should be a Prince-maker, thus unresolved, resolving this only, that he would not be resolved by others, determined to stand on his Guard, and gathered his men about him in haste, valiant souldiers and expert in service, and likely to sway where they went.

Of the other side the Lieutenant of Aquitania, against the troubles of France, requested the assistance of Galba his neighbour, who then at new Carthage kept a law day: but none perceived how that he had taken a wrong addresse. For Galba receiving the letters of Vindex, and being advertised that warrant was out for his death to the Procurators, had debated the matter a fresh with his friends. Some unwilling to play their state at a cast, wist him to stay and attend to what head the humours in Rome new stirred would gather: as for the Procurators, they might be prevented; and warned is halfe armed. To Titus Vinus, then Lieutenant of the Legion, and anon chiefe in favour with Galba, that course seemed unsafe. Armed indeed (quoth he) for a while against a Procurator or two: nay, put case we could hang up these few in our places, shall we think, doe you think, for lack of a hangman? Give us armes against Nero, and then we are armed. But perhaps sith nothing is past on our part, he may be persuaded to call in his sentence againe. Even good Princes are jealous of soveraigne points, and that string being touched, have a quicke eare. They have bought it full deare which ignorantly have sate in their chaire of estate, that have worne their diademe to keepe it from wetting, or

upon

upon like occasion. Germanicus, as some here may remember, because one or two in the army had only a purpose to salute him Prince, was never well brooked, till by his owne death he had payed the price of other mens rashnesse. Corbulo, eventhat Corbulo, which had quieted Germany, subdued Armenia, broken the Parthian spirits, brought Arfaces line on his knees before Nero, after he had so highly deserved at his hands, it cost him his life, that some men in secret thought him a fit man to succeed. We are, as they say, openly proclaimed, we have an army in field: shall he then repent it, that never repented but when he did well? Let him looke that list for succours from Rome, where liberty is lost, fit men to free others. Galba and Vindex their swords and their armies must purchase our freedome. This opinion prevailing as possible to prove, but of force to be followed, a day was appointed by Galba, therein to dispatch the freeing of slaves. The Countrey came in at the day suspecting the matter, apt to receive any new impression. And Galba having placed of purpose before his tribunall, a mantle of images of great personages executed or banisht in Neros time, and fetched from exile a young noble man, out of the next Ilands, to stand by his seat, his army about him, spake in this wise. My fellow souldiers and friends, we are at this present assembled to enfranchise our bondmen, to bestow upon others that great benefit of liberty and freedome: which we our selves, whom both nature and fortune hath freed this long time, have small enjoyed. The life have led hitherto will sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring conceit, and my owne confidence beareth me witnesse, that I speake not upon any malice, or private respects. Is grievous to me to say, but it helps not to hide that which every man seeth. Hath even bondman under a cruel master passed a yeere of harder service, then we have done fourteene under Nero. What kinde of exaction hath he not proved to supply with extortion that which wish him he hath spent? What kinde of cruelty hath he not practised? If we should concele or seek to suppress it, these dumbe stones would declare them. Behold payoned his father and brother, abused and slaine his owne mother, murdered his wife, his master and what else so ever valiant or virtuous in Senate, in citie, in province, without any difference of sex, or of age. I neede not to speake of the sorrowfull sighes and bitter teares of so many young gentlemen bereft of their fathers, so many wives robbed of their husbands, so many great men deprived of their countrey, which cry vengeance upon such a Prince. A Prince? nay, an incendiary, a singer, a fidler, a stage player, a cart driver, a cryer, no Prince, nay no man, that hath a man to his husband, and a man to his wife, but a monster of mankind; against whom what Vindex in France hath already intended I am sure you doe know, and I, for my part, am most sorry to heare. The whole course of my former life hath bene otherwise removed from ambition in court, from ayming too high: and this little that remaines of my dayes I could heartily wish were spent in more ease. But sith, I know not by what my misfortune, some have imposed upon me a part, which I never meant to sustaine, and least of all at this age, I will not refuse, if you also approve it, to sacrifice this old carcasse of mine for the wealth of my countrey, not as Emperour, or Augustus, which sacred names I adore as farre off, not daring to approach them, but as---The speech was not finished, when the souldiers, and people with one common voyce interrupting, saluted him Emperour. Galba commending their zeale to the god of the Empire, and accepting the substance refused the name, terming himself Lieutenant of the Senate and people of Rome. Next care was to muster more men, to make good the revolt: the countrey was prest and souldiers came in of all hands: new Legions and Aides were enrolled, and to helpe at a need, a ship of Alexandria laden with armour, without master, without mariner, without passenger, arrived at the port: which accident, besides that the wrecke came in good season, increaseth to the cause reputation, as though against Nero the gods had furnished weapons from heaven. Then he ordained a Councell in forme of a Senate elected out of the

chieft

" Gallia.

" Hispania
Tarracoenensis.

chiefeſt and graveſt men of his traine, and a guard of young gentlemen to watch and ward at his lodging, he publiſhed edicts, and ſends them abroad to every province, exhorting them all to take armes, and concurre in common againſt the common enemy. Many revolted from Nero and came to the ſide: M. Salvius Otho with the firſt, then Lieutenant of "Portingall, bringing his jewels and plate, which Galba made intomoney.

In high Germany, the ſouldiers conſidering the weakeneſſe of Nero; that France had already rebelled; that Spaine made a Prince; that the reſt of the countries were likely to follow, if not all for the ſame, yet all againſt Nero: viewing their owne forces, and ſtrength now united, which before lay diſperſed in troupes and in bands, ſtrangers to Galba, and greatly diſdaining that one ſimple Legion ſhould impoſe them a Prince, finally concluded to make it their benefit, and beſtow the Empire themſelves. A ſit man they needed not ſecke farre off: Verginius Rufus the Lieutenant, though of a Gentlemans houſe, and no higher, in ſtrength of body, matters of action, and all other things excelled Galba: in birth what if Galba were better? Catulus the top of his kinne fled diſhonorably away in the Cimbrian warre, where Marius, beſetler borne then Verginius, worthily ſlucke to it, and ſaved the ſtate. Hereupon they goe and breake downe tumultuouſly the images of Nero, ſalute Verginius Prince, inſcribing his name in the banners. Verginius ſeeing the matter grow to a tumult, and being unable to reſiſt their violence, ſhewed to yeeld in ſome degree againſt Nero, but not for himſelfe, much leſſe any other named abroad. For his part he ſaid he had no need of the place, which all men beſide ſo greatly deſired: nor was not to ſuffer, but ſuch as by order of Senate ſhould be appointed: that they were the men to whom that election belonged, whoſe right he would ſurely maintaine againſt whomſoever. The ſouldiers being in part thus appeaſed, he commands the inſcription to be defaced, and with his whole army entreth France, pretending to warre againſt Vindex. The City of Bitunſon, which firſt reſuſed to receive him, he ſtraightway beſiegeth. Vindex to ſuccour the towne and levy the ſiege, or bid him battle, if it might be no better, with twenty thouſand men commeth againſt him. Lying encamped not farre aſunder, there paſſed letters betwene them: whereupon they ſecretly met and conferred together, none elſe being preſent on either ſide. Their concluſion was friendly, doubtleſſe joyne againſt Nero: ſome thought to ſet downe Galba alſo; and it was not unlikely. Thus departing as friends, each to his campe, Vindex ſecure as in a quarrell already compoſed, and nothing attending leſſe then the ſhocke, meaning to enter the towne, and reſpoſe his army with all his men made towards the gates. The ſouldiers of Germany lying at the walles, and perceiving the army approach, marching, as it ſeemed, directly upon them, not privy to their Generalls purpoſe, or not willing to loſe ſo faire an occaſion, raiſe out without bidding, and falling upon them at unawares and in diſarray, not able on a ſudden to remedy the error, as men newly trained, and unexpert in warre, ſlew them all in a manner, and ſpoiled the carriage. Vindex ſeeing the unluckie ſucceſſe of this unlooked for battell, having loſt in a manner the ſlowre of all France, and ſuſpecting fraude of Verginius ſide, as though he meant to entrap him, and ſend him to Nero, ranne himſelfe upon his owne ſword: may coming after beſtowed their blows upon the dead carcaſſe, ſeeking a colour for praife or reward if Nero prevailed. After this ſlaughter the ſouldiers preſſed Verginius againe to accept of the Empire, and embages came almoſt from every quarter requiring the ſame, with aſſured promiſe of all poſſible aſſiſtance, if not, ready to returne to Neros obedience: but Verginius bewailing the heavy miſhap of his unfortunate friends rejecteth the ſpeech, and marcheth forward in France. This end had Iulius Vindex, a man in the courſe of this action more vertuous then fortunate, who having no army provided, no legion, no ſouldier in charge, whiles others more able look on, firſt entred the liſt, challenging a Prince upholden with thirty Legions, rooted in the Empire by ſoure deſcents of

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anceſſors, and fourteene yeares continuance of reigne, not upon private deſpaire to ſet in combustion the ſtate, not to revenge, diſgrace, or diſhonour, not to eſtabliſh his owne ſoveraignty, things which have moved moſt men to attempt; but to redeeme his country from tyranny and bondage, which onely reſpect he regarded ſo much, that in reſpect hee regarded nothing of his own life or ſecurity. For when it was ſhewed him, that Nero by publike edict had prized his head as "ten thouſand and ſeventy ſcore; Well, quoth he againe, and he that kills Nero, "That is, about four- ſcore thou- ſand pound.

And though in this action fortune gave him the check, and by a ſtrange accident, which mans wiſedome could not foreſee, over- turned the enterpriſe, yet muſt we confeſſe, that Vindex firſt ſtirred the ſtone, which rowling along tumbled Nero out of his ſeat. Of Vindex revolts the firſt newes came to Nero at Naples, about the twentieth of March: whereof he made ſhew ſo lightly to ſet, that he would not vouchſafe once to intermit his accuſtomed paſtimes and pleaſures, but rather ſeemed to rejoyce, and embrace the occaſion, as falſely ſet ſilly to convert to his coſers by the law of armes the ſpoile of ſo large and ſo wealthy a country: as ſupper alſo receiving more letters of freſher advice, and certainer danger, which them onely ill chance, which thus by rebelling had troubled his drinking, and ſo for many dayes he neither wrote letter, nor gave out order for any diſpatch. At length through Vindex edicts, ſo thick and ſo biting, being awaked, he warned the Senate by letter to avenge his cauſe, and the common wealths, excuſing his abſence by reaſon of ſickeſſe. In Vindex edicts, ſupporting the reſt patiently, one thing above all troubled him moſt, that his ſkill was ſet aſide in playing: wherein he thought ſurely there was not his peere; eſpecially demanding of them about him, whether, without flattery, they knew any in that profeſſion more ſkilfull then him: by this then ſo manifeſt an untruth, in an Art that he had ſo painefullly laboured, perfectly learned, he willed them to eſteeme of the reſt. The Senate, receiving the letters, ſtuttering and fearing, adjudged Vindex a traitour, the ſelfe ſame men which ſoone after beſet him the like upon Nero. But urged by newes upon newes, at laſt in a fright he repayed to Rome: where not calling Senate nor people together, but ſome principall men to the Palace at ſome unreaſonable houre of the night, as to conſult of urgent affaires, he ſhewed them certaine conceits, and new ſtrange devices of muſick by water inſtruments diſcourſing of the manner and difficulty of each, and that he had found out a way to make them found both ſweeter and ſofter, and ſhortly meant to produce them in ſtage, if Vindex would give him leiſure to doe ſo. But hearing that Galba and Spaine had rebelled, he tare his clothes, beat his head, and could in no wiſe receive any comfort, till ſuch time as the Senate by decree had declared Galba enemy to the ſtate. Then reſuming courage, and ſome what revived with ſome rumours out of Germany, he returned to his riot and careleſſe licentious life, and putting Galbaes ſervants in priſon, ſeized his goods and ſet them to ſale. The like did Galba with Neros in Spaine, and found a great deale more ready chapmen.

Now as the tumult beganne, it is ſuppoſed credibly, that Nero had purpoſed to have made away all the governours of armies and provinces, as being conſpired againſt him; to murder all exiled perſons, leſt they ſhould joyne themſelves with the rebels; all French he would ſinde in the Citie, as being friends to the cauſe; to poiſon the Senate in banquet; to ſet a fire the Citie, turning the wilde beaſts among them which endeavoured to ſtop the courſe of the flame. But ſetting apart the device, not as diſliking, being ſo ſuteable to his pro- viding, but as deſpairing to bring it about, he determined a voyage in perſon, ſending before in the meane ſeaſon Petronius Turpilianus, and Rubrius Gallus with certaine others a- gainſt them. To furniſh the journey; his chiefe proviſion conſiſted in carriage for playing furniture in concubines ſhorne and polled as men, armed with hatchet and target according to the Amazonian faſhion. For muſtering of men there were but few able enrolled and

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most of them bondmen. Money was hardly and with much ado a little extorted. For whereas in time of civil scdition most neede is of money, and a wise Prince will least grieve the subject with new imposition, as seeming to stand in some sort at his courtiefe, and having to employ his body beside; Nero in peace no storer for warre, was forced then to offend, when he should in reason have sought to have worne, and yet raised lesse with more opposition then ever, reputation now waining, a contrary faction being on foot. As for policies, and plots of warre, he told his familiar friends, he had one most assured. As soon as he entered the province, he would venture himself unarmed amongst them, and with silence and teares move them to compassion, and so they returning to former obedience without more ado, he would the next day mornly sing, in that merry company, sonnets of victory, which he willed to be composed out of hand against the time came.

As Nero was thus busily occupied in making provision for the warre, against Galba and Vindex, letters were brought in at dinner of Virginus defection, and the rest of the armies. Whereupon in a desperate rage, he tare the letters, overturned the table, dashed two cups on the ground, which he dearely esteemed, and casting away all care of himselfe, notwithstanding the perill pressed no neerer, he called for poison, which he put up in a golden box, that his death at the least might be according to his estate, and so walked forth into the Servilian gardens. From thence he sent of his trusty servants to Ostia to make ready the ships, purposing to have fled with his friends into Egypt, and there to have taken himselfe to his musicke to get him a living: sottishly supposing in Egypt an imaginary surety to himselfe by his musicke, when he could not live safely Emperour at Rome. To that purpose founding the mindes of the Tribunes and Centurions of the Guard, and finding them some to draw backe, some flatly refuse to goe with him, one among others directly to tell him, that sure his best way were to make an end of himselfe, he was distracted into divers opinions, casting about what course he should follow: flect to the Partian, whom of late he had pleased? to Galba, who peradventure might pay his estate? or were it else better in lamentable sort and mournfull weed to goe out abroad, and in the place of common assembly, most humbly for that which was past demand pardon: or else if he could not obtaine it, that at least they would grant him the government of Egypt. This liked him best, and thereof he framed a speech, which afterwards was found in his papers: but fearing the people would pull him in pieces before he came to the place, he deferred the matter till the next morning.

Nymphidius Sabinus and Sophonius Tigellinus were Captaines of the Guard, preferred by Nero from nothing to that honourable place, and now the first to forsake him. But Tigellinus, as a person infamous and generally hated, prevailed not much; Sabinus had the credit with the souldier: who affirming that Nero was already fled into Egypt, and promising donative in Galbaes name * of thirty thousand sesterces a man, and * five thousand to the souldier abroad, much more then would or could be performed, easily manne them to leave him, who had as they thought already left them, and so to pronounce Galba Emperour, not upon any speciall liking they had to the man above others, but whilst some doubted, some other denied, Galba pretending directly the suit, and no considerer appearing, they were content to accept him for Prince. Their fellows which warded that night foreseeing the issue, and coveting in this creation of the new Prince a part with the rest, left Nero asleepe alone in the garden. Who being awaked about midnight, understanding his Guard was departed, leapt out of his bed, and sent about for his friends: from whom receiving no answer, he with a few went to their lodgings himselfe. The great Monarch of the World, adored erewhile as a god, attended upon and guarded by thousands of friends, of servants, now as a page knocking at doores findeth all shut against his unfortunate state. Thus in adversity destitute of

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aid, of counsell or comfort of friends, hee returneth home, where finding his chamber rifled, the chamberlaines fled, his box of poison removed away, he sought for Spicillus the "fencer or some of his sort, by whose hands hee might be dispatched: and finding none, "Gladiator. wanting alike both friends and Fees, he ranne desperately out, as though hee would have throwne himselfe headlong into the Tiber: but his heart failing he repressed his pace, and thereupon desiring some secret place to recall his wits, and resume courage againe, Phaon his freed man offered his house foure miles off in the country, which Nero accepted, and so accompanied with foure men onely, Phaon, Epaphroditus, Sponus and Neophytus, sleech away badly appavelled, and worse mounted, covering his head and hiding his face with a handkercheffe. As he was in the way out of his Citie, approaching the campe of the Guard, he heard the souldiers shouting and wishing good lucke unto Galba, and ill to himselfe. In riding along, his horse starting aside, his face was discovered, and he known and saluted by one of the Guard which met him by chance. Whereupon forsaking horse and highway, thorow bushes and briers, he crept in at the last into a thicket of reeds on the back side of Phons same house, who perswading Nero in the meane while to sit in a pit out of the which sund had beene digged, he refused that favour, denying to goe alive under ground, and so cast himselfe downe close in the reeds till they had beaten a hole in the wall, thorow which Nero upon all foure crept into the backside, calling himselfe upon a simple paller in a backroom.

Whilst Nero thus lurked, the Senate assembled in counsell declare him enemy of the state, and punishable more majorum, sending out to seeke him and bring him alive. Concerning the choise of a new, although in their secret opinions Virginus deserved to resume the benefit which he had put into their hands, yet being not willing to enter into further troubles, and raise up new civil warre, without which Galba, who had already foreprized the place could not be set downe, following the souldiers example they onely agree all upon Galba. By this time they about Nero were instant upon him to rid himselfe quickly out of the contumelies and indignities, which anon he should be forced to endure. To whom yielding himselfe, he commands to make ready for the funerals, weeping and waiting at every word, what great pitie it was, that so good a Minstrell should be cast away. In the meane season, certaine letters which were brought to Phaon from Rome he snatched away, and finding therein the Senates decree, demanded what more majorum meant for that piece of Law he had never perused: understanding it was that his neck should be loked in a forke, and himselfe whipped naked to death, having in horrow so shamefull an end, he took up two rapiers which he had brought with him, and trying the points how sharpe they were, put them up againe, desiring some of them to beginne and throw him the way to be mansfull, but desiring veronious example out of so vicious a schoole, a Court so corrupt, he desired in vaine. And now the horsemen sent by the Senate approached, which Nero perceiving, by feare encouraged, ran himselfe thorow, Epaphroditus his secretary at his request helping to dispatch him the sooner, for which service he was afterwards put to death by Domitian, who thought not meete to suffer any to live, which had in any sort lent his hand to the death of a Prince. Thus Nero a Prince in life contemptible, and basefull in government, having thereby disarmed himselfe both of the love and feare of his subjects, ended his daies the eighth of June in the one and thirtieth yeare of his age, and fourteenth of his Empire, at the first having ruled the state with reasonable liking, in somuch that Trajan was wont to say, that even good Princes were short of Neros five yeare: but after breaking forth into all infamous behaviour, and detestable oppressions and cruelties, and being withall a Prince weak in action, not of vertue sufficient to uphold his vices by night, hee was at the length thus overthrown.

Nero being blame, the people and Gentlemen, but principally the Nobilitie, the principall

* 24. l. 5.
6. pence.
* 39. lib. i. s.
3. pence.

capall object of tyranny, sacrificed to the gods and feasted for joy : some also ware Bonnets, as being newly enfranchised. The Senate assembled again, decreeth thanks to Nymphidius in most exquisite manner, extolling his high wisdom and tender care over the state: constituteth to Galba all princely prerogatives and imperial titles, making thereof a publicke instrument, which the Consuls sent him in post : and moreover concluded upon a solemne Embassage of honourable personages with instructions, beside congratulations and complements, humbly to desire with speed his presence at Rome. Then was it purposed, that information might proceed against the accusers. The matter concerned some mighty men which had lived in times past by the losse of their neighbours, and touched somewhat a secret of State. And verthrowing and abolishing the instruments of the Empire. Notwithstanding their doings were so much detested, and the memory of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by voice in Senate, making them all with the rest of the ministers of Neros tyranny, punishable more majorum : but was onely executed against some base persons, which had gained but little, and done little harme : the principall malefactors brake thereon well enough, and escaped the danger.

While matters thus passed in France and at Rome, in Spaine Galbaes souldiers in part were in termes to forsake him, and hardly reclaimed. About the same time also a freedman of Nero had bestowed upon Galba a present of bondmen prepared for a practise: who according to their instructions watching opportunities, as Galba by a narrow passage entered the bath, using their tongues, when time was, for hands, and exhorting one another not to let slip the occasion, were suddenly apprehended, and being examined what occasion they meant, and put to the rack, confessed the treason. Anon after these hazards so hardly escaped, and came to Galba of Vindex death, and that upon so great a victory most men were wilning to take the Empire upon him, or else would return to joyn in defence of the extremely afraid writes to Verginius, beseeching him most instantly to joyn in defence of the liberty and Empire of Rome: himselfe notwithstanding as destitute and forlorne, and weary of the world that went so against him, leaving Vinus Lieutenant in the army, retireth to Clunia, repenting of that he had done, and wishing againe his private estate, as though in this case there were any meane between highest and nothing. Thus being distressed and anguished in minde without any care of himselfe, or the cause, in very good season comes Icelus his freedman from Rome in seven daies thither, reporting that Nero being yet alive, but not to be found, the souldier, the Senate and people had pronounced Galba Prince, that straight thereupon Nero was said to be slaine, but himselfe not believing it, went to the place, saw him lie dead, and so came his way. Two daies after Vinus came from the campe, declaring him the particular points of the Senates decree. Galba receiving the news with great joy, as greatly above expectation, priviledgeth Icelus to weare gold rings, advanceth Vinus to the chiefe place in credit about him : and laying aside the name of Lieutenant, assumeth the title of Caesar, preferreth Cornelius Laco to be Capitaine of his Guard, and judging his presence necessary to settle the state, giveth out order for his voyage to Rome with his army by land.

Now at Rome Nymphidius making his count that Neros fall was his onely deed, that no recompence is sufficient for bestowing the diademe but the diademe, that Galba was old, and scarce could last out in a little to Rome, not by degrees, but with a maine course drew all to himselfe. The Guard in respect of their donative, were at his devotion, to be employed as he should direct them. The Lords of the Senate courted him daily, and seemed to depend wholly upon him. Whereupon usurping authoritie ndue to his place, he commands by and by Tigillinus his companion to put off his sword and surcease from his office. The Consuls upon a displeasure, that they had lent the publicke patents not by his souldiers, not signed with his seale, the carriers commission, he had once determined to have deprived

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And laying the plot for himselfe he biddeth to banquet the principall men of the City : he sets under hand to put in the souldiers heads to present supplication to Galba, to establish Nymphidius capitaine for life without any fellow. To pleasure the people and get the good will of the commons, he permits them to vex and torment whom they could catch of Neros crew. Spicillius the "fencer they tyed under the images of Nero, trailed him along the streets, and dispatcht him in the place of publicke assemblee, Aponius an accuser, they overthrew, and drew carts loaden with stones over his bodie, beside many other outraged and slaine, and some, as it happeneth where thereine is let loose to the furious multitude, innocently : insomuch that in Senate a grave and honourable counsellor openly protested, that in short time there would be great cause to wish Nero againe, as being more tolerable one tyrant then many, and better to live where nothing then where all things were lawfull. Thus Nymphidius, sonne to Nymphidia a libertine and old servant in court, and Martianus a sencer, secretly aspired to the Empire, working in Rome by certaine gracious women and Senators, and sending to Spaine Gellianus one of his friends to espye the proceedings and actions of Galba.

Macer in Africke, the state being troubled, mustered men, and pretended for himselfe; but being for avarice, and cruelitie hated extremely, and finding no followers, could neither maintaine it with strength, nor leave it with safety. Galvia Crispinilla Neros schoole-mistresse in matter of pleasure and lust, when Nero was dead, misdoubting mischances, sailed into Africk, by her advise Macer best the sea-coasts, and forbade any corne should be transported, meaning to famish the Citie of Rome. Fonteius Capitaine, Lieutenant of low Germanie, some thought had a meaning also for himselfe. Certaine it is that sitting in judgement, the partie aggrieved appealing to Caesar, he skipped out of the seate where he sate, into a chaire of estate set up on high, and then bade him tell on his tale before Caesar. But Fabius Valens, Lieutenant there of a Legion, greatly befriending Galbaes part, swore to him first he with his company, and the rest of the army followed the example, Verginius, the onely concurrent of Galba in speech of the people, having overthrowne Vindex, and mastered France, notwithstanding his souldiers after the death of Nero was knowne, pressed him againe in such vehement sort, that one of the Tribunes drawing his sword, willed him to accept of it or the Empire, persisted constantly in his first resolution : and receiving anon advice of the Senates decree, himselfe most willingly, his souldiers hardly, and with much ado were perswaded fith lower Germanie had sworne to swear allegiance to Galba. The rest of the Provinces without any difficultie accepted him all.

Now Galba disposing as Prince the affaires of the Empire, fineth the Cities of Spaine, which were not so forward to further the cause, and some he dismantled: certaine Procuratours and officers he putteth to death, their wives and their children, a cruelitie practised no not by Nero, much lesse expected in Galbaes beginnings. He directeth out warrant to Trebonius Garrucianus Procuratour of Africa to put Macer to death, dismise the Legion lately mustered, and quiet the Countrey : and appoints in Verginius place Hordoneus Flaccus Lieutenant in Germany. Then with cast-armor on backe a sickly old man, himselfe and his men in warlike order march over the mountaines. The Cities of France that tooke part against Vindex be punished with losse of revenew and Countrey : the rest were relieved, their tributes a quarter abated, themselves made Citizens of Rome by means of their money, and Vinus, who carrying an ill minde, and serving in great place a weak master, made open sale of his Princes free graces and favours. At Narbon the Embassadors sent from the Senate met him in a dutifull manner, whom Galba received courteously with friendly

friendly and familiar speeches and feasted in sober sort all with his owne, though otherwise he had plenty there of Neros waiters and service sent by Nymphidius. But anone Vinus which wholly possessed and governed the old man, counselled him to put off popularitie as not becoming his place, to accept of Neros provision, and to become royal in expence and service. Per- ginius having delivered the army to his successor met Galba on the way, received of him not as in displeasure, and yet with small honour. So dangerous a point it is yeato have but only refused the Empire.

As Gallianus returne Nymphidius hearing that Laco was Captaine already, that Vinus had all the authoritie and credit, that his messenger was suspected and watched of all, not suffered to talke with the Prince in private, not once to approach to his person, was wonderfully moved in minde. Whereupon assembling the chiefe of the Guard, he shewed them, that Galba was for his owne part a good harmlesse old man, but misse-led by two persons much of Tigellinus making, Vinus and Laco: and therefore it were not amisse to send one or two in the name of the whole to make him remonstrance, that remooving away these two from about him he should be more welcome, and better accepted. This speech seeming strange and absurd, to prescribe to a Prince of those yeeres, as it were to an infant, his counsell and servants, he taketh a contrary course, and writeth to Galba in terrifying manner, That the matters at Rome were doubtfull and dangerous, that Macer in Africke had slayed the Ships, the Legions of Germanie stirred anew, the like was reported from Lemrie and Syria. But perceiving that Galba gave to his tales small care and lesse credit, and having the soldiers all well affected, he determined to prevent and give the attempt, notwithstanding that Claudius Celsus a sober wise man and one of his friends plainly protested, that in his opinion scarce any three persons in Rome would accept him for Emperour: but the rest scoffed out, named one Mithridates of Pontus, Perhaps, quoth he, Galba seemes some body new to the Romanes, whilst he is absent, but when they shall see that bald head, and rivelled face, he will seeme the very reproach and disgrace of the dayes in which he was Prince. And so they concluded at midnight following to bring Nymphidius into the campe and proclaim him Emperour. But when the Evening was come, Antonius Honoratus principall Tribune assembling the soldiers under his charge, demanded what evil spirit had bereaved them of understanding, mooving them so suddenly and without cause to change their allegiance. If Nero deserved it, what mother, what wife, had Galba then killed? or for what misdemeanour would they forsake Servius Galba to preferre a Curtizans sonne? with whose blond they should ere it bee long, if they would bee directed by him, both revenge Neros death, whom he first betrayed, and shew themselves loyall to Galba, against whom he intendeth: willing them lastly to reckon in reason what successe might renne thoust and attend against the consent of the Empire armed for Galba. His soldiers then being perswaded, perswaded the rest all in a manner to remaine in Galbaes obedience. Whereupon a shout being made in the campe, Nymphidius supposing the soldiers had called him, or halting to confirme the wavering, and prevent the tumult, went thither himselfe with torches and linkes, having learned without Booke an oration composed by Cingonius Varro, to pronounce there among them. But finding the Gates of the campe made fast, and soldiers in armes on the walles, hee feared the matter, and drawing neere demanded what they meant, and by whose warrant they had put themselves so in armes. And when it was answered by all agreedly, that they knew not, nor would not accept other Prince beside Galba, Nymphidius finding the perill, joynd with them, and wished also long life and prosperitie to Galba. Augustus commanding his followers to doe all the like. And so by the soldiers, which guarded the Gates, being admitted with a few of his traine, he was at his entrie welcomed in with a dart hurled at him, which one Septimius bare off with a buckler. But seeing so many at the recit with naked swords prepared against

against him, he fled, and being pursued was slaine at the length in a souldiers cabin. The day following his body was laied out to view in an open place railled about.

Galba being yet in his way and hearing of Nymphidius death, commanded the rest of his favourers and complices to be executed: among which Mithridates of Pontus paid for his mirth, and Cingonius Varro who penned the oration. As Galba drew neere to the City at the Milvian bridge, the Mariners met him, whom being by Nero taken from service by sea, and involved into a Legion, Galba had commanded to return to their former estate. But they being many in number, and loath to go back to the Gallies againe, beset the high way on both sides, demanding their Eagle and ensignes tumultuously, and so without order, that the Prince could neither be heard nor seen of the people making his entrie: neither could he appease them by putting them over to another time of greater leisure and better audience, but taking deterring as a kinde of denying, seditiously they murmured and followed with out-cries. And some of them also drew out their swords, as though they would obtaine it by force, which by faire means they could not. Whereupon Galba commanding the horsemen to ride in amongst them, flow of them being unarmed seven thousand, and of the residue allotted every tenth man to suffer, putting the rest close up in prison, which neverthelesse he after enlarged to his disadvantage.

Now Galba, being with generall applause and great good liking of the Empire placed in state, behaved himselfe under expectation. And though in most points he shewed himselfe a vertuous Prince, yet were not his well doings so well accepted, as those disallowed which were otherwise. All persons unjustly exiled by Nero, as well of the Nobility as meaner sort, with their children he mercifully restored againe to their country and honour, though not to their wealth. Contrarily Petronius Turpilianus, an ancient man and once Consull, without forme of processe or order of law, hee commanded to die, being charged with no other crime, but only that he had bene faithfull to Nero, and would not betray him as the rest. Then was represented a plausible and grateful spectacle, Elius Polyclethus, Locusta, Patrobinus, Petinus and others in fetters drawne through the City and publickly executed, as ministers of Nero in mischiefs, whereas Tigellinus the Master, not without notable congruities, was by Galba protected. And notwithstanding the people in Theatres and all common assemblies least not importunately to demand his death, as an accomplishment of due and exemplary justice pleasing to God and to man, yet gold with Vinus and Vinus with Galba weighed so much, that not onely he received undeserved protection, but also for his sake the people were rebuked by publick edit. Whereupon Tigellinus solemnizing the feast of his deliverance, Vinus rose from supper with Galba and went thither with Crispina his daughter to banquet, upon whom Tigellinus bestowed a courtesie of * a thousand and seesterces in ready money, and beside all the jewels and Carcanets of his principall minion which sat there at table, by estimation * six hundred thousand seesterces. Beside Tigellinus one Halotus of all Neros instruments the most pernicious, was likewise by Galba protected, and preferred also to an honorable office. Now for neereresse Galba was noted extremely, a vice though incident to age, yet doublelesse in a Prince much disliked, and in a new Prince dangerous. To a certaine Musician which had wonderfully pleased, hee gave with his owne hands out of his owne purse * twenty seesterces: and to his Steward at themking up of his Bookes a reward from his Table. But that which was most materiall of all, and prepared the way to his fall, was his hardnesse towards the soldiers: to whom large donative being promised in Galbaes name, and requiring if not so much, yet so much at least as they were wont to receive, he wholly refused the suit: adding withall, That souldiers he took up in the muster, bought not in the market. A saying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous age, but not so in those

* That is a
about eight
thousand
pound English.
* Almost five
thousand
pound.

* Three thou-
ling's English.

III. The state of the City and provinces at the beginning of the year,
when Galba and Vinus entered their office.

THe death of Nero, as it was a the first very joyfully received, so wrought it anon very divers effects in the mindes of the Senate at home; the people and City-souldier, and of all the Legions, and captains abroad, perceiving the secret of state disclosed, that a Prince might be made elsewhere then at Rome. The Lords of the Senate were glad, finding their liberty straightway put in practise, making indeed very bold with their Prince, as being new in state, and away: next were the principall Gentlemen as in degree, so in rejoycing; of the people the souldier fort, and such as were linked with great houses, the followers and freed-men of condemned and exiled persons were raised to hope: the base people nosed up in the * Race and Theaters, together with the worst sort of bondmen, and those which having eaten their owne, lived onely now upon Neroes dishonours, hung downe the head, and listned for novelties. The City-souldiers possessed with the oath of allegiance so many descents ^a to the house of the Cæsars, and to forsake Nero being wrought rather by art and cunning perswasion of others, then of their owne motion, when they saw the donative, which was promised them in Galbaes name, not to be performed, nor the like possibilitie and meanes of great desert, and great gaine in peace, as in warre, seeing also their thanks prevented by the Legions, who first proclaimed the new Prince: upon these and the like respects being prone to innovation, they were pricked forward by meanes of Nymphidius Sabinus their capitaine, who by treason aspired himselfe to the Empire. And though Nymphidius was in the very attempt suppressed, and the head cut off thereby of the treason; yet there remained many of the souldiers guilty of the fact, and hating him whom they had wronged. Moreover speeches were given out, noting the age and avarice of Galba. His severity, which was wont to be highly commended by the common voyce of the souldier, was now displeasing to them, who were generally weary of the ancient discipline, and so trained up by Nero fourteen years, that now they loved their Emperours no lesse for their vices, then once they revered them for their vertues. And Galba had let fall a speech honourable indeed for the common-wealth, but for himselfe dangerous, That souldiers he took up in the muster, bought not in the market: for the rest of his doings were not according. His two favorites, Titus Vinius, and Cornelius Laco, the one of all mortall men most unhoneft, the other most unable, with the hatefullnesse of their lewd actions surcharged, & with the contempt of their insufficiencie, utterly overthrew the lilly old man. His journey to Rome ⁴ was slow and bloudy: for by his commandement Cingonius Varro Consull elect, and Petronius Turpilianus who ⁵ had bene Consull, were both put to death: Cingonius, as an associate of Nymphidius, the other as one of Neroes ⁶ Captaines: who ⁷ howsoever they deserved it, dying as they did, not called, nor heard, died as guiltlesse. His entrie into the City, when as lo many thousands of unarmed souldiers were put to the sword, seemed an unluckie beginning, and was had in horror, even of those which executed the slaughter. The Citie was full of extraordinary souldiers: Galba ⁸ brought in the Spanish Legion, and there remained another, which Nero had gathered out of the Navie, beside many companies out of the Legions of Germanie, Britannie, and Illyricum, which Nero had selected, and sent before to the ⁹ straits of the Caspian mountaines, for the warre intended with the Albanes, and afterward called againe to employ

* Circa ad Theatrum.

* Tac. 14. Ann. Praetorius totum Caesarem domum obstrictum.

^a In this verse reported by Suetonius: Difficile mulieris e; Galba est, non Getaulius. Galbae. cap. 6.

⁴ Annus in consilio 84.

⁵ Against Galba. Zoster.

⁶ Edictum capite.

⁷ et deinde perit.

⁸ Annus in consilio 84.

⁹ et deinde perit.

¹⁰ et deinde perit.

employ against Vindex: matter enough for invocation, though not greatly in favour of any, yet ready prepared for him that would venture. By chance the news came together that Clodius Macer, and Fonteius Capito were slaine. Macer without question had begun to worke troubles in Africke, and was by Trebonius Garucianus the Procurator dispatched, by commandment from Galba: Capito in Germany attempting the like, Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens (7) Lieutenants of Legions, flew without warrant. Some men were of opinion that Capito (though otherwise for extortion and vicious living very infamous) was nevertheless not guiltie of treason: but that the Lieutenants having moved him to undertake the matter against Galba, and seeing they could not induce him, took a new course, preferring accusation against him, and consequently killing him for the crime whereof themselves were the hatchers: and so Galba either upon a fickle disposition, or as being loth to search any deeper, did give allowance to that which was done howsoever, sith it could not be undone: but surely both the executions were greatly miliked, as in a prince once in obloquie, do he well do he ill, all is ill taken. Now his freedmen being over mightie, made open sale of all matters: his bondmen greedy upon present advantage, and hasty, as being under a master that was old, and not like long to continue: in summe the faults in the new court being but the same, and of the like nature, yet were not excused alike, the very age of Galba was matter of scorne and contempt to them that were used to Neroes fresh youth, comparing the Princes, as the manner is of the common sort, in beautie and comeliness of presence. And this was at Rome, as in such a varietie, the state of mens mindes. Now for the ⁸ provinces abroad, ⁹ of Spain Cluvius Rufus was president, a person very eloquent, and for service in peace able, in warre unexpert. Those of Gallia, beside the memory of Vindex, were another way assured to Galba, being of late by him made citizens of Rome, and released of part of their tribute for the time to come; only the cities which lay neere the armies of Germany, having not the like honour done, yea & some beside having part of their territory taken away, were aggrieved as well with their fellows benefits, as with their own wrongs. The souldiers of Germany (a perillous matter in so mightie armies) swelled with pride upon their late victory, and again, as having supported in some degree the contrary side, were perplexed with feare, they were slow in revolting from Nero: neither did Verginius declare himself at the first for Galba: whether he desired the Empire himself, or no, was a question: without question his souldiers made him a profer. The death of Fonteius Capito even they ¹⁰ stomached, that could not justly complain: onely there wanted an head, Verginius being sent for away under colour of friendship: whom when they saw not to be sent back, and moreover his doings ¹¹ called in question, they took it all as their own case. The army of upper Germany made light reckoning of Hordeonius Flaccus their Lieutenant, a man aged and gowtie, without resolution, without authoritie, unable to rule a quieter company, now being in fury, and finding him weak to govern the bridle, they stirred and troubled the more. The legions of lower Germany were a while without a Lieutenant generally, till at length Vitellius came, sent by Galba, the sonne of Vitellius which had been Cenfor, and thrice Consull: that seemed sufficient. The armie in Britanny was quiet, and in truth among all the legions, in all those civil troubles, none behaved themselves ¹² more innocently: whether it was, that they were farre off, and severed by sea, or that by continuall exploits against the enemy, the malice of their humour was spent otherwise. Illyricum also stirred not, although the Legions which Nero had called thence, while they lingred in Italy, had sent to Verginius to offer

Crimes ac deum: in another place, crimes ac non infidias, so that delatum consensum esse. Nemine here to be equivalent to deus.

g. Those he meant, as I think that had given out his new as traitorous, or otherwise conspired to his death.

h. *Stipem etiam remisse*: not judicially, that I can finde.

i. *Immunis fuit* Pharus.

k. *Illos videtur*: that is, to Galba to send him Lieutenant, or to the souldiers to have a liking to make him their Emperor, being ill well born.

l. And yet they joynd themselves with Vitellius, as if they were Britanice exercitus Vitellius.

* *Crispina.*

a *Patricii gellam
men Orthon.*
Juvenal. Sat. 11.
b *Per iborithum
aulicum infuam
tui Neronis, facile
sumum inter
mices lecam tenui-
ta, congruentia
morum.*
Suet. Orb. c. 2.
c *Delagis Nerone
in aurorem. Aile,
ajumpto in con-
fessionem Orthon*
Gr. Ann. 13.
d *At Senecae
intreating: Plu-
Ann. 13. Delat-
tore famulitate
facis, post con-
gruam, et comen-
ta Orthon, pif-
ma ne in uile
culmate agere,
provincia Lyfina
na praefici, ubi
uifque ad Lyfina
arman ne pite
infantia, fe in-
tegre, fawleque
tyle, pite uile
poteftatem tem-
perantior.*
e *Præfatus urbi-
e Sueton. cap. 7.
fome what diffe-
ring from Tac-
tus writeth, pif-
nem repute e me-
dit. fedatantim
torta appropi-
dit, fitu uile ap-
pellatur, in ciffa
pro-dacit.*

f *To this laying
alluded as it may
feeme, Dapala-
you maket of
the horfe to Vi-
lentinian the Em-
perours, who be-
ing demanded in
counfell by his
mafter, what
partner he were
belle to affume
of the Empire,
answered briefly,
Si tuus armis habet
patrem, fi temp-
dium quere.
Marcellin. l. 26.*

partie, suspecting the counsell of Vinus as partiall and grounded upon a marriage pretended between * his daughter being a widow, and Otho an unmarried man; a matter wherewith the eares of the Prince, by reason of tale-carriers in court, were not unacquainted. I think also that Galba was touched in part with care of the common-wealth, which might seem in vaine transferred from Nero, if it were to be left upon Otho. For Otho had spent his tender years without ^a regard of his honour, his youth afterward in all dissolute disorder, ^b in grace with Nero ^c through emulation of vice: and therefore Nero had left in his custody, as with one that was ^d privy to his lusts, ^e Poppæa Sabina his principall minion, till he had dispatched his hands of Octavia his wife: soon after upon an apprehension of jealousy, he sent him ^f away into Lusitania, colourably to be Lieutenant there. Otho having governed the Province with all curtesie, and being the first that came into Galba, and therewith a man of action, and of those which were present during the war of greatest account, readily conceived hope of adoption, and dayly took himselfe better assured, being well favoured of most of the souldiers, and greatly beloved of Neros court, as one like to their late master. But Galba after the news of the German rebellion, although of Vitellius as yet he understood no certainty, being doubtfull to what issue this violent proceeding of the Armies would grow, and reposing no trust in the City-souldier, proceedeth to declare a successeur, the onely stay, as he supposed, of his estate. And calling to him Lucianus was to be sent for, either upon his own choice, or as some have reported, at the instance of Laco: who cunningly preferred him as a meere stranger to himselfe, whereas indeed they had in Rubellius Plautus house, had long acquaintance together, and the good opinion which went generally of Piso, gave credit to his counsell. Piso was sonne to Marcus Craffus, and Scribonia, nobly borne on both sides; in countenance and presence (after the ancient fort, rightly to judge) severe; but to them which interpreted all to the worst, seeming too fowre. That quality of his, the more it was by some men, carefull in that behalfe, misdoubted and feared, the better it pleased the man, who was to adopt him. So Galba taking Piso by the hand, is said to have spoken in this manner.

If I should as a private man only, by an act of the Curia and assent of the Priests, as the manner is, adopt you, it would be both an honour for me, to take in my family the progenie of Marcus Craffus and Pompey, and a glory for you, to adjoyne the honourable encrease of the Sulpician and Lutatian houses to your own nobility. But now being by the consent of gods and men called to the Empire, I am moved by your rare towardnes, and the love I beare to my country, to offer unto you, without your trouble, the princes place, that, for which our attempts have contended in armes, which by armes my selfe have obtained: following herein the example of Augustus, who placed in estate next to himselfe, first Marcellus his sisters sonne, afterward Agrippa his sonne in law, then his daughters sonnes, and lastly his wives sonne Tiberius Nero. But Augustus, as it seemeth, fought a successeur in his family, and I ^a in the common wealth. Not that I lack some, neare me in blood, or companions in armes, whom I could respect: but neither did I by ambition attaine to the Empire, and of my judgement herein may be proove, not only mine own friends passed over, but yours also. A brother you have, noble alike, in years before you, well worthy of this honour, were not you the more worthy. Your yeares are such, as are fetled from the affections of youth, and so spent; as

nothing

"nothing past needeth excuse. Hitherto you have tasted onely of aduerse fortune: "prosperity searcheth more deeply the mind; for miseries are borne with patience, "felicity corrupteth. Integrity, friendship, round and free dealing, the principall "gift of the mind, you for your part, no doubt will retain as heretofore, but in o- "thers towards you, in respect of your degree, you shall finde it to be otherwise: "flattery will break in, and pleasing speeches, and the most pestilent poison of all "true meaning, private respects for private advantage. We two this day common "plainly together, others rather talk with our estate, then our persons: for indeed to "perswade a Prince that which is meet, is a point of some pain, to flatter any Prince "whatsoever, needeth small endeavour. If this vast body of the Empire could stand "without governor balanced in due proportion & order, the free Common-wealth "might worthily have taken beginning from me: but now it is come long agoe to "that passe, that neither mine age can benefit the people of Rome any way more, "then in finding them a good successeur, nor your youth, then in yielding them a "good Prince. Under Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, we have been as it were the in- "heritance of one only ^b family: it will be in stead of liberty, that we begin to suc- "ceed by election: and now the Julian and Claudian lines be spent; adoption will "kill finde out of the best: for to be descended of Princes, is a matter of meere for- "tune, and so is esteemed: in adoptions our judgement is most incorrupt, and fel- "domest abused, and if we will choose of the fittest, the voice of the most will point "in our man. Set Nero before your eyes, whom, being descended of so many Cæ- "sars, his own infamous life and intolerable cruelty cast out of state, nor Viudex "with an unarmed Province, nor I with ^c one Legion: neither was there before a "precedent of any Prince by publick sentence deposed. We that came in, not by "defect, but called in by war and opinion of desert, how honorably soever we carry "our selves, yet shall we be sure to have our enuiours. And yet be not dismayed, if in "this troubled and shaken estate of the world, one Legion or two be not yet fetled. "I my selfe found not all so sure at the first: and when this adoption shall be heard of "abroad, I ^d shall cease to seem an old man, the only exception they take now against "me. Nero shall doubtlesse be missed, and wished alwaies among the lewd fort; you "and I must provide, left good men also do with him again. To admonish you long- "er is not for this time, and all my intent is fully performed, if I have, as I hope, "chosen aright. The surest and shortest rule to fort our good men from evill, is to "waigh what your selfe would under another Prince have allowed or blamed: for "you have not here, as in kingdomes, a certain race borne to sovereignty, and the "rest to be slaves; but you are to govern a people, which cannot bear, neither bon- "dage, nor liberty meere without mixture.

These and the like words Galba used as ^e creating a Prince, but the rest that were present, spake as to a Prince already created. Piso is said to have uttered no motion, as of a minde either troubled or excessive in joy, neither then nor afterward when every mans eyes were fixed upon him. His speech to his father, and soveraigne was respective, and reverent; concerning himselfe very modest: in countenance and gestures not changed, shewing himselfe rather ^f able to furnish the place, then desirous. Then consultation was had, where the adoption should be pronounced; ^g before the people, in the Senate, or in the camp, the camp was preferred, to honour the souldier thereby, whose good will and favour, as it was by money and crowning not to be bought, so got by good meanes would not be contemned. In the meane season ^h Publicke expectation, which suffereth not any great secret long to be secret, had as it were, beset the Palace about: and the same finding an issue, was af- terward

g *To wit, Sextus
Tac. 3. Hil-
lari, principem Gal-
bam fecit legimus
antioritate festum.*

h *That is, Galba
by way of in-
struction: the
rest flattering
and fawning.*

i *Tac. 3. Hil-
lari, principem Gal-
bam fecit legimus
antioritate festum.*
j *Pro respice, that
is, unto the peo-
ple assembled in
concione.*

terward by suppressing encreased. The tenth of January fell out to be stormy, with great thunder, lightnings, and extraordinary weather. ⁸ That being of ancient time observed as cause to break up assemblies, stayed not Galba from going to the camp, contemplating such things as casual, or because that which is by fate allotted though sometime foreflew, is never avoided. There in full assembly of the souldiers with brevity princelike he pronounceth, that he adopteth Piso, following the example of Augustus of sacred memory, and according to that military fashion, where ⁹ each man maketh choice of his fellow. And left the German rebellion should, if it were concealed, be deemed the greater, he sheweth them purposely, that the fourth and eighteenth Legion misse-led by a few mutinous persons had erred in words onely, and termes, and shortly would be reclaimed: and so concluded his speech, bestowing upon them neither eloquence nor money. The Tribunes notwithstanding, and Centurions, and souldiers which stood neare about him, returned a plausible answer: the rest of the company were silent and sad, as having lost now their donative in warre, which they had used ¹⁰ of duty in peace to receive. It is very certaine, their hearts might well have been wonne with never so little liberality of the sparing old man: his too much precisenesse did harme, and that ancient rigour, which we in our time are not able to beare. From thence Galba went to the Senate and there made a speech neither fuller, nor finer, then before to the souldiers. Pisos oration was courteous, and the Senators shewed themselves forward, many which liked him indeed, very farre; others that wished him not, in a good mediocrity: but most, very ready humbly to proffer all duty and service upon private respects, without care of the common. Neither did Piso say or doe publicly any thing else the other foure dayes, that were between his adoption, and slaughter,

[illegible][illegible]

3 Poppæa Sabina] Concerning the matter how it passed between Nero, Poppæa and Otho, read Suetonius Othone cap. 3. and Plutarch Galba differing from Tacitus in some little circumstances. But to this place of Tacitus

Tacitus most contrary, and without question irreconcilable is Tacitus himself in another 13. Annal.

[illegible]

§ Neare me in blood: [*Propinquos aut. socios belli*] Augustus adopted Agrippa and Tiberius as *socios belli*, the reft as *Propinquos*. So Otho was to Galba [*socius belli*], and Dolabella, who as Plutarch affirmeth was alfo in fpeech about the adoption, *propinquus*. Tac. Cornelius Dolabella *propinquatus Galbæ monftratus*, if it be, as I think, the fame man, of whom Plutarch fpeaketh.

6 Of one family] C. Julius adopted Augustus; Augustus Livia and Tiberius, who adopted Germanicus, whole Sonne Caius was, and Claudius his brother, and lastly Claudius adopted Nero in whom failed the Julian line, Augustus.

Aeneadium generis qui sextus & ultimus heres
Publius et clausit Julia Gens Nera

Polinit. & clausis Juliae sacra Nona.

I shall cease &c. Desam videri senex) id est, Desam contemni quasi senex. Non legiones, non classis perinde firmo imperii monumentum, quam numerum librorum. Tac. 4. Hist. in the person of Titus. Literally to constitute, it may seem somewhat strange, that a man should cease to seem aged, because he had adopted one that was one and thirty years old, as Pilo was, to whom in common intendment he might have been father, and so was reputed to all constitutions, and purposes in law. But Adoption, as Generation, doeth in a sort eternize, and eternic knoweth no ending off.

d Tac. i. Hist.

* That being of ancient time observed as cause to breake up assemblies) *(sic. in Potinium. Augures omnes nuntii ad Romulo decreverunt. Jove fulgente cum populo assi nuntii effe. Philippia. §. Jove tonante cum populo assi cum effe sua ignis? de divinatione. In nostris commentariis scriptum habemus. Jove tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nolumus. Non asser. Comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod iactis omnibus rebus auspicium optimum habemus, si finis non sit.*

[illegible]

and to, bowes. The Princes liberalities to the souldiers were called

Donative, to the people, or otherwise to his friends, *Congratia*, doubleless because at the first certaine meales called
congrat of wine or oyle were bestowed, and afterward other things were given, yet the ancient name remained. Tac.

[illegible]

V. *An Embassy to the armies in Germany.*

THe newes growing dayly frether of the German revolt, and the city being ready to admit and believe all newes when they are evill, the Senat ordered, that Embassadors should be sent to the armies. It was besides secretly debated.

red, whether Piso also should goe; they to carry the credit of the Senat, and he the countenance of the Prince, with more shew and greater authority. It seemed convenient, that Laco captain of the Guard, should be sent withall; but his unwillingness brake the determination. The Embassadors likewise, the election of whom the Senate had given to Galba, were with shamefull inconstancy named, put out, others named in their place by labour and suite, to stay or to goe, as feare or hope moved them to doe.

VI. The donations of Nero revoked by Galba. Certain Tribunes put from their charge.

THe next care was for money: and casting about for supply it seemed most reasonable to fetch it thence, from whence the lack had proceeded. Two and twenty hundred millions of sesterces Nero had waisted in prodigall gifts. Galba^a commanded them all to be called, and left only to each the tenth part of their gift: but they had all scarce^b one tenth part remaining, having spent with like riot what came from others, as they had before consumed their own. Those greedy and wastefull companions had neither lands to extend, nor goods to befeazured, save only some furniture of vices. Thirty gentlemen of Rome were deputed collectors to gather the money; a strange kind of office, and burdensome, both for the number and suit that was made. In every corner^c the speare was planted, and sales proclaimed, the city disquieted with prizers and buyers: yet was it a great comfort to see that they should be as poore, to whom Nero had given, as they were, from whom he had taken. About the same time certain Tribunes were called; Antonius Taurus, and Antonius Naso of the guard, Aemilius Panceris of the city-bands and Julius Fronto of the watch: neither was it any remedy to amend the reit, but rather an occasion of new feare in their mindes, as though by cunning, and for feare certain were singled, whereas all were indeed mistrusted alike.

^a Two and twenty hundred millions: *bis & vicies mille sestertium*. *Attili* by error for *millies*. Tacit. 2. Hist. *vicies mille sestertium*; not *novies mille*; for so is the use of the tongue. Now in these speeches pronounced adverbially is understood of course *centena millia*, so that *bis & vicies millies* is as much as if he had said, *bis & vicies millia centena millia sestertium*. *Plutarchus Antonius* interpreteth *Dixies* by *millia* & *centena* (*δύο καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες*). That is, *ducentena millia sestertium*: counting as he doth foure *sestertia* to a *drachma*. *Sextertius*, *quasi semis tertius*, that is two and a halfe; and according to the same Analogue, in Greek *μυρία τριὰς τετρακτὶς* is foure talents and an halfe, as the vulgar note also Dutch *duid halb batzen*, two batz and an halfe. Now *sestertius* signifying two and an halfe, as the foure notes *sestertia* importeth I. S. or joyned H. S. that is *duo & semis*, is meant alwayes of so many *asses* and therefore foure *sestertia* are precisely equivalent to a *denarius*, so called of *dena era*. Now all the Greek *horres* without exception writing of the Roman affaires, in stead of *quatuor sestertia* set down *sestertia* only, not only in small summes, but in huge the great, where the difference must of force appeare, if in their opinion there were any betwene them. Seeing then *denarius* and *drachma*, according to the content of the most old writers against a few, are of equal value, both containing foure sesterces, eight *drachmas* making an ounce, and the ounce in our time esteemed of at five shillings sterling, our present summe of *bis & vicies millies centena millia sestertium*, reduced to English money now current, amounteth to seventene millions an hundred eighty seven thousand and five hundred pound. Neither can this summe seeme strange for Nero in fourteen years, when *Vitellius paucissimis mensibus novies millies H. S. introitus creditur*. About seven thousand thousand pound.

^a Tac. 2. Hist.

VII. The conspiracy of Otho: the death of Galba, Piso, Vinium, Laco, and Icelus.

IN the meane season sundry causes concurring incited^a Otho, whose hope and devices depended upon the common disturbance, to trouble the state; riot and excede too costly even for the purse of a Prince; barenes and beggary scarce for a meane man to beare; anger against Galba, envy toward Piso, and that his aspiring

ring might seeme to be grounded upon greater reason, he fained also feares to himselfe: how that in respect of his greatnesse he had been a burden to Nero: that he was not againe to look for a new Lusitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but to be murdered, or made away by some means; that course might Otho more justly expect, the rule being almost without instance, That alwayes he shall be suspected and hated of the Prince in possession, whom men do account worthy, or like to the Prince in succession, that point alone did him harme with old Galba, and would doe him more with young Piso, a man by nature not of the mildest, and made by long exile savage and rough: and therefore he must of force doe and dare, now or else never, whilst Galbaes authority was waining, and Pisoes as yet not fully well waxen; with * changes were times most apt for greatest attempts, and delays were dangerous, where soft quiet dealing draweth more evil, then hazard; ing rashly, that death happens by nature to all men alike, with only this difference of fame, or oblivion with posteritie: and if he must die either guiltles or guilty, then were it more valiantnesse to die for desert. Otho was not effeminate in minde as in body, and his freedmen and servants, the neereft about him, being brought up in more licence then usually in a private mans house, layed before him, who greedily gaped after such baits, the court of Nero, and riotous living, wives at will of his owne, and of other mens, with such like pleasures of Princes, as his owne proper good, if he durst seaze upon them; if not upbraiding them to him, as left unto others. The Astrologers also urged him forward, assuring by their star learning great changes at hand, and a yeere of advancement for Otho: a kinde of people to Princes unfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, that in our commonwealth shall be alwayes forbidden, and alwayes retained. Many of that profession were employed by Poppea in her secret affaires, the baddest instruments ^a Princes wife can use: of which number Ptolemaeus, who followed Otho into Spain, promised he should overlive Nero: and so by the event having won credit, perswaded him further, by conjecture alone, and speech of people comparing the yeeres of Galba and Otho, that he should be assumed to the Empire: but Otho embraced it as foretold by art, and by the forewarning of fate; as the humour is of most men to belevee that sooneft, which they least understand, or know what it meaneth. Neither was Ptolemaeus behind for his part, perswading him now to the points in that kinde of fact, which in a minde so desirous is soone apprehended. But whether it came in his minde on the sudden or no, to commit this foule act, that is not certainly known: certaine it is that long before that, he had by all meanes possible practised the favour and good will of the souldier, either upon the hope of succession, or as preparing the way to his treason: in journeying, in marching, in warding, calling by name such as were of greatest continuance, and tearming them mates, upon the remembrance of living together in Neroes traine; with some renewing acquaintance; some calling for, and relieving their needs with his purse, and his countenance, inserting withall now and then complaints, and glauncing at Galba with speeches of doubtfull construction, or what other way he could bethinke him, to stir up, and alter the vulgar fort. The travells in journeying, the straitnesse of provision, the hard hand held over them were much mislikt of the souldiers: for whereas before they were wont to visit the lakes of Campania, and towns of Achaia at their ease upon shipbord, now it seemed fore to trot all a foot over the Pyrenes and Alpes, and huge long voyages at small ease in their armor. The souldiers minds being thus already incensed, Mevius Pudens an acquaintance of Tigellinus, ministred matter to inflame them further; who alluring some unfained heads, or such as were needy of money, and desperate

^a *mi dolorem, et immensam magnitudinem animi alieni. Neque enim dissimulabat nisi principum se stare non posse, ubi huiusmodi referre ab his in dictis, an in suis sub creditur: sed cadere: for he was as Plutarchus saith, above fifteen hundred thousand pound indebted. Transire res: that is, the very time and moment when the state passeth from one to another, or suffereth otherwise any notable alteration.*

^b *Principale momentum in principis ac Taciti. speakeith also 11. An. At Claud. maritimo, lasciviam populi severis edicto increpuit: that is, ignorant of his wives behavior at home.*

^a *Suet. Othone. c. 5. Otho postquam Pisonem pro laze se decideret, ad vim conversus est, insignemque superavit.*

desperate upon new desires, by little and little proceeded so far, that so oft as Galba was feasted at Othoes, under pretence of a banquet benevolence, he distributed to each man of the cohort which waited, an hundred sesterces. Which, as being a publicke largesse, Otho strengthened with secret rewards to particular persons: so confident a corrupter, that whereas Coccius Proculus a billman of the Guard had a suite with his neighbour about a small parcell of ground, which lay doubtfull between them, Otho with his owne money bought the neighbours whole ground, and freely bestowed it upon him: such was the insufficiency of Laco the Captain, grossely to oversee not onely close practises, but even those dealings, which all the whole world espied beside. But at that time Otho appointed Ononia, one of his freedmen for master workman to contrive the treason, who bringing Barbius Proculus the watch-word-carrier of the billmen, and Veturius a Centurions Lieutenant anon to his master, after that Otho by sundry speeches, and much private conference, perceived them to be craftie, and bold, fit for his purpose, he lades them with rewards in hand, but much more with promises to come; giving them money to assay the mindes of moe of their fellows: and for two common souldiers tooke upon them to transerre the Empire of the people of Rome, and accordingly performed it indeed. Few were by them made privy to the principall purpose, and they by divers devises incited the hovering mindes of the rest, drawing into the association the chiefe of the souldiers preferred by Nymphidius, as being suspect to the present estate; the meaner sort, and the rest, by meanes of the anger and displeasure conceived upon despaire of their donative so often differed: some also there were, whom the memory of Nero, and desire of former licence did move: in generall, all were afraid they should finde a change in the service. This contagion infected also the Legions and Aides, whose faith was weakened already, when as they heard their fellows of Germany had left their allegiance. And so ready were the bad to rebell, yea the good to dissemble, that upon the fourteenth of January, they had determined, as Otho returned from supper to have taken him up by the way, had they not feared such casual chances, as night might have bred; and by reason the souldiers were lodged scattering throughout the whole towne; and that drunken men would a great deale more hardly agree; not for any care of Commonwealth, which they purposed, when they were sober, to pollute with the blood of their Prince; but left in the darke by error it might chance, that in stead of Otho, some other man should be offered to the Pannonian and German souldiers, & so be accepted for Emperor, the most part of them not knowing Otho by sight. Many signes of treason even now as it were discovering itselfe, were suppressed by the conspiratours: some other in Galbaes hearing Laco the captaine put away with a jeff; a man little scene in souldiers affections, and of any advise, were it never so excellent, whereof himselfe was no actor, an enemy, and against the skilfull obstinately contentious. The fifteenth of January as Galba was sacrificing before Apolloes temple, Umbrius the Priest, by view of unprosperous entrailes, foresaweth dangers at hand, and a home enemy in Othoes audience (for he was the next man) who contrarily construed it as good lucke on his side, and happy successe in his affaires. Anon after, Onomastus bringeth in word, that the master carpenter, and those which had undertaken the worke at a price, stayed for his coming: for that was the watch-word agreed between them, to signifie, that now the souldiers were drawing together, and the conspiracy ripe. Otho faining an answer to such as demanded the cause of his departure, that he had certaine old tenements to buy, which he suspected were ruinous, and therefore would have

*e. Autum non
faisi. Plur. and
Smo: that is, 15.
s. 7. d. ob. Now
this cohort or
bald consisted
of a thousand
souldiers; so that
his whole libe-
rality that way
cost him one
dinner. 781. li.
5. s.
Publican haps-
is, on rather the
guar. 781. li.
5. s.
Spiculator.*

*d. Ser. Oth. e. 6.
yeareth another
reason: affinis
refertur coloris
qua tuos exorab-
bat, ne arretrare
invidia quid ex-
fuisse fuisse
& caus fuerat
scriptus & de-
fuisse. Nota.
Medum quoniam
tempus reliquum
& Martianus co-
emorat.
e. For before he
had said, that
molti e Germania
& illius classis
remained in
Rome.*

them viewed before, * following his servants direction, went through Tiberius house into the Velabrum, and thence to the golden Milliarium under the Temple of Saturnus. There three and twenty Bilmen attending his coming salute him Emperour: and as he stood amazed, trembling for feare at their fewnesse, they snatch him up hastily into a chaire, and with their swords drawn carry him away. As they went forward toward the Camp, about so many moe souldiers joyned themselves, some acquainted indeed with the cause, but most for the wonder and strangeness: part with shewts, and drawn swords, part holding their peace, meaning so to proceed, as the event should direct them. Julius Martialis warded as Tribune that day in the Campe: who being either terrified with the greatness of so sudden a treason, or else fearing the Camp was further corrupted, and death, if he should make shew of resistance, gave most men to misdeem by his dealing, that he was somewhat of counsell with the case. The rest likewise of the Tribunes and Centurions preferred present security before duty with danger: and generally after that manner were their mindes and affections inclined, that into so horrible a treason few only durst enter, more wished it so, and all were contented to suffer it to passe. Galba in the meane while ignorant of all which had passed, was busily occupied about his devotion, importuning now the Gods of another mans Empire, when as suddenly word was brought, that a Senatur, they wist not well who, was carried to the Camp, and straightwaies that it was Otho. Anon flocked thither out of all quarters, * as they happened to meet him, some making the feare more then it was, some lesse, not forgetting even then to fall to their flittering biace. The matter being consulted upon, it was thought convenient, to found the minde of the Cohort, which warded in the Palace, not by Galba himselfe, whose authority was to be reserved intire for greater exploits, but by Piso: who calling them before the staires of the house, used this speech. It is now, fellow souldiers, six daies, since that I was, not knowing what after might befall, and whether this name were to be wished, or feared, adopted Cæsar: with what successe to our house, or to the Common-wealth, that lies in your hands: not that I am for mine own particular, afraid of any heavy chance that can happen: froward fortune I have proved with the most; and the good I do take to bring no lesse danger: but my fathers case, the Senats, and the whole Empires I lament, if this day of force we must either kill or be killed; a hard choice for any good man. In the last troubles these comforts we had: the City was kept clean without any blood-shed, the Star passed over without any discord, order was taken as it seemed, sufficient, by declaring a successe, that hereafter all to fore should be no new occasion of war. I will not extoll and magnifie here mine ancient house, or modest behaviour; neither in the comparison with Otho, need we to reckon up vertues: his vices wherein he alone triumphs, have ruined the State even then, when he was but a friend of the Emperours. By his gesture and gate should he deserve to be Prince, or by that womanish attire he weareth? they are foully deceived, whom riot deceives with shew of liberality: to cast away and consume well may he be learned; to give in good order he hath not the skill: bodily pleasures & banquetting, wanton dalliance with women, these be the points which now he propoeth himselfe; these he accounteth the prerogatives of Princes; whereof the lust and pleasure shall be only his own, the shame and ignominy redoundeth to all: for never any man yet used the Empire well, which he got by ill means. The consent of the world made Galba Emperor, & Galba by your consent made me. If the weal publick, the Senat, the people, be frivolous names, and no substance; yet for your own interest provide, fellow souldiers, that the rascallect

** Ve quisque ob-
noxi fuerat, se-
Otho, et Obse-
nians, as I
think.*

"fort be no Emperour makers. The Legions abroad have some time mutinied a-
 "gainst their Generals; that had been heard of: your truth and good name hath re-
 "mained as yet to this day untouched: and Nero also forsook you, not you Nero,
 "Shall I suffer then thirty renegates and traitors, whom none would permit to choofe
 "their Centurion, or Tribune dispose of the Empire? do you allow the example? do
 "you wink at their crime, and so make it your own? the provinces will usurp the like
 "licence, & the end of these treasons will fall to our share, the end of those wars un-
 "to yours. Neither is there more gotten by murdering your Prince, then by keep-
 "ing your hands innocent and clean: as well shall you receive of us a donative for
 "truth, as of others for treason. The "bilmen being flipped away, the rest of the co-
 "horts seeming to be moved with his words, more of fear, as it happeneth in tumults,
 "and yet with some reason, make ready their ensignes, "wh afterward men supposed
 "was done for a colour and fraud. Marius Celsus also was sent to the selected souldiers
 "of the Illyrian army encamped in Vipsianus cloister: and commandment was given
 "to Amulius Serenus, and Domitius Sabinus, which had been "leaders of the princi-
 "pal ensigne, to fetch forth the souldiers "out of the court of Liberty. The Legion
 "of Mariners Galba distrustful, as being incensed against him for the slaughter of
 "their fellows at his first entry. Cerius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longi-
 "ginus Tribunes were sent to the Prætorian camp: to try whether the sedition might
 "now at the beginning, and before it were grown to a ripenes, by better advice be
 "swaged. Subrius and Cerius with threats, and menacing were put by the souldiers to
 "silence: upon Longinus they lay violent hands, and disarm him, because he had come
 "to that place not by order of service, but by extraordinary favour of Galba: a man
 "faithfull to his prince, and therefore of rebels worse liked. The Legion of mariners
 "without any stay joyined themselves to them of the guard: the selected of the Illyri-
 "an army, with darts bent upon him, drive Celsus away: the German ensignes "were
 "long in suspence, being as yet feeble in body, but in minde well affected, for their be-
 "lieging by Nero before to Alexandria, at their return tired and sick with so long a
 "journey, they were by Galba carefully cherished. Now was all the common people and
 "bondmen withall assembled into the palace, requiring with tumultuous cries, as if
 "they were to demand in the stage or Race a palatine, that Orho might be pulled in
 "pieces, and those other traitors exiled: not upon "judgement or any true meaning;
 "for the self same day with as vehement instance they would be as ready to demand
 "for the other way: but only upon a received custome to flatter the Prince whatsoever
 "he be, framing "acclamations at pleasure, and vainly endeavouring to shew their good
 "wills. In the mean season Galba was distracted with two divers opinions. Titus Vini-
 "us thought best to stay within doores, to oppose the bondmen against them to forti-
 "fy the passages, and not to go forth to men in their fury: that he should give a space
 "for the bad to repent, for the good to consent: that treasons prevail on the sudden,
 "good counsels gather forces by leisure: and lastly if he would, or reason required it,
 "then might he wel go, as now, so anon: but to come in again, if he chanced to repent
 "him, were likely to lie in the will of another. The rest were all of a contrary minde:
 "that it was the much better way, to cut off delays with all possible speed, before the
 "conspiracy of few, as yet without force, took further increase: that even Otho him-
 "self would tremble for fear, who being conveyed privily away, and brought in among
 "those which knew not the matter, through slothfull delaying, and trifling the time,
 "learns now at his leisure to counterfeit the Prince. What? would they expect till O-
 "tho having composed the camp, and set all in order, should invade the place of pub-
 "lick assembly, and as Galba peeped out of a hole, under his nose enter the Capitol,

“ Spiculatores.

* *Primipilares.*
* *E. Liberatus*
and

f. *Cassius* some-
what other. sic
cap. 20. omes
qui accerserunt,
sperebant nuntium,
excepta Germania
etiam vexillatio-
ne. Hi ob recens
meritum quod se
agros & incol-
las magnopere fo-
vissent, in auxilio
sum adulescere:
sed serius iheru-
salem per igno-
rantiam loco um-
brato erat.

while he like a goodly trim Captain, with his courageous friends, so they may be in covert, kept close within doores and shut up the gates, meaning belike to attend the siege there? much help might one hope for at bondmens hands, if the agreement of so great a multitude, and their first indignation which is always the hottest, were suffered to cool: that therefore the party dishonorable was also more dangerous: or if needs they must die, then better to meet and encounter the danger: that would at least breed Otho more envy, & were withall most for their honour. As Vinicius replied against the opinion, Laco, at the instigation of Icelus, persisting in privat displeasures to the overthrow of the publick estate, beginneth to charge him with menacing and threats: and Galba without any longer delay gave himself wholly to follow their counsell, which had the fairer shew in appearance. Yet first was Piso sent to the Campe, as being a young man of great name and gracious, fresh in mens favour, and enemy to Vinicius, either because he was so, or that Vinicius ill-willers did wish it to be so, and it is thought rather he was so indeed. Piso was scant gone abroad, when first a flying rumour without Author was spread, that Otho was slain in the Camp: anon, as in great lies it falls out, some affirmed they were present, and saw it; a report which men partly rejoicing and partly not curious, easily believed. Many supposed this rumour was framed, and increased by some of Othoes men, being now thrustled in with the rest, and giving out untruly good newes of purpose to allure Galba out of his hold. But upon the report howsoever, not onely the people and simpler sort clap hands, and declare inmoderately their affections, but most of the Gentlemen, and Senators without temporizing, as being now freed of feare, break open the gates, rush into the Palace, presse forward to Galba, protesting how sorry they were, the revenge of his quarrel was thus prevented by others; the greatest cowards, and such as in danger dared the least, as triall made prooffe, being most accessive in words, and hardy of tongue. Thus without all affirmed, and no body knew, Galba yielding to an untruth so generally footeed, pursues on * a breff plate, and being not able for body nor age to sustaine the presse which came in upon him, was lifted up in a Chaire. In the palace Julius Atticus met him, one of the * Bilmen holding out a bloody sword in his hand, with which he cried aloud he had slain Otho. My friend, quoth Galba, who bade thee? a man of rare vertue to keep in awe slicitious fouldier, whom neither threats could terrifie, nor flattering speeches corrupt and abuse.

By this time the souldiers were wholly agreed, with so great servencie favouring Otho, that he content to affill him in companies with their bodies, they cast a ring about him with banners, as he stood * in the middle of the engines in the Tribunal, in which a little before the image of Galba was planted in gold, not suffering the Tribunes or Centurions to approach, yea and further the common souldier bidding beware of Officers. All the whole Camp resounding with clamours, with tumult, with mutual encouragement: none of those different chantings of dull flattery practised among the popular: but as they espied any souldier coming, they would take him by the hand, embrace him in their armour, let him fast by them, beg him the oath, recommending sometime their Emperour to the souldiers, and sometimes the souldiers to their Emperour. Neither was Otho slack for his part to stretch forth his hands, to bow himselfe for every meane person, * to throw kisses abroad, and what servile cringing else not fit for an Empire! When the whole Legion of Mariners had sworn allegiance, trusting now to his strength, and supposing requisite to incense them in Common, whom as yet he had only incited in severall, standing upon the Ramper of the Camp, he begins in this manner. "I am

 $^{13}\text{C}_2$

come

* Both Pilo and Silius write that not Pilo, but Galba was protected by Denius.
† Pilo, notwithstanding the fact that he had been with the vine rod.
‡ In the same manner, as in the case of the vine rod, the same is to be understood of the vine rod.

* Spiculator.

the sides. A worthy man that day our age did afford, Sempronius Denfus a Centurion of the Cohort w^{ch} guarded Galba, and by him appointed to wait upon Pilo, who with his rapier drawn encountering the armed men, and upbraiding to them their disloyalty, partly by deeds, and partly by words turning the blowes upon his own head, gave Pilo, although he were wounded, time and space to escape away. Pilo recovering the Temple of Vesta, and being received by the Sextons compassion, and hid in his Cabin, not by the reverence of sanctuary, or sacred ceremonies of the holy goddesse, but onely by hiding himselfe, deferred eminent death, when as straight there comes thither, by Othoes expresse commandement, hotly bent by name for his blood, Sulpitius Florus, one of the British cohorts, lately by Galba made Citizen of Rome, and Statius Marcus Bilman: of these two was Pilo drawn out and slain in the gates of the Temple. No mans death did Otho so joyfully take; no head did he view and review so insatiably: whether it was that then first of all his mind was at ease, and free to rejoyce, lightened of all manner burdens and care; or that the remembrance of majesty in Galba, of acquaintance in Vinus, had strook a kinde of horrore into his unmercifull minde: marry for Pilo, his enemy and concurrent, he thought he might justly wth all reason rejoyce at his ruine. Their heads were planted upon speares, and carried among the ensignes of the Cohorts, neare the Standard of the Legion, striving to shew their bloody hands, they which they had slaine them, they which were present, some truly, some falsly, all making their caution, as of a goodly and memorable act. More then a hundred and twenty supplicants, put up for some good service that day, were afterward found by Vitellius, who caused the men to be all sought out, and slaine, not in honour of Galba, but upon a tradition received among Princes as an assurance of their present estate, and a meane of revenge afterward. Now the Senat and people were no more the same men: they runne all by heapes to the Campe, contending and shouling who should get formost, defacing Galba, extolling the fouldiers judgement, kissing Othoes hand, and lesse they meant it in heart, doing so much the more in outward appearance. Neither did Otho reject any one though coming single, moderating with speeches and countenance the greedy, and menacing disposition of the fouldiers; who demanded to the slaughter Marius Celsus Consull elect, and to the last faithful to Galba, offended with his sufficiency and innocency as capitall crimes. A quarell was fought apparently to sack, and massacre, and to overthrow personages of honour: but Othoes authority was not sufficiently grounded as yet to prohibe a mischief, well might he command one: so making semblance of anger, he wills them to put him in prison; that he would shew at leisure exemplary justice upon him, and so delivered him from present destruction. The elected Capitaines of the Guard Plotius Firmus in time past a common fouldier, and then Capitaine of the Watch, and in Galbaes life a favourer of Otho: to him they adjoyne Licinius Proculus, a neare and inward acquaintance of Otho, and therefore suspected to have bene a furtherer of his proceedings. Flavius Sabinus they ordained Provost of the City, following therein the judgement of Nero, under whom he had obtained before the said charge, most men in so doing respecting Vespasian his brother. With great instance was it demanded that the fees of vacations usually given to the Centurions might be remitted: for the common-fouldier paid them as an annuall pension; whereby some in companies, part wandering by licence abroad, or in the Campe made no dainty to bear a burden, nor took any care how they gained, till they had wherewith to pay the Centurion, by robbing and spoiling, or servile

vile ministers redeeming their ease. Further the fouldier which had any wealth was sure to be tired with travell and stripes till he bought out his immunity; and when the poore wretch had consumed his substance, and wasted his body with sloth, he returned to his band un lusty, and beggerly, whereas he was active and wealthy before: and so likewise another and another corrupted with like licence, and brought to like beggery, were carried to mutinies, diffentions, and civill warres in the end. But Otho left by gratifying the fouldier he should alien the Centurions mindes, promised to pay out of his own the Cofers yearly vacations; a thing no doubt very profitable, and by good Princes succeeding established for a perpetuall order. Laco confined in shew into an Island, was murdered by Evocatus, whom Otho had sent before for the purpose. Upon Martianus Icelus, as being a freedman, open execution was done. The day being thus consumed in mischiefs, the last of allills was the rejoycing. The City-Pretor calleth the Senat to counsell: the rest of the Magistrates contend to exceed in flattery: the Lords of the Senate run thither in haste: to Otho is awarded Tribunitiall authority, and the name of Augustus, with all other princely prerogatives, and titles, each man devouring to abolish the opprobrious speeches, and reviling tearmes which they had indifferently used against him, which nevertheless he seemed not much to remember, whether he purposed to pardon the offences, or differre the punishment, by reason of the short time he ruled, could not be seen. Otho the place of the assembly being yet imbrued, with blood, was carried through the dead bodies, as they lay slain, first to the Capitoll, and thence to the Palace, giving permission to bury, and burn the carcases. Pilo was by his wife Verania, and Scribonianus his brother, Titus Vinus by his daughter Crispina, composd and layed in grave; having first fought out and re deemed their heads, which the murderers had kept to be sold. Pilo was when he died one and thirty yeares old, of better fame then fortune: his brother Magnus was slaine by Claudius, and Crassus by Nero: himselfe lived a great while in exile, and four dayes a Prince, adopted in halte before his eldest brother, with this only advantage, that he was thereby first made away. Titus Vinus lived forty seven yeares, not all after one sort: his father was of a Pratorian house; his mothers father one of the * proscriptors. At his first service in war he became infamous: his Lieutenant generall Calpurnius Sabinus wife, carried with a womanly desire to view the site of the Campe; and having in fouldiers attire wantonly perused the watch, and other campe offices, in the very * Principia forfeited her honour; and the man accused of the fact was Titus Vinus: whereupon by commandement of Caius the Emperour he was imprisoned, and anon through change of times being enlarged he passed through offices of honour without touch; first Prator, then Lieutenant of a Legion with good commendation: afterward he stained himselfe with a servile crime, conveying away a golden cup from Claudius board; whereupon the day following Claudius made him alone of all his guesstes to be served in earthen: notwithstanding being Proconsull of Gallia Narbonensis he governed the country with great severity and sincereneffe: and anon by reason of credit with Galba being drawn to the place of dangerous downe-fall, he was bold, crafty, active, and as he lifted to bend his minde, mischievous or industrious in equall degree. The testament of Titus Vinus his wealth made void, Piloes, his poverty ratified. Galbaes body long neglected, and in the dark despitefull intreated, Argius his Steward, one of his principall bondmen, buried with small ceremony in his private Gardens. His head, by the * followers and * rascalls of the Campe, mangled and stabbed, was found the day after before Patrobius tombe

of Cornelius Tacitus.

2 *Gellius lib. 1. c.*
 9. *Geometriam,*
Arithmeticam,
Musicae cate-
disq; item disci-
plinas altiores
per Graecos veteres
Græci a pella-
bant, vulgus au-
tem, quod gentili-
um vocabulo Chæl-
dæos dicere oportet
mathematicos
dicit.
 h Tac. 1. 2. *Ann.*
 qui abiceret
Chældæos, magis
interrogatos super
nuptiis imperato-
rum.
 c Tac. *Ann. 1. 2.*
 d 2. *Histor.*
 e A. V. C. 770.
 b Tacitus 2.
Ann. placuit it
 in the year
 before.
 f A. V. C. 615.

*Inde fides arsi, sonuit si dextera ferro,
Levæque si longæ castriorum in carcere mansit.
Nemo Mathematicus genium ind. maatus habebit*

*Præcipuus tamen est horum, qui sæpius exul.
Cujus amicitia conducendaque tabella
Mæcenas cecit oblitus est formidatus Othoni.*

§ cap. 4.
h Tacitus.

i In his book
ἐπὶ τῆς Θεολογίας
Χαράττις

M. Arsenio.

4 Not upon judgement, or any] Tacit. 3. hift. Populi mobilem animum, & si se ducem = præbuit, eadem illas adi- n Flavie Sabi-
lationes pro Vespasiano fore, quia non tunc vero to Viellius. And in the same book, vulgus eadem pravitate infectaba- um.
tur interfectum (Vitellium) quæ siverat vicem. Juvenalis Satyra 10.

O Vulfiniū unde
de Sejanus erat
autore Tac. Ann.
4. Templum Neri-
ta dea Liv. lib. 7

As if they had gone to pull Vologeses or Pacorus out] Dio lib. 40, οὐκ ἔστιν (ei παύσει) οὐδὲν ἡγίον, τὸ μὴ πολεῖν, τὸν

ched whilest Galba, Otho, and Vitellius lived; and after their times, mighty in money, and because he was childlesse, good helps in all the worlds both good and bad.

¹ (a) Sophonius Tigellinus]. Of Tigellinus all the stories are full. After the death of Burchus, Nero, saith
 * The Scholi- (b) Tacitus duos Pretorius cohortibus imposuit. Fenium Rufum ex vulgi favore: Sophonius Tigellinum ex intimis libidinibus assumptum, et utriusque in quatuordecim annis interitus. That is, In luxuriousness and cruelty exceeding all the men of his time. Xiphil. for those were indeed the two virtues, by which Tigellinus wanted credit with Nero. Tacit. 15. Annal. Fenium vita famaque laudatur, per sevitiam impudicamque Tigellinus in animo principis antebat. Againe, Poppæa & Tigelliano coram, quod erat se vitium principis intimum consilium, interrogat, &c. 14. Annal. Fenius, where aliohis fada pueritia is described.
 14. Annal.

² To famish the city of Rome] Tacitus 3. Hist. Africam eod. m. latere stiam, terra, marique invadere parabat, closti amone subsidio inopiam ad discordiam hosti facturus, for so was it, that Egypt and Africke furnished the City of Rome with corn for four months in the year, and Africke for eight. Jos. plus dicit. 2. cap. 18. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, They of Africa beside eight months provision of corne yearly for the people of Rome, pay all manner of tributes, and willingly support all other charges of the Empire. Et paulo post: 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, Egypt payes more tribute in one month than the Jewes doe in a whole year, and beside this great summe of money they yield provision of corne for Rome for the space of four months.

³ Mighty in money and because she was childlesse, two good helps to get many friends, &c. every man contending to please them, of whose wealth he may hope to be heire. Silvanus being in Neroes time accused repetundarum valuit, saith (c) Tacitus, pecunia sua oritate & sancta: and yet in the end he deceived them all, over- living those quoniam amicitia viscerat, in civitate nostra. (saith Seneca Consolad. Otavian. cap. 19.) plus gratie obitus viscerat quam viscerat. Contrarily in Germany, nulla utilitas pecunia, sed quanto plus propinquorum, quo major afflictum numerus, tanto gratior senectus. De moribus Germanorum.

XIII. Of the letters, messages, and practises that passed betweene the sides.

¹ Soet. Otho, c. 8. Otho per intercessionem & literas consensit imperii gentiumque Vitellio obtulit. The like conditions offered by Flavius Sabinus in Vespasians name were accepted by Vitellius as much as in him lay, had not his friends disturbed the bargain.
 3. Hist. For in truth they were sent to practise the Legions.
 4. For Vitellius was great Emperor the second of January, and Otho the first of the tenth.

IN the meane time Otho sent to Vitellius many letters spiced with womanish persuasions, and offering him money and countenance, and what place of rest he would chuse to passe therein his prodigall life: Vitellius quit him againe with the like; at the first in milde termes, with food and uncomely dissembling on both sides: afterward in scolding manner, objecting each to other vicious life, and villanous acts: neither amisse. Otho revoking the Embassage which Galba had sent, sendeth a new in the name of the Senate to both the Germane Armies, the Italian Legion, and Companies which remained at Lyons. The Embassadors that went stayed with Vitellius, being as it seemed quickly intreated, and willingly with-holden. Those of the Guard, which Otho had assigned in shew to attend upon the Embassadors, were turned home againe, not suffered to have conference with the Legions: Fabius Valens sendeth withall a packet in the name of the German army to the Prætorian, and Vibian cohorts, extolling the strength of the side, and offering amity, blaming them beside in that they did convert upon Otho the title of the Empire, whereof Vitellius had so long before the rightfull possession. So were they with threats and promises doubly assayed, as being in war not able to stand in peace not likely to loofe: notwithstanding the Prætorians persisterd for Otho. Plots also were layd for privy attempts: Otho sent some into Germany, to practise against Vitellius person, and Vitellius to Rome against Othoes, both misfed of their purpose: the Vitellianists, misfed the punishment, scaping unpied, as in so great a multitude of men, where no body knoweth nor marketh another: but Othoes men among such as knew each other, were quickly bewrayed as strangers. Moreover Vitellius wrote letters to Titianus Othoes brother, threatening the death of him and his son, if

if his mother and children took any harme: and so both the houses continued entire, for feare peradventure in Othoes times, but Vitellius being conquerour, and without such a bridle, carried away the undoubted commendation of clemency.

XV. How the Provinces declared themselves in favour or disfavours of the sides.

THE first advertisement which put Otho in courage was out of Illyricum, that the Legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Mœsia had sworne unto him: the like was reported of Spaine, and Cluvius Rufus by publike edict solcmly praised, and by and by it was certified that Spaine had revolted to Vitellius. Aquitania likewise, though having received the oath to Otho tendered by Julius Cordus, remained not long in obedience: fidelity or love bare no where sway: by feare and force they changed to and fro. The same feare brought to Vitellius the Province of Narbon, a gentle passage, and easily made, unto the neerer and stronger. The Provinces which were far off, and all the armies severed by sea, remained at Othoes devotion, not for love to the side, but the name of the City, and shew of the Senat did greatly countenance, and credit the cause: and he had first possessed their minds, as being the former in speech. In Jury Vespasian sware his army to Otho, and Murianus the Legions in Syria: Egypt likewise and Eastward the Provinces were all possessed in his name: Africke also in his obedience, they of Carthage being most forward; not expecting the Proconsul Vipsianus Apronianus authority, Crete a Freedman of Nero (for he was in those bad times become a part of publike affairs) had feasted the people for joy of the new Emperour, and the people hastened many things disorderly. The rest of the Cities followed the example of Carthage.

XVI. Otho bestoweth offices: restoreth the banished: relieveth the Provinces: and erecteth the images of Poppæa his old love.

THE Armies and Provinces being thus distracted, for Vitellius it was needfull, if he would be Prince, to win it in field. Otho as in time of great peace disposed the affairs of the Empire, some according to the dignity of the State, and most otherwise halting and shifting up as present necessity forced. And first he declared himselfe and Titianus his brother, Consuls till the Kalends of March: the next two Moneths were assigned to Verginius, to please in some part the German Army: with Verginius he joyneth Poppæus Vopiscus, under the colour of old acquaintance, most thought it was done to honour the Viennenses, the rest of the Consuls, as they were by Nero or Galba appointed, remained unchanged, Cocleius Sabinus and Flavius Sabinus till July; Arius Antonius, and Marius Celsus till September: whose offices also Vitellius after the victory confirmed unto them. The Pontificall dignities and Augurs rooms Otho bestowed upon ancient men, such as had borne already greatly Office, compleatly to perfect all points of their honour: and young noble men, lately returned from exile, he friendly remembered with their Fathers, and Grandfathers places among the Priests. Cadius Rufus, Peditus Blaesus and Sevinus Promptinus, in Claudius and Neroes time condemned for: polling the provinces, were restored againe to their places in Senate. He pleased them which granted the pardon to change the true name, and tearm that, which indeed was extortion and bribery,, crime of Majesty and treason, an accusation so hatefull, that in respect of it even good Lawes were not observed. By

blinde fear, and because they could not name any one to the slaughter, demanding licence indifferently against all the Senat; till such time as Otho standing upon his dining bed, contrary to the majesty of an Emperor, with tears and humble requests, at last, though hardly, refrained their rage: and so they returned to the Campe unwilling, though after so much harme done. The next day, as if the Town had been taken, the houses were shut, small stirring in streets, the people all sad, the souldiers hanging their heads, with many heavy looks and little repentance. Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus the Captains dealt with the souldiers by bands, in gentle or rough sort, each after his nature: the conclusion was this, that they should receive five thousand sesterces a man. Then Otho boldly entered the camp: the Centurions and Tribunes come round about him, and casting away the marks of their degrees, desire dimission from so unsafe a service. The souldiers perceived the meaning and framing themselves to obedience, require unbidden the authours of the sedition to death. Otho, although things were in such a confusion, and the souldier so diversly minded (the best requiring a remedy for the present disorder, the common sort, and more part, who liked seditions, and corrupt government being more easily brought by troubles and spoiling to make civil war) and withall remembering that a state gotten by lewd means cannot be retained at first with sudden modesty, and ancient gravity; nevertheless carefully considering the danger of the City and Senat, at last he spake in this wise. My fellow souldiers, I am not come hitherto in. "cite you to love me, and lesse to exhort you to vertue and valour; for of both you "have great store & too much: but I come to request a moderation of your valour, "and a mean in your love toward me. No hatred it was, no desire to have (with things "have set many Armies at discord) no danger you feared and meant to avoid, but "a tender care, and excessive affection it was toward me, more zealous then confidentate, which bred and excited the yesternights trouble: for oft the causes of "things being good, yet where judgement is wanting, pernicious ends do often ensue. We are going to war, what? Is it expedient that all messengers have open audience, that all matters be handled in presence of all? The nature of warring will not endure it, the swift sliding away of occasions permitteth it not. I tell you it is as behoovfull that the souldiers should be ignorant of some things, as know other some. "The authority of Captains, the rigour of discipline is of that nature, that many "things must be only commanded and simply bidden by the Centurions and Tribunes. If when things are bidden every one may demand, & question the matter, "obedience failing, government withall will fall to the ground: or shall there at midnight likewise the alarm be given? shall a loft and drunken companion or two (for "I cannot believe they were mo which madded in the last upre) shall they dare to "embrace their hands in a Tribunes and Centurions bloud? rush into their Emperours pavillion? you did indeed the same for my sake: but yet in the dark, in such a confusion, occasion might also have served against me. If Vitellius and his adherents had choice to dispose our minds as they listed, what else would they with but "sedition and discord? that the souldier should not obey his Centurion, the Centurion his Tribune, foot-men and horse confusedly should run to their ruine. Surely "fellow-souldiers by duly obeying, not curiously scanning the Captains commands, is all good souldiery and militarie matters maintained: and that army in "danger is alwaies most valiant, which before the danger is most quiet of all. Be "you only well armed, and valiant minded, to advise and direct your valour leave "that to me. The fault was of few: the punishment shall be only of two: contend you "the rest, to abolish and raze out of memory that dismall nights work: such bloody words

* That is, 39.
lib. 1.3.3. d.

words against the Senate, * let never any army once dare for to speak. The head of the Empire, the ornament of all Provinces, nor the very Germans themselves whom Vitellius specially raiseth against us, durst ever have demanded to death: and shall the children of Italy then, and the true Roman race require to murder that honourable order, through whose glorious brightnesse we dim and disgrace the obscure balenefse of Vitellius faction? Vitellius hath indeed some Countries at commandment, he hath a certain counterfaite of an Army: but the Senate is of our side; and therefore the State is of our side, Traitors of theirs. What? do you think this goodly faire City consisteth in houses and stones put together? these are dumbe and dead things, they may decay, they may be repaired again, as it changeth the eternity of the State, the peace of the world, your well doing and mine, is founded upon the safety of the Senate. The father and builder of our City did first by the gods appropriation ordaine and institute this worthy assembly, from the Kings to the Princes never discontinued: then as we have taken it from our progenitors, so let us deliver it to our successours. The Senat is the seminary of Princes, and you of the Senat. The Oration thus framed to bite and to please the souldiers minde, and the moderate severity used withall (for only on two justice was done) were gratefully accepted; and they for the present composed, which hardly could have been duely corrected. Yet was not the City thoroughly quiet: weapons clasped, and to them it seemed a season of war: the souldiers in common ceasing to trouble, but dispersed in houses in disguised apparell, maligning all those whom nobility or wealth, or some other special excellencie had made the matter of talk.

1 The cause beel a crime: [As in crimen exaltati] If these times have in them any reason, the meaning may be that which the Tribune used to exceed to execute the Princes commandment, that the souldiers drew to a sinister side, as done not for the service of the Prince, but rather [servitium in imperatorem armatum] gratia. Plutarch. of Brutus aduers. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, the boldest of them cried out with one voice that Caispian had no good meaning, that the Senat intended innovation, and that those armies were carried out against the Prince, not in his favour.

2 Calling away them uks: Abj. His mi'the insignis] Triunatus insigne, the badge or mark of his office was vexillum, dagger Martialis lib. 14. of a Centurion Vitis, a vine-rod to correct the trowanung souldier. Juvenal of Natus, Satyra octava.

Apin as alius Votum in monte (olebat
Poste mercedis alieno lassus arato.
Nobis post hoc frangebat vestire citum
Sileus pagra minuet castra dolatira.
Hu. lamen &c.

Tacit. Ann. Centurio Lucius Vestitus scilicet, cui militibus factis vocabula, Cedo alteram, indidit: quia fassus vix in ingenuis, alteram clare voce, ac rursus aliam posset, of the Captain-ship of the Praetorium 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, when as first he reached to him whom he intended to make Captain of the guard the sword wherewith he was to be girt, he drew it forth, and holding it up said; Take this sword, that if I govern well thou mayest use it for me; if ill, against me: and Nymphidius in Plutarch depriving his fellow Tigellinus of his office, 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, commanded him to put off his sword. To this privilege of wearing a sword was annexed perpetually power of life and death over the souldiers. Dio. 15. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, No man had authority (were he Proconsull, or Propator, or Procurator) to carry a sword, but only he that had power to put a souldier to death. For to such it was lawfull whether he were Senator or Eques. Gladius 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, as it was at this day Vitellius resigning the Empire, 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. That is, Vitellius in open assembly reached his sword to the Consuls, and the rest of the Senate, as thereby resigning all imperial authority: and Tacitus of the same matter 3. Hist. Postremo statu praepedito assensu consulis exsulatum a latere pugionem velut sui necis vitaeque civium redditum. Suetonius Vitellio cap. 15. Solutus a latere pugionem consulis primum, dein illo versante magistratibus, ac mox senatoribus singulis porrigens: nullo recipiens, quia in eae Concordiae posuitur abesse.

flaine. His body was carried into Asia, and thence brought to Rome, wondred at for the eies, and haire, and sternesse of countenance.

III. *Annius Faustus, after much adoe and some sturre in the Senate, condemned of promoting.*

IN a diffentious state, and through the often changings of Princes, waving betweene licence and liberty, even small matters were not shut up, without great adoe, Vibius Crispus, a man for money, might, and wit, accounted rather among the great men then the good, called to his answer in Senate Annus Faustus a Gentleman, who had made profession in Neroes time of accusing: for immediately upon the election of Galba the Senatours had ordered, that the causes of the accusers should be heard and examined; an order diversly construed and drawne, and as against a weake defendant in force, so against a mighty too weake. Beside Crispus employed the terrour of his greatnesse, and the uttermost of his might, particularly to overthrow him, as the accuser of his brother, and had drawne a great part of the Senat into that opinion, to require him to be executed, being neither defended nor heard: contrarily others favouring the defendant, so much the more because the plaintiffe seemed too mighty, were of opinion, that a time should be granted, the crimes specified, and the man, though culpable and odious, should notwithstanding not be excluded from common right of being heard in his justifications. Which opinion prevailed at the first, and so the hearing of the matter was some few daies put over: but in the end Faustus was condemned, albeit not with the generall assent of all parts that his lewd conditions deserved: some men disliking, not that the crime was so punished, but that it was done at his suit, whom they well remembered to have exercised himselfe the same profession with gaine.

IIII. *The power of Otho by land.*

THe beginning of the war was prosperous on Othoes side. For at his commandment the Legions marched out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, being in number foure, out of which two thousand men were sent before, the Legions followed after with competent journeyes, the seventh lately gathered by Galba, the rest ancient, the eleventh and thirteenth, and the fourteenth greatly renowned for their service in repressing the British rebellion; and Nero had increased their glory, chusing them out as the most special men: whereupon they remained long faithfull to Nero, and were great favourers of Othoes proceedings. But these Legions the more strength and forces they carried with them, the more confident they were, and consequently the slower in coming forward: the Auxiliarie Cohorts and Wings came before, the corps of the Legions followed after. Moreover the city it selfe furnished good store of souldiers: five Prætorian cohorts, and certain Coronets of horsemen, the first Legion, and beside two thousand Fencers; a base supply, but in civill wars used even by severe commanders. Annus Gallus with Vetricius Spurrinna were appointed to lead this power, and sent before hand to put themselves in possession of the banks of the Po: because their first determination had failed, seeing Cæcina had already passed the Alpes, when they hoped might have beene kept within Gallia. Upon Othoes person a choice company of "Spearemen attended, accompanied with the rest of the Prætorian Cohorts, and the old souldiers of the Guard, beside an excessive number of those

* Tac. 4. b. ff. in oratione Curtii Montani, and immediately following, where you shall finde him forced with E. prius Marcellus.

* And so out of Mica like wife the Legions marched, but came no further then Aquilina, Tac. b. The story is at large in Tac. 14. Ann. and in the life of Agricola. * For his intended expedition ad portus Gallicis, as I thinke, and upon the revolt of P. and x. re-tyning them still in Italy.

which had served at Sea: His voyage was with diligence and speed, as appertained, not wastefully spent in riot and pleasure: himselfe with his iron brigandine marching before the enignes on foot, not decked, nor trimmed, but souldier-like, and unlike the name that went of him.

2 The beginning of the warre] In declaring of this great and important adoe betweene Vitellius and Otho, I finde Tacitus, atleast in my conceit, much inferior to himselfe otherwise; omitting many necessary circumstances, confounding things together, affirming contraries in appearance, and generally leaving his Reader not so fully satisfied as in History is to be looked for. As first in the circumstances of Otho the principall person, whose paces and foot-steps would have beene numbered, Tacitus bringeth him out of the City accompanied in a manner with all the Senate, toward the latter end of March, and as we found by collection out of (a) other Writers upon the seven and twentieth day. Then here shewing his souldier-like manner of marching before his souldiers on foot, in the end he bestoweth him and his company no where: whereas indeed the Senate was left at Mutina, and himselfe marched toward the enemy, as for as Brixellum a city upon the Po, and then sending out his Captains stayed behinde, as it appeareth in Plutarch, and Tacitus elsewhere; circumstances, in mine opinion, not so lightly to have beene passed over. From Brixellum, faith Plutarch, were dispatched away Celsus, Paulinus, Gallus and Spurrinna. Tacitus seemeth to say, that Gallus and Spurrinna were dispatched at Rome, and sent before hand ad (b) occupandas Padi ripas, which if it were meant to guard the South-side of the Po, & so to stay the Vitellianists at least from passing the river, since they could not flop them in the mountains, a few being able to keep such a passage against a great army, hath good reason. But Gallus did not so observe it. If to put himselfe in possession of both sides of the Po, and so to have the whole river at commandment, how could he with a few withland Cæcines whose army having no advantage of the place? Now to the leading of Gallus and Spurrinna sent before, from what place soever, ad occupandas Padi ripas, Tacitus assigneth five Prætorian Cohorts, equitum vexilla, legio prima Adjutrix, and two thousand gladiatores: in the proceesse of the Worke, assigning the gladiatores to the government only of Martius Mucianus, a third man, and after him to Flavius Sabinus, and letting the other two warre enough asunder. Spurrinna at Placentia with three Prætorian Cohorts, upon thousand Pæstoriani not named before in the survey of their whole power, and a few horse, and Gallus with prima Adjutrix, I cannot tell where, nor when, & upon what occasion they divided themselves; but wherefore he was, taking Bæbricum in his way to Placentia, he was in all reason of the North side of the Po. Then for his other three Captains Paulinus, Celsus and Proculus, whereof mention is made in the preparation of the war here in the letting out they have no charge at all assigned them (and to say the truth, I cannot see any great mass of men they could have, leaving Otho sufficiently guarded) may they are not so much as once named. By way of probable conjecture we may suppose, that Proculus, as being Captain of the Guard, stayed at Brixellum, and attended upon Othoes person. But Celsus and Paulinus are not named before in the battell assigned. Where suddenly within twelve miles of Cremona they appeare, and not farre from Bæbricum (where Gallus was left) never mentioned before, besides many other with prima legio, under their leading, being the peculiar charge of Gallus. So that to rove at that which was our Authors fault, not to set downe plainly, we may imagine, that Paulinus & Celsus were sent afterward from Brixellum to the camp at Bæbricum, either to take joynnt charge with Gallus, or else charge in his place, as it is more likely, and that thereupon Gallus withdrew himselfe, perchance to recover his fall mentioned 2. Hist. seeing there is no mention of him in the action ad Capras, and in an action which passed at Bæbricum, we shall finde him by and away, where notwithstanding Tacitus left him. Now whereas Tacitus upon not prosecuting a little skirmish of the gladiatores against the Vitellianists, maketh Otho to send for his brother Titianus, whom he had left at Rome, to make him Lieutenant General, Plutarch with greater reason and probability, faith it was done after the battell ad Cassis, upon dislike of Paulinus flow proceedings; and that Proculus Captain of the Guard was sent withall; but when they came to Bæbricum I cannot determine. Now if Otho were at Brixellum, Paulinus and Celsus at Bæbricum, where shall we say the great consultation was holden, where Otho, Titianus, Proculus, Paulinus and Celsus were present, and Gallus absent? Here Tacitus sayeth no againe, and Plutarch relevech us shewing that Otho removed from Brixellum to Bæbricum, to consulta with his captaines of the manner of proceeding in the warre. Thus much of Otho and his Captains, it followeth of their power, which was of two sorts, brought from Rome and sent for from abroad. From Rome of sixe cohorts. 1. *Quinqve Prætorie cohortes*: 2. *Equitum vexilla*: 3. *legio prima Adjutrix*: 4. *Gladiatores*: 5. *Cætera Prætorie cohortes* 6. *Clasifici*. With Gallus and Spurrinna, 1. *Quinqve Prætorie cohortes*: whereof three were with Spurrinna in Placentia, the other two belike with Gallus. 2. *equitum vexilla* without number; 3. *legio prima Adjutrix Clasifici ex reliquis* (testimony Gallus ad pontem Ostivium): 4. two thousand gladiatores in the siege of Placentia we finde mention of a thousand vexillarij: whether differing from all these, or portion of any, I know not. Then in Othoes traine *Spiculatorum liba impira*, as I thinke, e. *Prætorianis*, 5. *Cætera prætorie cohortes*, beside the five sent with Gallus: and yet many Prætorian souldiers were sent with the Navy into Næbonensis, so that surely all the rest were not here. Clasifici from whence soever they came, have ministred us, and will minister many men. Seven thousand were slain by Galba ad pontem Ostivium, and the rest decimated, e. *reliquis prima legio Adjutrix* was compoted. In the Fleet to Næbon there lived also many as souldiers. Here we have *classis circumiens numerus*: with Otho a thousand clasifici, and Titianus interpres, which by all circumstances were none of this company. And Turullius Cerealis had many Clasifici: but whence he had them, and how he became their Captaine is not yett downe. And beside all these we have in the third book another whole Legion 2. *Clasifici* differing from prima Adjutrix, which then was in Spaine. The power sent for by Otho from abroad was out of Illyricum only, where at that present were seven Legions, the power sent for by Otho from abroad was out of Illyricum only, where at that present were seven Legions, and terdecima Gemina: in Macedonia three, stertia Gallica, septima Claudia, and octava Augusta, as it is declared elsewhere. Now all these being sent for by Otho, there marched at Othoes commandment, faith Tacitus, the

a Suetonius and Marcellinus.

b Perhance the meaning of these words is: occupandas Padi ripas, pascuas Padi ripas, as to put themselves in possession of the townes upon the river.

retained for defence of the Colony of Forum Julii, left if all were employed in the land-service, the Fleet finding free passage by sea should suddenly surprize the city: twelve troupes of horse-men, and the choice of the cohorts, went against the enemy, beside a cohort of Ligurians being the Aide anciently belonging to that place, and five hundred Pannonians, which were not as yet marshalled in Companies. Neither was it long ere they met together, the battell on both sides standing thus. Part of the Mariners with Pezants among were placed above in the hills, which were by the Guard-souldiers: fast by them in the sea it self stood the Fleet prepared to fight, turning against the enemy a terrible and threatening front. The Vitellianists, whose strength consisted in horse rather than foot, placed their horse men against the Guard-souldier, and behinde the horse the cohorts in thicke and close ranks, marshalling the Pannonians in the hills adjoining. The troupe of the Treveri charged unadvisedly, which charge the old souldier received with courage: and withall the Pezants in flank gauled them with stones, men fit enough for that kind of service, & such as being mingled with souldiers, though otherwise daftards, yet now in the victory dared as far as the best. As the Vitellianists were thus distressed, a greater discomfort was added by the Fleete, which in the meane season fetching about assailed their backs as they fought: so being inclosed on every side they had all beene doubtlesse destroyed, had not the darknesse of the night favoured their flight, withholding the winners from following the chafe. The Vitellianists, albeit they had lost a battell, would not be contented: but sending for new supply gave a fresh assault upon the enemy, which by reason of the former successe was growne secure and lesse vigilant, slew the watch, entered the trenches, and gave the alarme to the ships; till such time as the feare, which at first is most terrible, settling by litle and litle, the Othonians drew themselves in safety to a hill there adjoining, and then charged courageously upon them. Much blood was there shed, and the Captaine of the Tungrian Cohorts, having long maintained the skirmish, were forced at length to yeeld up their lives: even to Othoes men the victory cost blood, of whom diverse unadvisedly following were intercepted by the horsemen turning upon them. And so, as if a mutuall suspension of armes had been concluded upon, with covenant on the one side that the Fleet, on the other that the horsemen should not attempt any sudden invasion, the Vitellianists retired to Antipolis a free-towne of Gallia Narbonensis, the Othonians to Albinganum a Colony of Liguria interior.

1 The battell on both sides] In this conflict we have of Othoes side mention distinctly of Classic, Pagan, Praetorian, and the Navy. For Vitellius of twelve Turmas of Horse-men, a cohort of Ligurians the choice of the Tungrian Cohorts, five hundred Pannonians, and a litle afterward Alpini beside: unless peradventure it should read Alpini in both places, and meant perchance of the Ligures: for what Pannonians should do here I cannot imagine, or if it were true, yet being strange, at the least Tacitus should have done well to have told us how they came thither.

VII. The estate of Corsica and Sardinia, and the rest of the Islands there about.

THe reputation of Othoes victorious Fleet easily held Corsica, Sardinia, and the rest of the Islands thereabout in Othoes obedience. But Corsica almost was ruined by the rashnesse of Decimus Pacarius the Procurator, who entred into an action, which in so great a preparation for warre, could nothing avale to effecting the Principall purpose, and yet served well enough to work his destruction.

For

For upon hatred against Otho, he determined with the strength of the Island, to aid Vitellius; an aid vaine and to no purpose even if it had succeeded. Whereupon calling the principall men of the Island, he declareth his meaning, and commandeth Claudius Phirrhicus master of the Gallies there, and Quinctius Certus a gentleman of Rome, to be slaine, who opposed themselves against his proceedings: by the death of whom the rest that were present being terrified, fware allegiance to Vitellius, and consequently the inferiour sort partly upon ignorance, and partly to beare them company which did it for feare. But when as Pacarius began to take muster, to trie those rude people in training & other military duties, they waxing weary of that unwonted labor fell to recount their own weaknesse: that it was but an Island, which they inhabited: that Germany and the Legionary power was farre off: and that even they were wasted and spoiled by the Fleete, whom both Cohorts and Wings did protect. Whereupon their mindes suddenly fell away, and so they conspired against him, not by way of open rebellion, but by privy attempt against his person. For which purpose chusing out a fit opportunity, as he was in the bath naked and without helpe, the multitude that followed him being departed away, they slew him and his company, carried the heads of them, as of Traitors, to Otho: by whom notwithstanding they were not rewarded, as also not punished by Vitellius, in so great confusion and disorder of the state, passing among greater crimes; and shadowed with other more heinous offences.

VIII. Certaine small actions of the Syllan wing in Italy before Cacinac's entry.

NOW the Syllan wing, as before we have shewed, had opened the passage into Italy, and drawne the war over the mountains, the Countrey favouring not Otho, neither yet upon any speciall fancy to Vitellius; but as men whom long peace had broken to all kinde of slavery, they were easily possessed by the first comer, and not curious to side with the better. The whole countrey and cities lying betweene the Po and the Alpes, the most flourishing part of all Italy, was held by Vitellius souldiers: for the Cohorts which Cæcina had sent before him were now already come in. At Cremona a cohort of Panonians was taken, and betweene Placentia and Ticinum an hundred horse intercepted, and a thousand sea-souldiers: by which successe Vitellius men being animated could now not be stopped by Placentia and Ticinum the inhabitants of Batavia and beyond the Rhene bank nor by river. Moreover the inhabitants of Batavia and beyond the Rhene were enflamed the more even by the very sight of the Po: which they passed over against Placentia, and taking some of the enemies spies so terrified the rest, that beeing afraid the falsly reported Cæcina was come with his whole Army. Spurinna who then was within Placentia, certainly knew that Cæcina was not yet come, and if he did come, was certainly resolved to keepe his men within their defences, and not to hazard three Praetorian cohorts, and a thousand Vexillaries, with a few horse, against an Armie of old and approved warriors: but the unruly souldiers, and unskillfull of service snatching up their Banners and Banners, rushed forward, and as the Captaine endeavoured to stay them they bent their weapons upon him, not respecting their Centurions and Tribune, who commended the Captaines circumspectnesse, but the souldiers cried FOR OTHO, and stuck not moreovert to affirme, that Cæcina was sent for under hand. Spurinna yeelded to follow their folly, by force at the first, afterward making shew as if he were willing that his counsells might carrie more credit, if it happened hereafter the sedition to coole.

*1. Hist. Quia praefectus ale uni-
us latissima
pars Italiae de-
fendit: quibat,
praefectus Gal-
lorum, Li-
gurnum, Britan-
norumque co-
horts & Ger-
manorum vexilla.
Didaining that the Po
should stay
them who
were accusto-
med to swim
horse & man
over the great
river of
Rhene, and
others at
home in their
Country. Tac.
4. Hist. Batavi
praefectus nomen
studia arma-
queque reliqua-
ris integris tur-
mis Rhenum
pertransire.

coole. When they were in the fight of the Po, and the night approached, order was given, that the campe should be entrenched and staked. That labour strange and unusuall to the city-souldier, abated their fiercenesse. Then they of the elder sort began to see their own error, and corrected their credulity; to lay open the fear, and the danger, if in those champion Countries Cæcina should with his Army environ them being as it were but an handfull: and now they beganne thorough out all the whole Campe to use modest and dutifull speeches, and by meanes of the Centurions and Tribunes, who insinuated themselves, into their companies, to commend the wisdom of the Capitaine, in that he had chosen out, for the strength and fear of the war, a Colony of that power and that wealth; and lastly Spurrinna himselfe, nor by untimely exprobrating their fault, but by reason convincing it, wan them to his opinion, and leaving some behinde for scouts brought back the rest into Placentia lesse mutinous then before, and more at commandement. The walles were made stronger, the number of Bulwarks and Towers encreased, and provision made not onely of Armour, but of subjection and love of obeying, the only point which lacked in that side, when as otherwise they had of valour sufficient.

¹ Lying betwene the Po and the Alpes] Of Milan, Novara, Eporedia, and Vercellæ we have mention before lib. 1. of the rest being many and great towne, how they were at this time come to Vitellius side, nothing is set downe in Tacitus matters, in my opinion, not to have beene omitted, especially concerning Cremona. Plutarch seemeth to make Cremona, being one of the towne betwene the Alpes and the Po, to have beene kept and possessed a great while by the Othonians. And Tacitus here writeth, *capta Pannoniarum cohortes apud Cremonam* by the Vitellianists, which cohort of Pannonians, whatsoever they were, and from whence soever they came thither (for Tacitus leaveth us to our guesses) may seeme to have been put in the towne by Otho for a Garrison, and taken by the Vitellians with the towne, although the circumstances in Plutarch doe not fully agree with this reason of the time there.

IX. Cæcina cometh into Italy, and lyeth before Placentia in vaine.

BUT Cæcina, as if he had left on the other side of the Mountaines cruelty and Blicentioufnesse behinde him, marched thorow Italy with all modesty, he and his Companies. His kinde of attire the free Cities and Colonies construed as a signe of pride, because he gave audience to men which came gowned, himselfe being in his short souldiers coat of changeable colour, and wearing withall breeches after the French barbarous fashion: and as though they had bene interested thereby, they were grieved also to see his wife Salomina riding upon a goodly Pallray with a rich furniture of purple, albeit no man were wronged therein: such is the nature of man, and so deeply is the quality rooted in us, straitly to looke into the late prosperity of others with an envious eye, & to require a moderation of fortune, no where so much, as in those we have seene in an equal degree with our selves. Cæcina having passed the Po, and assayed by parles, and promises to weaken the loyalty of Otho's men, being quit with the like on their part, seeing that the plausible names of peace and concord had often bene spent betwene them in vaine, converted his countenances and cares to the besieging of Placentia in most terrible manner; knowing right well, that as the beginning of the warre should succede, so for the rest reputation would follow. But the first dayes worke was conducted rather by fury then according to skill meet for men of so long experience in service: without cover or defence they ventured rashly under the walles, their bodies surcharged with meat and wine. In that assault the Amphitheatre, a piece of most curious workmanship standing without the walles, was burned, set on fire either by the Besiegers as they hurled brands and balles of Wilde-fire against the besieged:

besieged: or by the besieged as they hurled againe. The townesmen being jealous, and prone to suspitions, beleevd that matter was miniftred to the fire upon malice, by certaine neighbour Colonies, upon emulation and envy, because no piece of worke in all Italy was of that capacitie beside: by what chance soever it happened; whilst farther danger was feared, it passed not greatly regarded; when all perill was past, as if no greater misfortune could have befallen, then it was much sorrowed for and lamented: but in the end Cæcina was repulld with losse of many of his men, and the night following was spent on both sides in new preparations. The Vitellianists make provision of ¹ plutei, crates, & vineæ, instruments to undermine the wals, and protect those which were to give the assault: the Othonians of timber logges and great weights of stones, and lead, and brasse, to breake thorow the works and overwhelm the adversaries. Both parties were pricked ² with shame, and with glory, and severall encouragements were used; the one side exalting the Legions and strength of the German Army, the other magnifying the honor of the city service, and of the Prætorian Cohorts: the one reviling the souldier within as sluggish and resty, and effeminat in the Race and Theatres, and the other rebuking the enemy without as a forrainer and stranger: affuming withall into part of the praise & dispraise the persons of Otho and Vitellius, affording indeed more plentifully matter of reproach then of just commendation. The day was scarcely yet sprung, when as the wals were replenished with men at defence, the fields did glister with armour and souldiers; the Legionary ³ with their thick and close ranks, the Auxiliary loose and dispersed they attempt with arrows and stones a farre off to disfigure the highest parts of the walles, if any place were neglected or decayed by age, thither they make neerer approaches: Otho's men from above, with more poyze and certaintie, hurle darts upon the German Cohorts, which rashly came under a hideous note, and according to their countrey manner, with bodies naked, shaking their targets over their shoulders: The Legionary Souldier, covered with plutei and crates, undermineth the walles, raiseth up Motintes, and endeavoureth to wrest open the gates: of the contrary side the Prætorian souldiers having milstones of huge weight placed for the purpose; with fearefull noise rowle them downe upon the enemy: part which came under were overwhelmed, part wounded with darts, and slain or mangled: and so as in a confusion and feare, the slaughter encreasing below, and consequently their fiercenesse above, the Vitellianists retired with decay of reputation to the side; and Cæcina upon the infamy and receive the Legions coming out of Dalmatia, and Pannonia, which if any where at ally, came and joined themselves with Gallus, conducted per chance by P. ⁴ *Plautius & Cælius*, ⁵ *Bruttianum* (such the holdfast upon ⁶ *Julius*, for so he was called) ⁷ *Bruttianum* is a village betwene Verona and Cremona, ⁸ *Bruttianum* is a village betwene Verona and Cremona, ⁹ *Bruttianum* is a village betwene Verona and Cremona, ¹⁰ *Bruttianum* is a village betwene Verona and Cremona, ¹¹ *Bruttianum* is a village betwene Verona and Cremona, ¹² *Bruttianum* is a village betwene Verona and Cremona, ¹³ *Bruttianum* is a village betwene Verona and Cremona, ¹⁴ *Bruttianum* is a village betwene Verona and Cremona, ¹⁵ *Bruttianum* is a village betwene Verona and Cremona, ¹⁶ 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66 Plutei, crates and vineæ] *Pluteus*, faith Vegetius lib. 4. cap. 15. is a certaine moveable engine *construtta ad similitudinem abissi*, & ciliis vel curvis tellis, quam obfidentes applicant moris, ejusque munitione protegit sagittis five fundis vel missilibus defensores de propugnaculis exturbant, ut scalis ascendendi facilius præstetur occasio. Vineæ according to Vegetius in the same place, and Lucan lib. 3. was a frame of wood, or hurdles, covered with earth, *sub quo subsidentes tati ad subruenda murorum pentant fundamenta*. Crates the same with the one or the other of them, or at least to the same purpose.

2. Notorious and infortunate] the two calamities here meant are the two great battels; the first betwene the Othoniens and Vitellianists described in this book: the other betwene the Vitellianists and Flavianists set downe in the next, more commonly knowne by the name of *prælium Cremonense*, and with greater reason, being fought under the wals of Cremona, and twenty miles from Bebricum, albeit then the first skirmish indeed began not about eight miles from Bebricum: 3. hift, and this former battell also was fought a great way from Bebricum, *intra septem id spatium*, faith Tacitus, and by all probability, many miles, as shall be declared elsewhere.

X. Macer skirmisheth with the Vitellianists. Otho suspecting the rest of his Capitaines, committeth the conduct of the war to Titianus his brother.

“Gladiatores.”

ABout the same time, not far from Cremona, Martius Macer had a luckie day against the Vitellianists. For Macer being a man of courage and forward, put the “fencers in Boats and landed them suddenly on the other side of the Po. There the Auxiliaries of the Vitellianists were distressed, and the rest fleeing to Cremona, those which remained behinde slaine: but the winners were not permitted further to follow the chace, lest the enemy strengthened with new supply should turne head against them, and alter the fortune of the battell. That fact bred jealousy in Othoes men misinterpreting all that was done howsoever sinisterly, who eagerly as each was in courage most dastard, most lavish in tongue, so fought they by divers misconstruing criminations to put in disgrace Annus Gallus, and Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus, for them also had Otho made commanders. The principall fire-brands of sedition and discord were the murderers of Galba, whose being transported by feare, and the guiltinesse of their owne conscience, disturbed and troubled all good course of proceeding; sometimes breaking openly into mutinous speeches, and sometimes by secret advertisements to Otho: who giving credit lightly to every base person, and standing in feare of the good, trembled and quaked, a man in prosperitie uncertainly carried, and governing himselfe in adversitie better. So he sent for Titianus his brother, and made him his Lieutenant generall in the warre.

1. So he sent for Titianus] This change of Captaines Plutarch with more reason putteth after the battell at *Castoris*: the victorie (speaking of the victory at *Castoris*) in *Vitellius* *exercitus* *regis* *et* *capitaneis*, *inter quos* *Titianus* *frater* *et* *legatus* *Paulinus*, *et* *Proculus* *capitaneis* *de* *guarda*, and indeed the alteration is too great to be induced upon the slackesse of a pettie companion, especially seeing we finde Macer, who committed the fault, still retained in his charge, and Paulinus and Celsus, two of the greatest men in the State, in a manner disgraced for the fault of another, according to Tacitus. Now upon this fault when soever committed, to send from Bristellum for Titianus at Rome to the many miles distant (for there we left him in the last words of the first booke) and bring him to Bebricum to the consultation, may perchance seeme strange to him that considereth how that from Othoes going out of Rome with his Army till his death were not above twenty foure dayes in all, and perchance not so much.

XI. Paulinus and Celsus give Cæcina an overthrow.

IN the meane season under the conduct of Paulinus and Celsus a notable overthrow was given. Cæcina attempts all falling to nothing, and the reputation of his army now wanting, much grieved his minde; he had been repulsd from Placentia; his Auxiliaries lately slaine, and when as the discoverers met one another,

ther, in those ordinary bickerings rather then material he commonly went to the worle: whereupon when Fabius Valens approached, lest the whole honor of the war should fall upon him, he hastened with greater speed then good counsell, to recover his glory. About (1) twelve miles from Cremona, at a place called Castores, he placeth secretly in the woods, joyning upon the high way, of his best Auxiliary fouldiers, commanding the horsemen to go out further, and so having begun the skirmish to give backe & retire, drawing on the enemy to follow in the heat of the chafe, untill the ambush should rise: that purpose was bewrayed to Othoes Commanders. Paullinus was Generall of the foot, and Celsus of the horse. The Vexillaries of the thirteenth Legion, foure Auxiliary Cohorts, and five hundred horse were placed in the left battell; in the middle (2) three Prætorian Cohorts, ranked straightly together, kept their standing upon the high way: in the right battell the first Legion marched, accompanied with two Vexillary Cohorts, and five hundred horse: and out of the Prætorian & auxiliaries were led a thousand horse for an over measure if fortune hapned to go on their side, or otherwise a supply, if they should be distressed. Before the joyning the Vitellianists turned their backs, & Celsus, understanding the fraud, repressed his men. The ambush rising up early, as Celsus gave ground, followed so farre till they were circumsented themselves, for on the sides were the Cohorts, and the Legion to meet them in face, & the horsemen suddenly ranging out had inclosed their backs. Suetonius Paullinus at the first delayed some time to give to his foot men the signe of the battell: for being a person naturally slow and one who liked much better wary courses with reason, then happy by chance, he commanded the ditches first to be filled, the field to be made open and easie of passage, the battalions to be displayed, supposing it seasonably enough to begin then to overcome others, when as order was taken they could not be overcome themselves. By means of that delay space was given to Vitellius men to flie into the vines, where, by reason of the branches wrapped and knit one in another, it was troublesome to follow: and a little wood adjoynd which covered them; out of which they issued effeones and slew the foremost of the Prætorian horsemen, there King Epiphaneus, fighting valiantly on Othoes side, was wounded. By that time Othoes foot-men pressed forward and bare downe by maine force the enemies host, turning to flight even those also which came for to succour. For Cæcina sent not for his Cohorts together, but one after another: which thing in the fight augmented the terrour: for the feare of them that fled carried away they succours which came dispersedly, and never so many at once, as to restore the battell. In the campe also a mutinie arose, because they were fetched so scatteringly, and Iulus Gratus the Camp-master was put in prison, as though in favour of his brother, who served under Otho, he intended some treason, whereas the Othoniens had, on the other side, committed toward Iulus Fronto his brother, a Tribune, upon colour of the same crime. But in truth every where where the feare was so great, in those which fled, in those which met them in the field & at the campe, that unlesse Suetonius Paullinus had founded the retreat, not suffering his men to follow the victory, it was commonly talked on both sides, that Cæcina might have been destroyed with his whole Army. Paullinus pretended that he was afraid, lest beside so much travell and so great a journey, the Vitellian fouldier should have issued forth of their Campe fresh against his men being tired, no supply remaying behind, if it fortune them to have beene defeated. Some few approved that reason of the Generall, but most men condemned the fact, and blamed him for it.

* King of what country? and how came he thither? & what became of him afterwards? great persons in a story require, in my opinion, a more exact and particular description.

G

(1) Twelve

(1) Twelve miles from Cremona at a place called Castor. This place ad *Castoris* is twelve miles (saith our Author) from Cremona, where the maine Campe, I think, of Cæcina lay, and eight miles at the least from Behricum, where Paullinus and Celsus were encamped, howsoever they are here met in the middle way. Gallus, as should seeme, was retired to cure himselfe of his fall, or at least, seeing here is no mention of him in the field, left to guard the Campe: as it seemeth also he was the time of the great maine battell described in the sixteenth Chapter.

(2) Three Prætorian Cohorts Five Prætorian Cohorts were under the charge of Gallus and Spurius. Two, whereof three were at this time in Placentia with Spurius, and three more we have here now in Gallus Campe, one too many: but Otho, we must say, was not far off to supply it out of the rest of the Prætorian Cohorts.

XII. The description of a mutiny which happened in Valens Campe.
Valens cometh into Italie and joyneth his power
with Cæcinaes.

His overthrow did not so much dant the Vitellianists, as it reduced them to a more modest behaviour, not onely in Cæcinaes campe, who cast the fault on the souldier more ready to mutiny then fight; but the Army of Fabius Valens also (for now he was come to Ticinum) laying aside contempt of the enemy & desirous to recover their glory, began to shew to their Generall a more reverend and orderly obedience. For before a great and hot mutinie had happened out, which I will now set downe from the beginning, albeit not in his proper time, because it was not convenient to interrupt the course of Cæcinaes actions. The Cohorts of Batavians, which in the warre of Nero were departed from the fourteenth Legion, and in their returne toward Britannie, hearing of Vitellius attempt in the countrey of Lingones, had joyned themselves,* as before we have shewed, to Fabius Valens, began to wax proud and insolent, vaunting and braving as they came to the tents of any of the Legions, that they were the men which had overruled the fourteenth Legion, bereaved Nero of Italy: that in their hands alone lay all the fortune and whole successe of this warre. That seemed contumelious to the souldier, and highly displeased the Generall, the discipline being by their wranglings and brawlings corrupted. At the last Valens, by their insolent behaviour suspecting perfidiousnes also, receiving advise, that the wing of the Treveri and Tungrians were beaten by Othoes Fleete, and that the Province of Narbon was in some danger of invasion, partly upon a care to defend his friends, and allies, and partly upon military policy to disperse these Batavians so mutiniously affected, and of so great strength if they remained together, commanded part of the Cohorts to goe & relieve them, which thing when it was heard and noyled abroad, the Auxiliaries mourned, the Legions stomached, lamenting they should be deprived in such a time of so many assistance of such valiant men: what should those so experienced, and conquerours in so many wars, when as the enemies were within view, bee sent away, as it were, out of the field? if the Province were a matter of more consequence then the Citie of Rome and safety of the State, why did they not all follow thither: but if the accomplishment of the victory, the strength and stay of the cause consisted in Italy, what reason then to breake of, as it were, the soundest and strongest limmes from the body? Upon these and the like presumptuous speeches, when as Valens by sending his Sergeants among them, went about to correct their seditious behaviour, they offered violence to himselfe, threw stones, and forcing him to flee, followed after, and crying, that the spoile of Fraunce, the gold of Vienna, & the price of their labours was by him embezeled, and hid, they spoyled his carriage, they peaced and searched his pavilions, and the very ground it selfe with their lances and darts: for Valens himselfe in a Bond-mans apparel lay unknown in the Tent of an under-captaine

* 1. Hist.

* It seemeth strange, that the Legions should be displeased with the departure of those, whose insolent and contumelious behavior they could not abide, if Tacitus say true not past fix lines before.

tain of horsemen. Then Alphenus Varus the Camp-master, perceiving the heat of the mutinie past, and the souldiers by little and little to grow colder, adjoyneth a policy therunto: (1) forbidding the Centurions to meddle with searching & perusing the watch, and omitting to sound the Trumpet, by which the souldier is called to his charge. Whereupon they stood all amazed, looking one on another, astonished and dismayed to see themselves thus without head, or direction: and so with silence and patience, and lastly with teares and intreaty besought pardon of their offence. But when as Valens came forth above all expectation alive, weeping and badly attired, then was there joy and compassion, and a generall favouring of the man: and changing their former affections into gladnesse, as the common sort is in both without measure, they carried him in the midst of the Standards and ensignes, with praises and gratulations, to the Tribunall. Valens using a profitable and discreet moderation, required not any one to be executed for this transgression; onely in words reproved some few, left if he dissembled the whole, he should be suspected the more: knowing right well that in civil wars the souldiers have advantage over the Generall, and are more bold to commit disorders, then the Generall may be to correct them. As they were entrenching at Ticinum, word was brought of Cæcinaes overthrow, and the sedition was almost renewed againe, as though by fraud and delays of Valens they had beene kept back, and come short of the battell. Whereupon refusing to rest any longer, without staying for their Generall they march forward, running before their ensignes, and halting the ensigne bearers: and so in all speed joyned with Cæcina. Valens was also disliked and generally blamed in the Army of Cæcina: who pretended themselves to be agrieved, that they were left, being so far inferiour in number as a prey to the whole power of the enemies: highly extolling withall the strength of the other Army, partly to excuse themselves, and partly to flatter their fellows, left as conquered and cowardly persons they should be despised of them: and albeit Valens had more forces, almost double number of Legions and Aides to the other, yet were the good wils of the souldiers more inclining to Cæcina, beside curtesie, wherein he excelled the other, by reason also of his flourishing age, and tallnesse of stature, and upon a certain vaine favour of men. Hereupon there grew emulation between the two Generals. Cæcina contemned the other, as a lewd person of life and criminally noted: Valens scoffed at him as being proud and vain-glorious: but reserving their hatred in secret they joyned openly both in the common cause, by many letters, without respect of pardon, objecting to Otho his infamous life; whereas the Generals of Othoes side, notwithstanding the argument yielded that way most plentiful matter, abstained from all reviling speeches against Vitellius: and in truth before their ends which on Othoes side was most commendable, of Vitellius most ignominious, the drowlie pleasures of Vitellius was feared lesse, then the hot burning lusts of Otho: and beside, the death of Galba had made Otho more terrible, and more odious: contrarily no man charged Vitellius with beginning the war. Vitellius in access and belly-cheere was an enemy to himselfe: Otho in riot, cruelty, audaciousnesse, reputed more dangerous to the State.

* Forbidding the Centurions] *Vetitis vigilas obire centurionibus*. The Centurions charge was not *obire vigilas* but *vigilare* to be on watch. Whereupon they whole charge it was (in Polybius, some of the horsemen, in Vegetius, circitores) went about. So that the Centurions not founding, the Round was not gone.

XIII. *Otho determineth to commit the matter to the hazard of a battell, and retireth himselfe to Brixellum.*

THe forces of Cæcina and Valens being joyned together, the Vitellianists refused not any longer to end the cause in a maine battell. Otho propoed the matter in counsell, whether way were more expedient, to prolong the war, or else to put it by and by to the fortune of a field. Then Suetonius Paulinus, esteemed the most expert man of that age in military affaires, supposing it agreeable to his fame and renown, to discourse of the whole manner of proceeding in this war, stood up, and declared his opinion to be; that making of halte was profitable for the enemy, and delaying for them, that all the hoste of Vitellius was come, certaine small forces remaining behind, which could not conveniently bee removed from the bank of the Rhene, for feare of invasion of those fierce nations: especially France standing also in some teares of rebellion: the souldier in Britanny had his hands full of the enemy there, and was also stopped by the sea: that Spaine had no greater store of souldiers: the Province of Narbon was frighted, by reason of the late invasion by sea, and the overthrow which they received; and that portion of Italy beyond the Po, now in the possession of the enemy, was watted with the passage of their Army, and having no helpe by sea, and by land shut in with the Alpes, could not be relieved from abroad: so that they could no where have come for their men, and an host without provision could not be entertained. Now the Germans, which and an host without provision could not be entertained. Now the Germans, which of all the enemies were most terrible, having foggy and waterish bodies, would not, if the warre were prolonged to the summer, be able to endure the change of the foile, and the aire, that many Armies whose fury at the first rush could not be resisted, by delays and wearing out were brought unto nothing. Contrariwise they had all things themselves, well stored and well assured unto them: Pannonia, Moesia, Dalmatia, the East, with their Armies, whole and untouched: Italie, and Rome the queene of the world, the Senate and people, titles never darkened, though sometimes overshadowed: wealth private and publicke, and infinite masses of money, which in civill dissensions is of greater force then the sword: the bodies of their souldiers were accustomed to Italy or to other hot countries: the river of Po lay before them as a defence: their Cities were safely manned and walled: and by the holding out of Placentia it was cleere to be seene, that none through distresse or despair would yeeld to the enemy: and therefore in his opinion hee was to protract the warre. That within few dayes the fourteenth Legion would be come, a Legion of great reputation, with the forces of Moesia: then might hee deliberate againe, and if it were liked to hazard the battell, fight with more power and greater advantage. Marius Celsus approved this opinion of Paulinus, and certaine which were sent to Annius Gallus (who was hurt with a fall off his horse a few daies before) to demand his advise, brought word that he also was of the same judgement. But Otho was willing to bring it to a battell: his brother Titianus and Proculus Captaine of the Guard, hastening upon ignorance and lacke of skill, protested that Fortune and all the gods, with the god head of Otho, favoured the Counsailes, and would without question prosper the enterprize: descending to this grosse kind of flattery, lest any should dare to crosse their opinion. After they had concluded to fight, a new doubt arose, whether it were better, that the Emperour should withdraw himselfe, or else be present in the field in person: the selfsame men taking also herein a wrong course, without any more opposition of Paulinus

* Not at *Rebiacum*, where the consultation was holden, but he meaneth if they should, as he wished, retire with their power: in *Rebiacum*, and there stand upon their defence.

Paulinus and Celsus, lest they should seeme to hazard their Prince too venturously, perswaded him to retire to Brixellum; and so being exempt from the doubtfull events of the field, to reserve himselfe for the maine chance of the state. That day was the beginning of ruine of Othoes side. For with him a valiant company of Pretorian cohorts, of "Spear-men and horse departed away: and the rest which remained behind were quite out of heart, as having no confidence in their Generals: and Otho, whom onely the souldiers trusted, because he trusted none else: but the souldiers had not perfectly settled the Generals in their charges, but left their authorities at large and uncertaine.

* Spiculatores.

XIII. *A skirmish between the Vitellianists and Macer with his Fencers upon the Po.*

ALl that was said or done was carried by and by to the Vitellian side, fugitives (warning as in civil wars, and the spies, upon desire to search out and discover other mens counsels, disclosing their owne. Cæcina and Valens lay still, quietly attending while the enemy should by his own rashnesse miscarry, meaning in lieu of wisdom to use the advantage of other mens folly. And so beginning a bridge, lest their souldiers should be made worse with too much idleness & ease, as if they had meant to have passed the Po, & forced a band of "Fencers encamped on the other side, they commanded boats to be placed crosse the River, with their heads up the streame, in equall and convenient distances, & joyned them strongly together with plancks, casting ankers also to make the bridge steady and firme: but the Cable-ropes were not tied short, but plaied at length, that when the river should rise, the whole frame likewise might rise without hurting. Upon the end of the bridge a tower was planted, reaching to the uttermost boat, that out of it they might with their engins and shot displace, and drive away the enemies: the Othomians also upon the bank had builded a Tower, and did hurle stones and fire. In the middle of the river there was an Island, into possession whereof the Fencers sought to put themselves by boat, but the Germans by swimming prevented them; and when Macer saw a competent number of them arrived there, embarking of his best Fencers, he putteth over to assaile them: but neither were the Fencers of the like courage in fight to the souldiers, neither could they, tottering out of their boates, aime to certaine a blow, as the other steadily standing did from the land: and when as through sundry steppings aside upon feare the rowers and souldiers which stood at defence, were contusedly mingled together & put in disorder, the German souldiers leaping courageously into the shallow, and hanging at the tails of the boats, either clambered up to the hatches, or by main strength overturned the boats into the water. All which things passing after this sort in the view of both the Armies, as they were matter of great joy to the Vitellianists, so to the contrary side they gave occasion to hate and detest him, who was author and cause of the losse. And the skirmish was ended indeed by flight and the breaking away of the boats which remained: but Macer was required to the slaughter: and when they had wounded him with a dart as farre off, they ranne in with their swords drawn to dispatch him, had not the Tribunes and Centurions come in to protect him. A little afterward Vestricius Spurinna by Othoes commandement, leaving a small garrison at Placentia, with his cohorts came to succour them: and anon Otho sent Flavius Sabinus Consul elect to command Macers Companies, the Souldiers being glad at the

* The one lay at *Rebiacum*, and the other by all conjecture at *Cremona*, twenty miles asunder.

change of Captaines, and the Captaines by reason of so many mutinies, unwilling to enter into fo dangerous a service.

XV. *That it is nothing probable, that in so corrupt an age, the souldiers would of their owne accord have surceased from civill warre, and by common consent, and advice of the Senate, deposing these two bad, have chosen a third good Prince.*

* *Pot. attributeth it to Celsus not to Paulinus.*

IN some writers I finde it recorded, that the armies, either having in horrou the war, or loathing both Princes, whose shames and dishonours were daily divulged more notoriously abroad, consulted among themselves to surcease the contention, and that either they by common consent should chuse a new Prince, or refer it over to the Senats appointment: and that therefore the Generals of Othoes side, ^a namely Paulinus, had counsell'd to delay and protract, hoping it would fall upon him, as being the most ancient Consular, a famous commander, and one that in the warres of Britanny had won great glory and name. For my part, although I could be induced to beleve, that Paulinus being fo wise a man would ever be for I cannot be brought to seeke for such moderation in the common sort, that when as hope in a most corrupt age for such moderation in the common sort, that when as for desire of war they had troubled the peace of the State, now for love of peace they would abandon the war: or that armies in tongue and conditions so different, could condescend to so great an agreement: or that the Lieutenants and Generals, which for the most part were persons drowned in riot, beggerly and guilty of most hainous crimes, would ever have suffered any Prince but one polluted with the like vices, and of their owne creation, and therefore wholly obnoxious to them. That ancient desire of dominion and rule ingrafted now long ago in mens hearts, grew up and shot out with greatnesse of the Empire. For whilest our dominions were strait, an equalitie was easily maintained: but after we had subdued the world, destroyed all Cities, or Kings which stood in our light, or might worke our annoyance; when as we had leisure to seeke for wealth void of perill, there arose first hot contentions betwene the Nobility and Commons: sometimes factious Tribunes carried it away: sometimes the Consuls held a hard hand and prevailed: and in the Citie and place of assembly, some little skirmishes, and commencements as it were of civil warres, were attempted. Anon after Caius Marius one of the meaneft of the Communality, and Lucius Sulla the cruell'est of all the Nobility, by force of armes overthrowing the free estate, induced an absolute governmēt. After whom Cneius Pompeius succeeded, somewhat ^b secrete, but nothing better: but after that time never was other question debated by armes, but who should be soveraigne Prince of the State. The Legions in Pharsalia and Philippi, consisting of Citizens, were not so moderately minded: much lesse may we think the armies of Otho and Vitellius would, of their owne accord, have laid downe their weapons. The gods were no lesse incensed against us: men were no lesse mad and furiously minded: the same vices reigning amongst us have induced the like dissensions & discords. That the wars were decided, and ended as it were each at one stroke, we are to attribute it to the cowardlinesse and faint heartednesse of the Princes, & not to the peaceableness of the armies. But the recounting of the dispositions & manners, of present and ancient times, hath carried me out of the way. Now I return to the order of the storie.

XVI. The

XVI. *The great battell at Bebricum: wherein Othoes side was overthrowne.*

WHen Otho was gone to Brixellum, Titianus his brother carried the countenance and title of General; Proculus Capitaine of the Guard the power and authority: Paulinus and Celsus, when as no man employed their wisdom and skill, were Captaines onely for names sake, and to be entituled to other mens faults: the Tribunes and Centurions, seeing the better contemned, and the worst sort in credit, were doubtfull of the event: the souldier notwithstanding was full of courage and heart, yet such as had rather contrive then execute his Generals commandements. It was resolved, that the campe should remove forward, and sit down in a place foure miles off from Bebricum, fo without reason and skill, that although it was spring time of the yeare, and so many rivers about them, yet were they distressed for water. There it was disputed whether the battell were to be given or not. For Otho by letters required to hasten the matter: the souldiers desired their Princes presence in field: many were of opinion to send for the Companies which lay on the other side of the Po. Neither can it so easily be discerned what had bene best to have done, as that it was the worst which they did: undertaking to go to the confluence of the rivers of Po and Olius, full sixteen miles from that place (a competent journey for an Army to march, & much too great for them which went to a battell) directly against the advice of Paulinus and Celsus, who held it unsafe to hazard the souldier, tired with the journey, & heavie laden with carriage, against an enemy, that would not faile, being lightly appointed, and having come scarce foure miles to charge upon them either as they marched in disaray, or else at the sitting downe as they dispersed themselves to fortifie the Campe. But Titianus and Proculus; when they were overcome by reason fled to authoritie, by vertue of their Office commanding the contrary: and indeed there was come a ^a Numidian Horse-man in post from Otho with a sharpe message, in the which, as one that could not abide delays, and impatient to linger in hope, checked the Generals for their slacknesse, commanding them forthwith to put it to a field. The same day as Cæcina was busily occupied about making the bridge, two Tribunes of Prætorian Cohorts came thither, demanding to speake with him: and being upon the point to give audience, and make answer unto them, the skowts came running in haste, signifying the enemy was at hand: whereupon the parlee brake off, and so it remained uncertaine what they intended, whether to lay a traine for Cæcina, or to betray their owne fellows, or else some other honest devise. Cæcina having dismissed the Tribunes, riding back to the Campe, found the signe of the battell already given by Valens commandement, and the souldiers in armes. Whilest the Legions cast lots concerning their order in marching to the field, the Horse-men issuing out charged, and were beaten backe very strangely, by Othoes men being fewer in number, even into the Trenches, had not the Italian Legion manfully drawne their swords, and by feare forced them to returne and make head upon the enemy againe. The Vitellian Legions were ordered and put in aray without tumult or feare: for the bushes and thickets tooke away the sight of the enemy, albeit he were neere. Contrarily in Othoes Armie the Generals with feare were put out of their skill. the souldiers neither loved nor trusted their Generals; the wagons and idle followers of the Campe troubled the workes of the souldiers. being confusedly mingled amongst them; and the High-way deeply ditched

* Great performances in those dayes had usually certaine African or Numidian horsemen to leade their traine, or for other sudden dispatches. Suet. Epit. 124. Omnes jam se peregrinos, ut illos Numidianum vocant equitatus, ut agmen cursum antecederent, turpe est nullis esse qui occurrentes via desistant, qui velissum hominem venire magno pecore ostendat. Item Epit. 88. Oriental. lib. 12. Epigram. 12. Non vellet Lybia niger catervas succinctis meque cascos antecedit.

* *Saturnus apud Suet lib. de clari Grammaticis. Pompeius oris probi, a timore, invere.*

ditched on both sides was too narrow for an army, though marching without feare of the enemy: some stood about, some fought their ensignes, on every side there was a confused noise of men running & crying: and as each was guided by boldnesse or feare, so pressed he forward into the first ranks, or retired into the last. Their mindes being in this fort stricken with a sudden terrour, a falsly furnished joy abated their fiercenesse: for some there were which untruly gave out, that the army was revolted from Vitellius. That rumour whether it was dispersed abroad by Vitellius spies, or rose otherwise among Otho's men, whether by fraud or chance, it is not certainly knowne: but howsoever, thereupon the Othonians laying aside all edge to fight, in stead thereof profered after a friendly sort to salute them, but were with unfriendly murmure intainted againe: which salutation gave cause to many of their owne side, that were ignorant of the rumour, to feare treason. Then the host of the enemies in good array, superiour both in number and strength, charged upon them: the Othoians, although in disarray fewer and weary, yet valiantly received the charge. And as in places troubled with trees and Vines the fight was not every where after one manner: but here neerer at hand, and there farther off: sometime in Squadron, sometime in Triangle-figure: upon the height of the way joyning foote to foot, and bearing down with body to body, and buckler to buckler: omitting the use of the dart, and with swords and hatchets unbuckling and breaking helmets and corslets: and the parties knowing one another, and being seene of their companions, each contended to shew vertue and valour, as if upon their manhood had depended the event of the whole warre. It fortuned, that in open field betweene the Poland and the high way, two legions met and fought together; for Vitellius the one and twentieth furnished Rapax, a Legion anciently renowned, of Otho's part the first called Adjutrix, one never before brought to the battell, but presuming greatly of her selfe, and greedy as in her first service, of honor. They of the first Legion, beating to ground the * ensignes of the one and twentieth, took away the standard by force: whereupon the Legion incensed with griefe both put them of the first in braule slaying Orphidius Benignus the Lieutenant, and also took many ensignes and banners from them. On the other side the thirteenth Legion was forced by them of the fifth: and certain of the fourteenth hemmed in with multitudes of enemies that came in upon them. And whereas the Generals of Otho's side had left the field and were fled already away, Cæcina and Valens yet strengthened their side with fresh supply: and besides a new succour came in of * Alphenus Varus with his Batavians, after he had discomfited the band of the Fencers, who passing the water by boats, were slain by the adversary Cohorts in the very river it selfe. So being victorious they invaded the flanke of the enemies: and when once the middle battell was forced, the Othoians brake and fled toward Bebricum. The way was long and almost stopped up with dead carcases, the slaughter being the greater for that in civill wars there is no profit to be made of the prisoners. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus took sundry waies and shunned the campe: Vedius Aquila Lieutenant of the thirteenth Legion, supposing all other waies unfit, through unadvised feare put himselfe into the danger of the furious souldier. For entering into the Campe a great while before it was night, he was exclaimed upon and railed at on every side, with clamors of the most feditious and cowardly persons: who forbearing to use neither tongues nor hands, reviled him as a fugitive and traitor, not upon any specialty they could charge him withall, but after the manner of the common sort, each man laying his owne shames upon others. Titianus & Celsus returned not before night, which served them to good purpose.

For

for the watch was now set, and the souldiers fury appeased by the helpe of (2) Annius Gallus: who partly by intreaty and advice, partly by his credit and authority, perswaded them not to heape misery upon misery, and beside the losse of the battell to seeke the spoile one of another: that whether the warre were now at an end, or else it would please them to resume it, the only meanes to relieve the conquered side consisted in their agreeing together. And indeed the rest were out of courage and comfort: only the Guard souldiers stormed, affirming they were overcome not by manhood but treason: and that the Vitellian side had bought the victory dearely with their blood, their horsemen being repulled, and the standard of a Legion taken away, that there yet remained in store many souldiers beyond the Po attending on Otho: the Legions of Mœsia were coming at hand, and that a great part of the army had stayed behind at Bebricum, & never presented themselves to the battell: that surely these at the least had not been overcome: and if so needs it must be, they should with more honor die in the field. Upon these and the like cogitations sometimes growing desperate, & sometimes yielding to feare, through consideration of their owne forlorne estate, they were incited more often to rage than to relent. The Vitellian Army lodged five miles from Bebricum, the Generalls not daring that day to attempt the enemies campe: and beside a voluntary yeelding was hoped for: where albeit they could not intrench, as men that went out lightly appointed and only to fight, yet their weapons in hand, and the victorie they lately obtained, was a sufficient defence. The day following those of Otho's men which had made shew of most courage, repenting and yeelding, the whole Army with one accord sent an Embassage to the Vitellians. The Vitellian Generalls without any question granted them peace: only the Embassadors were stayed there for a season, which bred a scruple in the minds of the other, not knowing whether they had obtained as yet or not the request: but anon the Embassage returning, the Campe was set open. Then both the conquered & conquerors, breaking out into weeping, with a wofull joyfulness, derided the misery of civill dissensions: and meeting in the same Tents, some comforted their brethren, some their friends which were wounded. Hopes and rewards were doubtfull and in expectation alone: burials and mournings were certaine and sure before hand: neither was there any sovoid of mischance, that had not to mourne for some bodies death. The bodie of Orphidius the Lieutenant was fought out, and buried with accustomed solemnity, and some few beside by their friends: the rest of the common sort were left on the ground.

2 When Otho was gone to Brixellum] In the description of this great battell, in my conceit, are many great imperfections. And first to settle the reading, where in some printed copies it is by correction *constantes* *Padis* & *Adia* *fluminis* *perstant*, whereas *Padis* & *Adia* was found in old written Copies, is a mistaking of the Correctour. *Padus* and *Adia* meere com Cremona: Bebricum standeth twenty miles below: So that the Othoians removing from Bebricum, with intention to fight with the Vitellians being about Cremona, had no reason to goe to the confluence of *Padus* and *Adia*. Then the distance cannot agree: For the straight way between Bebricum and the confluence of *Adia*, must be no more than here is limited. So that were multitudes between meeting with the Po, some (2) foure miles or thereabout beneath Cremona: *Ollus* perchance, or some other, whose confluence the Othoians went to, and whereabout the battell began. Now where the Vitellians were encamped, Tacitus very strangely omitteth to set downe. Mæcæ with his Gladiators, was hand *procul* *Cremona*, *vis* against whom Cæcina made a bridge, which bridge, as it appeareth by the circumstances, was not farre from their maine Campe. Then the Vitellians which fled away, fled to Cremona, as to their strength, and place of retreat, Lilly Tacitus himselfe. 3. Hist. talking of Cremona, *admodum visis bellis*, and in the same book, *Othoiano bello* *Gomantius miles manibus Cremonensium castra sua castris vallium circumsecerat*: a notable particularitie, and more agreeable to have beene declared here. But by all these places, we may, I suppose, safely presume, that at Cremona, they were they came by it: for that also may be a question, as it is touched before, was alwaies afterward the Vitellians maine Campe. Now the Othoians, sixth Tacitus, removed 4. miles forward, leaving notwithstanding at Bebricum the Campe standing and furnished with many men for the defence: So that this Campe foure miles from Bebricum was but only for a nights lodging: for to Bebricum only did the Othonian souldiers retire when they

4 According to Plutarch, from Bebricum they went 50. Italia to that day place the day after they minded to go an hundred Italia, but Paulinus dissuaded till the escape of the Numidian horsemen took up the matter between them, and so they marched directly toward the enemy.

5 Othoiani quia quoniam diffusi, pauciores fuisse. At Vitelliani equites qui minus a consuetudine in via non impetierant: Italia legiones cunctas retinuit fuisse.

6 According to Plutarch, from Bebricum they went 50. Italia to that day place the day after they minded to go an hundred Italia, but Paulinus dissuaded till the escape of the Numidian horsemen took up the matter between them, and so they marched directly toward the enemy.

2 Annii Gallus] In the consultation at Bebricum he was absent. When he returned againe thither, and wherefore he stayed there when all the rest went out to fight, is not declared by Tacitus like as also many particulars concerning Celsus, Gallus, Titinius &c. worthy the remembrance in the yeelding of the Othionians to Valens and Cæcinius, which are well recorded by Plutarch, and ill left out by our Author, who to confesse a truth, in this whole history hath behaved himselfe so well, that the only thing we may perfectly understand, is, that he understood not the matter fully himselfe: and indeed for the particularities Plutarch writeth, that they which were present at the battell professed not to know themselves, *non se agnoscebat, nisi de conspectu.* That is, for the distance and confusion. But yet surely Tacitus is not excusable, seeing that Plutarch, who was lesse skilled in the Romane affaires, and had lesse occasion to know so much, of two bad hath set it downe more intelligibly, being a man otherwise not to be named the same day with Tacitus.

XVII. Otho understanding of the overthrow at Bebricum killeth himselfe. The souldiers about him, when they could not induce Verginius to undertake the place, yeeld themselves to the Vitellianists.

IN the meane while Otho at Brixellum waited for the newes of the battell without all passion of feare, and certainly resolved what he would doe. And first an uncertaine report of ill tidings was muttered without head or avdow; then they which fled out of the battell came and declared that all was certainly lost. The souldiers ardent affection was such, that they stayed not for any comfort or encouragement from their Emperour, but contrawise they comforted him, bidding him to be of good cheere: that there was yet new forces remayning, & that they would hazard all perils and suffer all extremities for his sake: neither was it flattery, but in unfained good meaning, upon a certaine instinct and furie, and mightily desired to goe to the field, to set up the fide and recover the losses againe. They which stood a farr off held up their hands and besought him: the nearest embraced his knees, especially Plotius Firmus Captaine of the Guard, who besought him often and instantly not to forsake his so well deserving souldiers, so loving and faithfull an Armie, averring that it was greater magnanimity to endure then to relinquish when fortune doth crosse: that stout men and valiant, even against fortune doe relye upon hope, whereas the cowardly dastards are hastily drawne by feare to despaire. As Otho seemed by his countenance to yeeld to these speeches, or else to reject them, so were there diversly shewings for joy, or groanings for sorrow. And not onely the Prætorians, the most addicted and partiall souldiers to Otho, but those also which were sent before out of Mœcia affirmed, that the Armie which was expected would alike oblatinately maintaine the quarell: and that the Legions already were come to Aquileia; so that without all question a cruell and bloody warre might have beene renewed of doubtfull event to the one side and to the other. But Otho altogether aliene from any purpose of warre, To hazard, quoth hee, this vertue and valour of yours to needlesse dangers, I account it too deare a price of my life. The more hope you doe shew, if I list to live, the more commendation will be of

of my death as being voluntary & not by constraint. Fortune and I have had good experience the one of the other: and nothing the lesse for that my time hath been short. I tel you, it is harder to moderate a mans selfe in felicity, the which he looketh not long to enjoy. The civil war began on Vitellius party, & thence grew the first occasion to contend with arms for the Empire: but to contend no oftner but once, I for my part am purposed to give the example. And hereby let the posterity judge and esteeme of Otho. Through my benefit Vitellius shall enjoy his brother, his wife, and his children: I seek no revenge, I have no need of such comforts. Others have kept longer the Empire, but let it be said, that none hath ever so valiantly left it. Shall I suffer so much Roman blood againe to be spilt, and the Commonwealth deprived of so worthy Armies? Let this minde accompany me to my grave, & so surely it shall, that you for your parts would have died for my sake: but carry you and live, and let not me be any longer a hinderance to your obtaining of pardon, nor you to my determination and purpose. To speak more of dying, or to use many words in that argument, I take to proceed of a cowardly courage. This take for a principall proofe of my resoluteness, that I complaine not of any. For to blame gods or men is their properitie that gladly would live. After these words and the like, in courteous language, according to their age or degree, he required the young men, and desired the old to get them quickly away and goe to the winner; left by slacking the time they provoked his further displeasure: rebuking effoonces the unseasonable weepings of those about him, without any shew of alteration in countenance, or figure of feare in his speech. Then he commanded those which departed to be furnished with wagons and barges; burned all books and letters containing any matter notably in favour of himselfe or disfavour of Vitellius, and distributed money sparingly, and not as one that should die. Then he called unto him Salvius Cocceianus his brothers sonne, being in the prime of his youth, and seeing him fore afraid and weeping, he comforted him, notwithstanding the case touched nearer himselfe, commending his kindnesse, and naturall affection, and reprehending his timorousefesse. What? were it possible, that Vitellius should bee so hard hearted, and cruelly minded, as not to do him that one pleasure, whereas he had preserved for him his whole house without harme? that at least by his hastie dispatch of himselfe he deserved that some courtesie should be shewed to his kinned: especially having forborne, for the love of his countrey, to seeke his last and uttermost remedy, not upon extreme despaire, but then when as his army with instance demanded to bring it to a battell againe. But, hee said, for his part he had gotten renowne enough for himselfe, and nobilitie for his posteritie, after the Julian, Claudian, and Servian families, having first of all men brought into a house of no great continuance the honour of having an Emperour: and therefore he willed him with good courage to live and go on, neither forgetting at any time that Otho was his Uncle, nor yet too much remembering the same. After these things he willed all to depart and give place, and gave himselfe a while to his rest: but a sudden tumult interrupted the course of his last cares, word being brought in of the disordered & outrageous behaviour of the souldiers: who threatened to kill all those which went away, but were most eagerly bent against Verginius, whose house being shut they beset round about. Whereupon Otho went out, and having rebuked the principall mutins, returning againe spent the time in waking and comforting them which departed, untill they were all safely conveyed away. When it grew toward night, hee quenched his thirst with a cup of cold water: then two Kapiers were brought in: and after he had tried their points he put the one under his pillow: and having

the death of Otho the more praise worthy the sooner heard of, put them out of feare.

XIX. *The estate of affaires at Rome: and the insolencies committed by the Vitellian souldiers after the victorie.*

^a Cerialia began the 12. of April, and ended the 19. so that after the death of Otho at Braxellum heard of at Rome, Cerialia ludi ex more spectabantur, the day of his death, albeit the news came in post, could hardly be so late as the 18. of April, and not possibly so late as the 19.

BUt at Rome all was quiet, without any trouble or feare, the ^a plays of Ceres were solemnly kept according to the custome: and when certaine word was brought into the Theatre that Otho was dead, and that Flavius Sabinus Provoft of the Citie had sworne all the souldiers in the City to Vitellius, in signe of joy the people clapped their hands and gave applause unto Vitellius. Then they carried the images of Galba with boughes of Lawrell and flowers about the Temples, heap- ing up together in manner of a tombe garlands and Coronets about Lacus Curtius, which place Galba at his death had embred with his blood. In the Senate all titles and honours usually conferred upon other Princes by occasions, and after they had reigned many yeeres, were straight wayes decreed to Vitellius: and whichall praises concluded upon for the German armies, with solemn thanks for their good service, and an Embassage sent to congratulate. Letters also were read; written by Fabius Valens to the Consuls, in a stile humble enough: yet Cæcinae modestie was better accepted in that he wrote not at all. But Italy was now more grievously vexed, and cruelly handled then during the war. The Vitellian souldiers dispersed in the free towns and Colonies pillled and spoiled, polluted and ravished without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane, but only following their ravenous and insolent humour, or else by money bought out to forbear: and some there were that counterfaising themselves to be souldiers slew their particular enemies. The souldiers also themselves were skilled in the Countrey, and designed out the well stored grounds, and well monied masters to pray upon, or if resistance were made, to destroy them; the Generalls being obnoxious and not daring to prohibit: Cæcina was lesse covetous and more possessed with vain-glory: Valens was for bribery and polling infamous, and therefore a winker also at other mens faults, so many footmen and horse, so great violences, dammages and injuries, especially the state of Italy being already greatly empoverished before, were hardly abiden.

XX. *Vitellius voiage from Germanie to Lions, and his actions there.*

^a Primo impetio die, faith Velleius, cap. 1. contrary to the circumstantes of this place.

IN the meane season Vitellius ignorant of his own victory, made preparation as for a war new to begin, and carried with him beside eight thousand souldiers of Britannie, the strength which remained of the German army: few old souldiers were left in the standing Camps, but new men levied in hast out of France to uphold the names of the Legions remaining behinde: and the charge of the militarie affaires there was committed to Hordeonius Flaccus. When Vitellius had marched some few dayes journey, he understood of the good successe at Bebricum; then that Otho was dead and the war finished: whereupon calling an assembly he highly extolled the valiantnesse of the souldiers. ^a After the speech, his Armie instantly requested him to create Asiaticus his freed man a gentleman of Rome: with shamefull flattery he then rebuked; and soon after upon a sicklenesse of wit, that which he had openly refused, he privily bestowed in banquet, and honoured with rings Asiaticus, a base abject slave, and one seeking to rise by ill meanes. About the same

time message was brought that Albinus Procurator of both Mauritanes was slain, and the Countries had sided themselves with Vitellius. Lucceius Albinus was by Nero sent over Mauritania Cæsariensis, and Galba annexed the administration of Tingitana; so that he had forces of good moment under his charge: eighteen Cohorts, five wings and an infinite number of Moores not unfit for the warre, as men that usually lived of stealing and harrowing their neighbours. When Galba was slain he followed the party of Otho, and not contenting himselfe with Africk, had a purpose for Spaine, being disjoyned from it by a narrow straight. Hereupon Cluvius Rufus was afraid, and commanded the tenth Legion to approach to the shore, as if he meant to have shipped over: sending before certain Centurions to induce the mindes of the Moores to favour Vitellius: neither was it hard to effect. For the fame of the German Army was great throughout all the Provinces, and beside a report was spread, that Albinus contemning the name of a Procurator, had usurped a royall diademe, and the name of ^b Juba. So their mindes being changed, thereupon they went and slew Asinius Pollio Captain of a wing, one of Albinus faithfull friends, and Festus and Scipio two Captaines of Cohorts: Albinus himselfe as he went by sea from Tingitana to Mauritania Cæsariensis was slain as he landed, and his wife withall, who voluntarily offered herselfe to the slaughter. These things and all else what was done Vitellius passed over without due examination, as his manner was with a short audience to turn over matters of greatest importance; a man farre unmeet to wield weighty affaires. When they came to Araris, Vitellius willed the Army to march by land, and went himselfe down by the river, without any furniture for a Prince, but in his old beggerly array, till Junius Blaesus governour of Gallia Lugdunenſis, a man of high parentage, of a frack mind and wealth answerable thereto, furnished him of provision and servitours, and accompanied him honorably according to his estate: a thanklesse office and displeasing, albeit Vitellius fought by submisſe and glozing speeches to cover his hatred. At Lions the Generalls met him of both sides, the winning and loosing. Valens and Cæcina he commended in open assembly, and set them about his chaire of estate: then he commanded the whole Army to go out, and meet his little ^d young son. Being brought and clothed in a princely mantell, his father holding him in his armes named him Germanicus, and arraigned him with all the imperiall ornaments: this excessive honour in prosperity, in adversitie served ^e for a comfort. Then were the bravest and forwardest of Othoes Centurions put to the sword: upon which occasion grew principally the dislike the Illyrian Armies conceived of Vitellius, and withall the rest of the Legions, partly by contagion, and partly upon envy to the German souldiers, had alio, and projected warre in their mindes. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus could not have audience, but were detained a great while in sorrow and heavinesse: till length being admitted they produced matter of excuse, rather such as stood withold, the present necessity, then such as might stand with their honour: as that in favour of Vitellius they had betrayed their own fellows; alleading the length of the journey before the battell, the wearinesse of Othoes men, the shuffling of Cartes and the souldiers together, and many other matters of chance, as done by them for the purpose: and Vitellius beleaved the treason, and acquitted them of the crime of fidelity. Salvius Titianus Othoes brother was clearly discharged, being holden excused both because he was so nearly tied by nature, and because he was a man of no moment. Marius Cellus had his life and honor saved: for his Consulship was reserved unto him. It was said and beleaved, and afterward objected to Cæcilius Simplex in the Senate, that he fled to have bought that office with money, seeking withall the

* *Coarctati aliorum consiliiatus*, some indeed were stricken out, but every one, as it may seem, accomplished his ordinary time of two months. See the annotation upon the first book.

compulsions as many a good man, but selling his honour to nourish his riot and feed his belly, to which he had wholly enthrall'd himselfe. Now that Valens and Caccina might obtaine some void months that yeare to be Confuls in, certaine others * were abridged of their time: M. Macer was passed over because he had bene a Captaine of Othoes fide: Valerius Marinus whom Galba appointed was put over to another time, not upon any dislike, but because he was of a soft nature, and would gently put up a wrong. Pedanius Costa was omitted being disliked of the Prince, because he had attempted against Nero, pricked Verginius forward: but Vitellius alleadged other causes, and according to the servile custome of that time great thanks were given him beside.

[illegible][illegible]

*Spectabunt cupide matres, spang natur & omnes
Flore vis—*

3. To the gods of the place] In that religion every wood and field had his local gods, without whose good favour no humane action could in that place have any happy success. So Æneas in Virg. l. 7. at his entry into Italy.

geniumque loci primamque deorum
Tellurem, nymphasque, & adhuc ignota precatur
Flumina, — and Orestes in Sophocles Electra.
αἰὶν' ὁ παῖς αἶψά γὰρ, διστ' ἰχθυόεντι
διδόται, καὶ στρωμένῃ τῇσι τοῖς ἰδίῃσι.

[illegible]

XXII. *One Geta a bond-man counterfaising himselfe to be Scribanius Camerinus, and associating others vnto him, was taken, brought to Vitellius and hanged.*

ABout the same time a certaine fable, beleevd at the first, and running without controulment at the beginning, ended within few dayes. A certaine man counterfaieted himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and that he had lien in Neroes time for feare secret in Histria, because there the vassalls and possiessions of the old Craffi and the affection toward the name did remaine. So certain lewd persons being assumed to furnishe the play, the credulous common people, and some of the fouldiers, upon ignorance of the truth, or else desirous of troubles, began to afficiat themselves unto him apace: but their Captain was intrapped anon and brought before Vitellius, and being examined what manner of man he was, when as they

found no truth in his answers, and that he was owned by his master by name and qualitie Geta a fugitive bond-mian, he was executed after the manner of slaves.

XXIII. *Vespasian sweareth to Vitellius: then taketh upon himselfe the Empire in Iewry.*

IT is scarcely credible how greatly Vitellius grew in pride and stockfulness, when as the souldiers fent for that purpose brought word out of Syria and Jewry, that the East had sworne allegiance unto him. For Vespasian, albeit onely upon a flying report without any certain author, was in every mans mouth, and commonly spoken of, and oftentimes as he was named Vitellius would startle. Then he and his Army, as being without any concurrent in crueltye, in lust, in oppression, brake out into barbarous and forrein behaviour. But Vespasian in the meane season laying his plot for the war, entered into consideration of the forces both neare and farre off. His own souldiers, were fo ready in his behalfe, that when he began them the oath and wished all prosperitie to Vitellius, the souldiers answered with silence, without either good with or good word. Mutianus was not aliene from Vespasian, and toward Titus very well affected. Alexander the gouernour of Egypt had entered into the confederacie. The third Legion, because it was transferred out of Syria into Moesia, Vespasian reckoned as his own: and the rest of the Illyrian Legions it was hoped would follow. For the insolent behaviour of the souldiers which came from Vitellius, with their proud gestures and looks, and rude speeches, despising all others as base and inferiours, had wonderfully offended all the armies beside. But to enter into so weighty a war was a point not so quickly resolved upon: and Vespasian albeit he hoped the best, forecaft sometimes the worst in his minde: what a day would that be for him, in the which he should commit to the mercy of the war himselfe of three score yeares of age, and his two sons in the flower of their youth? that in private attempts a man might proceed and stop where he listed; but to them which desired the Empire there was no middle course, between the state of a Prince and the death of a Traitor. Further more he laied before him the puiffance of the German army; a matter well known unto him: being a martiall man: that his Legions had never made triall of themselves in a ciuill war, whereas they of Vitellius had been conquerours therein: and the conquered party abounded more in complaints then in forces and strength. Moreover that in ciuill dissensions the faith of the souldiers was fleeing: and that there was perill to be feared from every particular man. For what would Cohorts and Wings auail, if one or two, to attaine the reward proposed by the other side, would desperately venture to kill him? so Scribonianus was slain under Claudius, and so his murderer Volaginius of a common souldier was preferred to the highest places of service. That it was a more easie matter to incite all in generall, then to beware of every one in particular. As he seemed to waver, moved with these feares, both the other Lieutenants with the rest of his friends fought to confirme him, and Mutianus after many and secret conferences, now also in open councell spake to him in this wise. All men, which are to enter into great and important actions, ought to weigh with themselves, whether that which is undertaken be profitable to the Commonwealth, honorable for themselves, and easie to be effected, or at least not greatly difficult: withall the party that perswadeth unto it is to be considered, whether beside bare words and aduise he adjoyne his own perill thereto, yea or no: and if fortune do fauour the attempt to whom the principall glory accrueeth. I call you Vespasian to the taking of the Empire, a matter as

Viro militari, for Vespasian before he was sent into Jewry had become Lieutenant of a Legion in Germanie, then in Brittain, where he fought 30 battles, took about 20 towns, and adjoynd the Ile of Wight to the obedience of the Roman Empire, wherupon he received triumphalia ornamenta. Suet. Vesp. cap. 4.

much

"much for the safeguard of the Common-wealth, as for your own honour. Next after the gods it is in your hand to attain it: and fear not as though I said it to flatter it: it is more near a disgrace then a praise to be chosen after Vitellius. We rise not against Augustus, a man of that deep insight, not against the wary old age of Tiberius, nor against the house of Caius, or Claudius, or Nero rooted by so many descents in the Empire: you gave place also to the ancientness of Galba's house: to sleep any longer and abandon the State to be in this sort polluted and ruined, were a sloth and cowardise, yea although to live in that slavery were as safe for you, as it is dishonourable, which indeed is not so. The time is already gone and fore-past when you might seem to have for ambition desired the Empire: the Empire must now be your sanctuary and refuge. Have you forgotten how Corbulo was murdered? a man of greater lineage then we are, I grant: and so was Nero likewise then? Vitellius. He that is feared is always noble enough in his conceit that doth feare: and that a Prince may be made by the souldiers abroad, Vitellius himselfe hath shewed the way: a man otherwise which never served in field, never attained to any military renown, but preferred onely upon a dislike of Galba, and now so disliked himself, that Otho, whom he overcame, not by stratageme or strength, but by his own hastie casting away of himself, is become a notable Prince and much wished for: whereas Vitellius in the mean time disperseth the Legions, disarmeth the Cohorts, and ministreth daily new matter of war. His own souldier if he had any courage or edge, it is dulled and worn away in tipling and brotheling houses, and following the Princes example. You have out of Jewry, Syria, and Egypt nine companies of Legions in readines, not waisted by war, nor corrupted with mutinies; but a souldier confirmed with practise and use, and hartned with happy exploits against foreign enemies. We have Navies, wings and Cohorts to strengthen our cause, and Kings beside most faithfull unto us: and that which is above all, your own experience and skill. Of my self I will not say much: this onely that I am not inferior to Cæcina and Valens: disdain not Mutianus for a helper, because you have him not a competitor: I prefer myself before Vitellius, and you before me. Your house is beautified with triumphall ornaments, & adorned with two goodly young men, the one already capable of the Empire, and in his first service renowned among the armies of Germany also: it were absurd for me not to yeeld up the Empire to him, whose sonne I would surely adopt if myself were Emperour. Now as concerning the reward and the perill, they shall not be equally parted between us. For if we do overcome, I shall have that honour which you will afford me: the danger and perill shall be alike to us both; or as it is better, rule you these Armies here, and commit over to me the war and uncertain events of the field. The conquered side liveth this day under better discipline, then the conquerours; anger & hatred, & desire of revenge inflaming them to valor, whereas the other through pride and breach of discipline wax dullish and blunt: whose secret and swelling wounds the war of it self will open and disclose: neither do I repose my self more upon your vigilant, frugall and discreet dealing, then upon the sluggish, doltish, and cruell proceeding of Vitellius. And beside all this our cause is more justifiable in war then in peace: for they which deliberate to rebell, have rebelled. After the Oration of Mutianus the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and persuading him, and laying before him the Oracles and Prophecies, and the favourable aspects of the heavens: neither was Vespasian void of that kinde of superstition. For afterward when he was Emperour, he had openly about him one Seleucus an Astrologer, to foretell and direct his affaires. Moreover certain old and ominous pre-

* Abiis jam & trasfectum est tempus quo poffet videri civitatis, emigrescens est ad imperium.

† About twenty seven yeares old.

sages came to his remembrance. A notable tall Cypres-tree was in his ground, which suddenly fell down, and the day following rose up againe upon the same root and flourished, growing higher and better spread then before. That then by the content of the Haruspices fore shewed great and prosperous matters: who assured him, when he was very young, of most high and honourable preferment. But at the first the Consulship, and triumphall ornaments, and the glory of the Jewish victory seemed to have fulfilled the prophecy: when he had attained to them, he believed then the Empire was portended thereby. Between Jewry and Syria lieth the Mount Carmelus, and so the god also is called, to whom according to the custome anciently received an Altar is erected, and all devoutnesse and reverence shewed, but without either image or Temple. As Vespasian sacrificed there, fraught with secret hopes in his head, Basilides the Priest often viewing and marking the entrailes, "Whatsoever it is, quoth he, O Vespasian, which thou intendest, whether it be to build a house, or to enlarge thy possessions, or to increase the number of servants, it shall be effected: the gods do grant thee a great roome, large limits and many men. These dark speeches were straightwaies noted and published, and now by the common voice of the people applied and construed: neither was there any thing more vulgar in every mans mouth, and especially in his own audience; as to them which depend upon hopes, such kindes of speeches are most used. From this conference they departed with full resolution, Mutianus to Antiochia, and Vespasian to Cæsaria, the one being the head towne of Syria, the other of Judæa. The matter was first published, and Vespasian named Emperour at Alexandria by Tiberius Alexander, who made the most haste, and ministred the souldiers their oath upon the first day of July, which day afterward was reputed and celebrated as the first day of his reigne, although his own Army of Jewry began not before the third of the same moneth: and then in his presence they were with such affection and heate, that they did not attend the coming of Titus his sonne out of Syria, who was a messenger of all matters between Mutianus and his father. The violence of the souldier over-ruled the whole action: for no assembly being called; the Legions not met together; the time and place not agreed of, nor the man determined upon, a point in that case of most difficulty, that should speak the first word: hope and feare, reason and chance, diversly distracted their mindes. Matters standing in these tearmes, as Vespasian came out of his chamber, a few souldiers after the wonted manner stood on a row, as to salute their Generall, but they saluted him Emperour: then the rest ran too, and heaped upon him the names of Cæsar and Augustus, and all titles of sovereigne power. His conceits rose from apprehension of feare to the consideration of his fortune, notwithstanding there appeared in him no token of pride and arrogancy, nor change in so great a change; but being amazed at the sudden sight of so great a multitude, as soon as he had recovered his spirits he spake unto them souldier-like: and being received with a joyfull applause, he sent word to Mutianus of his successe. Mutianus at Antiochia receiving the message which he looked for, called the souldiers to the oath for Vespasian, which they most willingly accepted. Then he went to the Theatre, where the manner of that towne is to meet and consult: and made a speech unto them, as they flocked and fawned about him, in their own language, as he was a man competently eloquent in the Greek tongue also; and one that had the art to make the most shew of whatsoever he spake or did. But above all, that incensed principally both the Province and the Army, which Mutianus affirmed, that Vitellius had determined to transferre the Germane Legions into Syria, a rich and quiet service; and of the contrary

* Suet. Vespasiani, cap. 5.

Quatuor gentes fuisse Suet. per duos nominibus anni mensis & diebus, the latter end of Claudius time.

* Suet. Vesp. c. 5. apud Judeam Carmeli dei maculum consuevit.

† Suet. Vesp. c. 6. fuisse materiam, ut quicquid cogitaret volueretque animo, quantumvis esset periculum, id polliceretur.

* Suet. Vesp. c. 6. fuisse materiam, ut quicquid cogitaret volueretque animo, quantumvis esset periculum, id polliceretur.

* Suet. c. 10. Idem, which is the eleventh day. The souldiers assistance toward Vespasian, and the manner and circumstances of his assuming the Empire, are well set down by Josephus.

* Suet. c. 36. (who was present at the action) with some particulars not touched by Tacitus here, noted by Egeasius also lib. 4. cap. 27. i. e. he the ancient Egyptian, and not rather an extract of Josephus.

revenge themselves upon the people which was without weapon: among others the father of one of the souldiers was slain as he accompanied his sonne: upon which accident perceived and noised abroad they refrained from shedding of innocent blood. Notwithstanding in Rome the terrour was great, by reason of the souldiers running and gadding thither before. The place of common assembly they repaired specially to, coveting to behold the place where Galba was slain: when as they themselves were a spectacle no lesse horrible, with hides of wilde beastes about their backs, and huge mafie javelins in their hands, falling to quarrelling, and from quarrelling to blowes and their weapon, when as through their owne lacke of skill they did not avoide the presse of the people, or chanced to fall by means of the flippery stones, or jutting of others. The Tribunes also and other Captains in terrible sort, with multitudes of armed men, went squaring and jetting the streets. Vitellius himselfe riding from the Milvian bridge upon a goodly couerf with his coate armour on backe, and girded souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry ^a as into a town taken by force: but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes marched with his men in peaceable manner. The ^b standards of four Legions, were marshalled in front, and so many banners about them out of other Legions, then the ensignes of twelve wings; next to whom were the ranks of footmen, and behinde them the horse, and lastly four and thirtie cohorts distinguished according to the names of the nations they were of, or kindes of weapons they used. Before the Standard marched the Camp-masters and Tribunes and principall Centurions in white garments, the other Centurions each with his own band glittering all in armour, and goodly gifts won by their service: the chains also of the common souldiers and horse furniture shone: above and beautifull shew, and an army worthy of a better Prince then Vitellius. After this manner entring the Capitoll, and there embracing his mother, he honoured her with the name and style of Augusta.

2. Suetonius c. 11
 faith plainly
 he did for *urbem*
ad effugium in-
 troitū, *pallidatus*
serenaeque *funer-*
is inter *uicula*
atque *uicilla*,
sagularū *comiti-*
bus at *detectis*
comitatus
armis, for this
 seemeth to
 have been the
 manner of en-
 tering a town
 taken by force.
Joh. phis. 4.
id. de. cap. 25.
 describeth also
 this entry.

• Therefore thou find armed men] Valens had out of Germany fortie thousand armed men, *scilicet legio Italica*, and eight cohorts of Batavians, &c. *Cæcina* thrie thousand, *scilicet Ala Syllana*, &c. *Uellena* *frank* in difficulte, and fight Tacitus, i. hilt, and in this booke, *scilicet Germania* *scilicet* *tribus tribulatis*, &c. eight thousand, & *Ala Batavorum de die*, of all which number we finde in Tacitus none left away, but the cohorts of Batavians, and yet have we but two thousand armed men.

2. Fencers die, *Gladiatores leguntur*. *Gladiatores* & *Athletæ* in old time were most daintily dieted and clothed, as were the known phrased of *Athleticus habitus*, and *Gladiatoria fœces*, importing no less. Cic. *Cumque gladiatores corpora sit innotuissent*, Cyrtianus: *Impletur in succum cibique ferientibus corpus*, & *areina affluuntur molles membra remissibilibus fœces*, ut *sagittatus in puerum canis pœrat*.

3 The hundreds of four legions. The eight Legions, which seem here, and elsewhere, to be noted (Vallius side, were Italica, and the seven Legions of Germany, albeit none completely but Ripax, in all the rest of the men being left behind, and the whole names attributed alike to both parts.

XXVII. *The actions of Vitellius at Rome after his entry.*

THe day following, as though he had spoken before the Senate and people of a strange city, he made a glorious speech of himself, extolling his own industriousnesse and temperancy, when as they which heard him of their own knowledge were witnesses of his lewd actions, and all Italy beside, thorow which he marched for drowinesse and riot notoriously infamous: notwithstanding the common people which is voyd of cares, and learned in one lesson onely, without difference of truth and fallhood to flatter them in authoritie; with shewts and words gave their applause; and when he denyed the name of Augustus they constrained him to take it by force, as vainly as before he had vainly refused it. By vertue of his

his High-priestship he published his edict of ceremonies upon the eighteenth of July: which thing in a citie which confuted all things was taken for an ill signe, the day being of ancient time counted unlucky, by reason of the overthrowes at Cremera and Allia: so ignorant he was of all law humane and divine, and so negligent were his friends & servants, as that he seemed to have none but drunken persons about him. Notwithstanding in the election of Consuls he carried himself in a kinde of equalitie, seriously affecting in the Theatre as a spectatour, in the Race as a partaker, the favour of the meanest foot; things acceptable indeed popular, if they had sprung from a vertuous root; but the memory of his former life made them esteeme base and dishonourable. He came often into the Senate, even when small matters were handled; and as once by fortune Helvidius Priscus Prætor elect had opened against a matter which Vitellius affected, he was in choler at the first, but proceeded no further, but only to pray aid at the Tribunes of the people against the contempt of his authority. Whereupon Helvidius friends, who feared a deeper impression of anger in his minde, going about to mitigate and make up the matter, he answered that it was no new thing to see two Senatours in the Common-wealth disagree in judgement: that he was also wont sometimes to dissent from Thraëa. Many derided the impudency of the comparisn: others liked it well, that he had picked out not one of the powerable favorites in court, but Thraëa rather for a pattern of true glory. ¶ P. Sabinus and Julius Priscus were constituted captains of the Guard; Priscus by Valens preferment, and Sabinus by Cæcinaes. For Cæcina and Valens disposed of all the affaires of the Empire, leaving between them little authority or none at all to Vitellius, and yet jarring and disagreeing together, anciently enemies one to the other: but the warre and the camp covered the rancour so for a season, which now brake out and was greatly increased by the perverse behaviour of friends, and living together in a city so fruitfull to breed and nourish dislikes, whilest they contend together, and are compared by others in multitude of suiters and followers, and greatnesse of train; Vitellius diversly favouring sometimes the one, sometime the other: as powerableness is never fure where it is too excessive. As for Vitellius, knowing him to be suddenly mutable upon every offence or flattery, they contemned and feared him withall: nevertheless whilest the time was they served themselves, and gat houses, gardens, and the riches of the Empire into their hands; when as the lamentable and indigent multitude of Noblemen, whom Galba with their children restored to their country, was not any way relieved by the princeliberallitie. Only he granted them their former right over their freed men: a point acceptable to the chiefe men of the citie, and not disallowed even of the meanest sort: but those servile natures marred together the benefit thereof, hiding their money in secret corners, or in great mens coffers, and some of them passed to the service of the Prince, and became of more might then their masters. Now as touching the souldiers, when as the Prætorian camp was replenished, the remainder which was very great, lodged in porches and temples scattered up and down the whole town forgot to know their ensignes, to keepe watch and ward, to harden themselves with labour and travell: but drowned in the pleasures of the citie, and filchinesse not to be named, weakened their bodies with idleness, & their minde with incontinent living: and lastly without any care at all of their own health, many quartered in the pestilient places of the Vatican, wherupon the death of many common persons ensued: and the Germans and Frenchmen lying by the Tiber, and being otherwise subject to diseases, utterly overthrew the state of their body, with too much swimming in the river, and impatience of heat. Moreover the citie souldiery

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. The consultation of the Flavian Captains, at Petovio in Pannonia, concerning the manner of proceeding in warre. Sextilius Felix sent into Noricum.



With better fortune and faith the Flavian captains conducted their warlike affaires, assembling in councell at Petovio, the standing campe of the thirtieth Legion. There it was debated, whether it were safer to stand upon their defence, and fortifie themselves by stopping the passage of the Pannonian Alpes, untill their whole forces behinde were

come forward; or else were it more manfull and resolutely done to march on and fight for the winning of Italy. They which perswaded to stay for more succour, and protract the warre, amplified the fame and force of the German legions, and further, that Vitellius had also brought with him the flower and strength of the army of Britanny: that their own Legions were both fewer in number, and lately beaten, and though they spake bigly, yet the partie overcome retained the lesse courage. But in the meane while if the Alpes were possessed Mutianus would shortly come on with the power of the East: and Vespasian beside had at will sea and navies, and the good will of the provinces, sufficient furniture for a new warre if need were: so by staying a little this advantage would grow, that new forces would come, and the old not diminish. To this Antonius Primus (who was the chiefeft inciter of the warre) replied; That speed was the thing that might most helpe them, and most hinder Vitellius. As for the victory they lately obtained, they were growne more in carelesse sloth, then courage thereby: not keeping in camps as men of warre alwayes ready to fight, but lying in the good townes of Italy, loytring and disporting themselves, leared of none save onely their hosts: and the hardlier kept and fiercer they were before, now giving themselves the more greedily over to enjoy their unaccustomed pleasures. Moreover the theatres and places of sports, and other delights of the citie, had effeminated their mindes, or diseases utterly wasted their bodies: but if respite were given, through warlike exercises they would recover their strength: and besides, Germany was not farre off, from whence they might be supplied with new forces, and Britanny but a small step beyond: France and Spaine were hard at hand to furnish them of men, horses, and money: beside Italy it selfe, and the wealth of the world in Rome, all wholly at their disposition. And if they list to begin and assaile us, they have (quoth he) at commandment two navies, and the whole Illyrian sea free: what will it then profit us to keep the straits of the mountains? or what can it avayle us to deferre the warre till another summer? and whence shall we have money and victuals in the meane time? nay rather why take we not this opportunitie present, since the Pannonian Legions, thinking themselves rather beguiled then beaten, are so instant and earnest to have their revenge, and the armies of Moesia are yet entire & unfoiled? if the number of souldiers be reckoned rather then the names of Legions, our side hath more strength and much lesse disorder, and the very shame of the late overthrow hath greatly amended

* It seemeth they were stopped before by a Deinde Pannonia Alpes presit inleste mutatio rursus: but perhaps it was but onely so far as to stay the posts from passing that way, not to guard it against an army of men.

* Lieutenant of the seventh Legion furnished Galbiana.

* Thaurum & Cretan.

ded our discipline: and yet our horsemen even then were not defeated, but contrarily scattered Vitellius troupes, albeit the maine battell went against us. Two wings of Pannonia and Moesia were able at that time to breake thorow the enemy: now the ensignes of fixteene wings united together, with their stamping and sound, and the very dust of their feet, will doublelesse be able to cover and overwhelm both the horses and horsemen of our enemies, who have now almost forgotten to flight. For my part (if I may be permitted) as I am the first to give the advice, so I will be the first to execute the same. You, whose conditions gives you free choice of either, lye still and keepe your Legions at home: some few light cohorts shall serve my turne: as soone as the warre is begun, you shall heare that Vitellius shall decline, and then you will take pleasure to follow and tread in the step of my victory. This and more to the like purpose Antonius uttered with burning eyes and fierce shrill voice, that he might be heard further (for some of the Centurions, and of the souldiers also had intruded themselves into the councell) and the speech moved greatly even the warriest amongst them and doubtlesse to enter into danger. But the common souldier and the rest magnified him, as the onely man of courage, and the onely Captaine, despising the cold and sluggish proceedings of the other. This good opinion he first wan through a speech he made in the assembly when Vespasians letters were first openly read, in the which he did not (as the most of the rest) deliver his mite in doubtful and ambiguous termes with a meaning to interpret them afterward as he should see best for his purpose, but seemed directly and resolutely to enter into the cause, & therefore was a great deale better liked of the souldiers, as one that made his fortune common with theirs both in the danger and honour of the attempt. Next after him Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator was of chief authority amongst them. For he likewise was wont to inveigh bitterly against Vitellius, and thereby had left to himselfe no hope of pardon if the enterprise failed. Titus Apianus Flavianus, both by nature and by reason of his age being flow in proceeding, gave occasion unto the souldiers of suspition, as if he had respected his affinitie with Vitellius: and because he had withdrawn himself out of the camp when the Legions began first to revolt, and afterward came again of his own accord, it was thought he did it to seek some opportunitie of treason. For indeed Flavianus had once relinquished his province of Pannonia, and retired himselfe out of danger into Italy; and afterward by desire of noveltie was brought to take upon him his government again, and become a medler in civil wars, through the perswasion principally of Cornelius Fuscus; not that there was any great need of Flavian abilities: but that the name and countenance of a Lieutenant generall might give reputation to the side, that was then but in rising. Then letters were written to Aponius Saturninus Lieutenant generall of Moesia, to make haste, and back their passage into Italy with his army. And lest the provinces, by this removing away of the Legions, might lye open to the spoile of the barbarous nations confining, the principall men of the Sirmatae Jazyges, and heads of the countrey were assumed into the service, who made offer also of the common sort, & great troupes of horsemen, which is their sole strength, but the offer was not accepted, lest amidst our dissentions they should attempt any thing prejudiciall to the state of the Empire, or else upon better wages, without respect of honour or faith, passe to the enemy. Sido and Italicus anciently devoted to the Romane name, kings of the Suevians, anation both more faithfull and more obedient, were drawn to the party. Garrisons also were layed on the side against Rhætia which held for Vitellius, being governed by Porcius Septimus the Procurator, a most faithfull servant unto him. So Sextilius Felix was sent with

* Expedite cohortes, that is, swift or light companies.

* Lieutenant generall of Pannonia.

with the Aurian wing, and eight cohorts, and the youth of the countrey of Noricum, to plant himself against him along the banke of the river Enus which divideth Rhoetia and Noricum asunder: where they remained skirmishing one with another, whilest in the meane time the maine matter was decided elsewhere.

¹ And left the provinces | All from these words in the Latine copy *ac ne incermis provincie, &c.* to these *si placere Galbe principatus, incluisse*, should be placed before, *questum inde que sedes bello legentur &c.* and so the words *ut impotum exercitum Maesium celebrare* cohere with *& praesumpere, &c.* Which disorder, by reason the lines and letters almost betwene *questum inde* and *Maesium celebrare* are equal to the lines betwene *ac ne incermis* and *Galbe Principatus*, may seeme to have growne first by the meer transposition of a lease in the copy, from whence all ours were derived.

II. *Antonius Primus marcheth forward, and having taken Aquileia, Opitergium, Altinum, Padova, Este, settleth his maine camp at Verona.*

NOW ¹ Antonius taking with him certaine Vexillaries out of the cohorts, and part of the horsemen, marched on toward Italy, accompanied with Arrius Varus a valiant warriour, rather then a vertuous man: which glory he gained by his service and good successe in Armenia under Corbulo: whom notwithstanding he was suppos'd secretly to have discredited with Nero. Whereupon by such sinister means growing in favour he attained a principall Centurions place: which though ill gotten was at the present to his great contentation, but afterward turned to his ruine. Antonius and Varus in passing tooke Aquileia, and the countrey thereabouts, and proceeding forward were at Opitergium and Altinum joyfully received. At Altinum a garrison was left against the fleet of Ravenna, of the revolt whereof they had not as yet received any intelligence: and marching forward they adjoynd Padova and Este to the side. Where advertisement was given that three Vitellian cohorts and the Scribonian wing lay at Forum Aleri, having there made a bridge over the river. It was concluded to take the occasion, and to set upon them, as they lay negligently and carelessly; for that circumstance also was certified: and so accordingly they came upon them at the dawning of the day, and surprized them being for the most part unarmed. They were willed beforehand, that after some slaughter at the beginning they should seek to induce the rest with feare to change their allegiance; and some there were which yeelded themselves at the first: but the greater part fled over the river, and breaking the bridge cut off the passage from the enemy pursuing. This victory being divulged, and the first attempts of the Flavians having succeeded so prosperously, two Legions, the seventh surnamed Galbiana, and the thirteenth called Gemina ² with Vedius Aquila a Lieutenant thereof, came to Padova cheerefully, and full of courage. There some few dayes was spent in reposing the army, and Minucius Iustus camp-master of the seventh Legion was saved from the fury of the souldier, and sent to Vespasian, because his government was straiter and more severe, then the nature of a civil warre would support. At what time also Antonius supposing it a plausible action, and for the credit of the side, if Galbaes government should seeme to be liked, gave commandment thorowout all the free townes, that the images of Galba; which upon change of times and diffension of state, had been broken down, should be restored a new: a thing very long and greatly desired, and therefore interpreted, gloriously in the highest degree. Then was it propos'd and disputed, what place were best to be chosen, for fear as it were of the warre. Verona seemed fittest, the countrey about it being champion, and commodious for horsemen, wherein consisted

¹ And Titus Ampius Flaviano Lieutenant generall of Pannonia.

fitted their principall strength: and beside to dispossesse Vitellius of a Town of such wealth and importance, would both be commodious and bring reputation to the cause. In the passage thitherward they took Vicenza a thing of it selfe not greatly materiall, as being a town of small forces, howbeit because Cæcina was born there it seemed a matter of consequence; when men began to recount, how that the Generall of the contrary part had lost his own countrey and home: but the getting of Verona was worth the paines taking. For both the side was releev'd with their wealth, and the example was a good precedent to others: and the army lying there opportunely in the way, between Germany and Vitellius powers, did shut up the Rhoetian and Julian Alpes, and cut off all hope of passage for the Germans that way. All which proceeding was either unknown to Vespasian, or expressly forbidden by him: his commandment was to march no further then Aquileia, and there to expect Murianus, adding also a reason thereof, that seeing Egypt, the garners of the City, the revenewes and tributes of the richest Provinces were in his hands, Vitellius army might through lack of pay and victuall be constrained to yeeld. To the same purpose also Murianus advised them often by letters, alleading what a glory it would be to obtaine a victory without blood, and whereof no mourning ensued, with such other pretences; whereas he did it indeed upon ambition, and coveting to reserve the whole renown of the warre for himselfe: but by reason of the great distances counsels came after the facts. Antonius having thus seated himselfe in Verona issued forth on the sudden, and gave the Alarme to the enemy, where trying their man-hood together in a light skirmish they departed on even hand. Anton Cæcina encamped himselfe between Hostilia, a village of the territory of Verona and the marshes of the river Tartarus, in a safe and defensible place, his back being guarded with the river, and the flanks, with marshes: who if he had meant truth, having all his masters power under his hand, might with great facility either have surprized two simple Legions (the Army of Moesia as yet being not joyned) or at least beaten them back, and forced them to flee, and with shame forsake Italy. But Cæcina omitted traiterously all advantages, which at the first were offered, spending the time in trifling delays, and rebuking them by epistles, whom with like facility he might have repul'd with armes: untill by messengers passing between the bargaine was driven, and the covenants for his treason agreed upon. In the meane time Aponius Saturninus came with the seventh Legion surnamed Claudiana: the Legion was governed by Vipfanius Messala a Tribune, a man nobly descended, and of noble qualities himselfe, the only vertuous man and without note, that entred into that action. To this army, nothing comparable to his own (for as yet there were but three legions) Cæcina sent letters, blaming their rashness, that being once overcome they durst put themselves againe into armes: and withall he extolled the valour of the German army; of Vitellius making small mention and in common termes only, without any reprochfull word against Vespasian at all: in summe writing nothing that might either corrupt the enemy or terrifie him. The Captaines of the Flavian army, omitting to speak of their former misfortune, returned answer concerning Vespasian in haughty and glorious termes, shewing themselves very confident in their cause and secure of the event; reviling Vitellius as enemies, and bragging of the Moesian army, as being hitherto never overthrowen, seeking ³ moreover to weaken the faith, and winne the good will of the contrary side, by putting the Centurions and Tribunes in hope of retaining their places, and favours which Vitellius had bestowed upon them, and exhorting Cæcina himselfe in plaine termes to revolt. Both the letters were solemnely

K

read

³ Presumptive, as patris, as praesentis.

the Flavian side the mindes of his souldiers, being somewhat inclinable thereto of themselves, the most of them were of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which Countreys held for Vespasian. The time for accomplishing the treason was appointed in the night, that whilst the rest knew nothing of the matter, they only of the conspiracy might assemble themselves in the Principia. Bassus either for shame, or doubt what would be the issue, kept himselfe within his house. The Captaines of the Gallies in the meane time with great tumult brake downe Vitellius images: and some few w^{ch} resisted being put to the sword, the rest of the multitude upon desire of change was easily induced to favor Vespasian. Then Lucilius coming abroad avowed the whole fact as done by his authority, and the Navy in his place made choise of Cornelius Fuscus for Admirall, who came with speed thither: and ¹ Bassus was conveyed by ship to Hadria, as it were under honourable arrest, and by Mennius Rufinus Captain of a wing being in Garrison there put in bands; but soon after enlarged at the coming of Hormus Vespasians freed man, who was also in this warre counted among the Generalls of that side. Now Cæcina, as soone as the revolt of the Navy was published abroad, assembled* the chief of the Centurions, and some of the souldiers, the rest being disperfed and busied in their ordinary militarie duties, into the Principia, purposely chusing the most secret corner of the Camp. There he greatly extolled the valour of Vespasian, and the strength of the side, declaring also that the Navy was already revolted, the only support of Vitellius provision: that France and Spaine were turned against him: that in the city there was nothing to be trusted unto; and generally aggravating all to the worst against the person and state of Vitellius. Whereupon some that were privie to the plot beginning to sweare to Vespasian, the rest amazed at the strangeness of the matter followed the example: immediately Vitellius images were broken down, and messengers sent to Antonius to declare what had passed. But as soon as this revolt was bruited throughout the camp and the souldiers coming into the Principia saw Vespasians name set up, and Vitellius images cast under foot, they were mute at the first, then all at once they brake out with indignation. Is then the glory and fame of the German Armies now come to this? that without battell or any blow stricken, they should thus binde their own hands, and yeeld up their weapons? for else what power was there of the other side to compell them? onely the Legions which before they had overcome, and yet the flower and strength of them absent, to wit, the first and fourteenth, which yet they had likewise overthrowen in the same field with the rest: and all belike to this end, that so many thousands of valiant souldiers should afterwards, like a drove of bond-slaves, be bestowed as a present upon Antonius an exiled person: as though eight Legions were to be the dependance of one Navy. But so was the pleasure of Bassus and Cæcina, after they had robbed the Prince of his houses and gardens, and treasure, to bereave him also of his souldiers, albeit never touched nor wounded, and so to make them contemptible and vile, even to the Flavianists also. For what could they say being required an account of their prosperity and adversity? To this effect every one by himselfe and all together crying out, as griefe and anger wrought in their mindes, the sith legion being most forward they set up Vitellius images again, and laying hold upon Cæcina put him in fetters, and appointed Fabius Fabulus Lieutenant of the sith legion and Cassius Longus the camp-master Generalls in his place, killing certain Gally-souldiers which by chance arrived there in an ill houre though utterly ignorant and innocent of that which had passed. Then leaving their camp and breaking the bridge they returned to Hostilia, and from thence to Cremona to joyne with the sith Legion called Italica, and the one and twentieth furnished Ra-

* Thus revolt of Cæcina is described in the like manner by Josephus, lib. 4. cap. 21.

* Prima adjuvantur sunt into Spaine, and Quarta Italica into Italiam. * Tercia Legionis, fourth Legion 2. H. I. sith legion, and so perhaps &c.

* Iuxta H. sith legion, the sith Legion, Italica.

pax, which Cæcina had sent before, with part of his horse-men, to put themselves in Cremona.

² Bassus was conveyed | Why rem. vined he not still in the charge? why was he committed, albeit it were *custodia*, by those which favoured Vespasian? why sent to Adria? why there put into straiter prison, if Mennius was a friend to Vespasians cause? if an enemy, why looted at Hormus commandement, who was Vespasians man? and what then became of him? when, by whom, and wherefore was Mennius Rufinus put therein? Gaspard Thieffie thinks circumstances or some good part, had, in my opinion, been necessary in this place for the full satisfaction of the Reader.

V. The skirmish of the Flavian and Vitellian horse-men between Bebricum and Cremona.

WHEN Antonius had understanding thereof, he determined whilst the enemies were at diffension, and their forces not joined together, to use his advantage and assaile them, before either the Generalls could ground their authority, or the souldiers frame themselves to a new obedience, or the Legions recover courage by uniting together. He guessed that Fabius Valens was already come out of Rome, and would make great haste, as soone as he heard of Cæcinaes treason: and Fabius was known to be a man faithfull to Vitellius, and not unskillfull in service: besides a great power of Germans was feared by the way of Rhætia, and Vitellius had sent for aides out of Britanny, France and Spain: enough to have maintained a mighty and puissant war, had not Antonius upon doubt thereof hastened the battel, and before hand obtained the victory. So with his whole hoste he removed from Verona, and the second night late downe at Bebricum. The next day imploring his Legions in fortifying the Campe, he sent out his Auxiliary Cohorts into the territory of Cremona, to the end that the souldiers, under colour of providing necessaries, might be enured and fished in civill spoile. He to safe conduct the Forragers advanced himself with foure thousand horse eight miles forward from Bebricum: and the skowts in the meane time, as the manner is, pricked on further. About the first houre of the day one came riding in poste, to give intelligence that the enemies were hard at hand, that some few marched before, but the noise and trampling of the whole army on every side was clearly to be heard. Whilst Antonius was deliberating what was to be done, Arius Varus, desirous to do some piece of service, brake out with certain of the forwardest horse-men, and made the Vitellianists recule, and slew some few: for by and by more of their fellows coming to helpe, fortune changed, and they that were most forward before in pursuing, were now left last in the fight. This haste was against Antonius wil, who supposed the event would be such as it was: but seeing it could not be undone he encouraged his men to fight valiantly: and dividing his troupes in two parts, left alone in the middle to receive in Varus with his horsemen, word also was sent back to the Legions to arme, and the alarme was given to those that were foraging abroad, that every man should leave off spoiling, and repaire with all speed the next way to the fight. Now by this time Varus in a great feare was retired within his own Troupes, and induced thither a generall terror, the wounded and unwounded were beaten in together, and greatly distressed through their own feare, and the straitnesse of the waies. In all which confusion and tumult Antonius omitted no part either of a resolute Generall, or valiant souldier, encouraging those that were dismayed, staying them that shrank; where most need was: whence any hope appeared, there busying himselfe, with direction, hand and speech, in the view of the enemy,

enemy, in the sight of his own men, growing at the last to that heat, that with his Lance he ran through a Guidon-bearer who was fleeing away, and taking his guidon turned it against the face of the enemy: whereat for very shame there staid about an hundred horse. That which principally helped was the quality of the place, the * way being there somewhat narrow, and the bridge broken of the River that ran beside them, whose unknown channell and steepe bankes stopped their further flight. That constraint or chance recovered the field that wel nigh was lost. For knitting themselves strongly together, with thick and close ranks, they received the Vitellian souldiers coming on loosely without any order. Which thing the lesse it was looked for, amazed them the more. Whereupon Antonius finding them yeelding pressed the more instantly upon them overthrowing all that came in his way: and with all the rest as their inclinations were, some fell to spoiling and catching, some to take armour and horses: even they which before were broken and scattered abroad in the fields, hearing the joyfull crie of their fellows, returned then back to take part of the victory. About foure miles from Cremona, the ensignes of two Legions, Rapax and Italica appeared, having marched so farre upon the successe of their horsemen at the beginning: but when fortune turned, they were so far to seek as that they neither did open their ranks, and receive their distressed fellows within them, nor yet went forward to assaile the enemy tired already with fighting and following so far. Thus being by chance overcome, they found in adversity the lack of a Leader, which in their jolity they cared not for. As the Legions stood wavering in termes of breaking, the Flavian horse-men charged upon them: Vipianus Messalla the Tribune was at their heeles with the Mœsian Aides, who in militarie renown, albeit lately enrolled, were nothing inferior to the Legionary souldiers. So horse-men and foot-men mingled together did easily break the Vitellian Legions, and the town of Cremona lying so neare gave them lesse minde to resist, and more hope to escape: neither did Antonius presse any further, considering the travell and wounds, which both his horse-men and horses had taken, in so dangerous a skirmish, albeit the end went on his side. Toward the shutting in of the evening the whole power of the Flavian army arrived: who as soon as they trode among the heapes of dead bodies, in the fresh steps of so late a slaughter, as if the whole warre had been ended, cried to lead on out of hand to Cremona, and take by surrender or force those conquered persons. These gay speeches were in their mouthes and openly pretended, but secretly every one cast thus with himselfe; That a Town seated in the plaine might be won easily at a push; that their courage would as well serve them to enter in the night, and their liberty to spoile would then be much greater: but if they attended till day, then would there come supplications and intreaties for peace, and so for their labour and hurts they should carry away the vaine smokes of clemency and glory, and such other tutelarie matters, but the wealth and riches of the Town would cleave to the Captaines and Lieutenants fingers: that the spoile of a City taken by force fell to the souldiers, but of a City surrendered alwaies to the Captaines alone. Hereupon the perswasions of the Tribunes and Centurions, as persons suspect, were rejected: and because no mans speech should be heard, they rated their weapons, threatening if no man would lead them beside, to guide and conduct themselves. Then Antonius insinuating himselfe among the common souldiers, after he had with the sight of his person, and reverence of his place, procured silence, protested unto them, that his meaning was not in any sort to defend so well deserving souldiers, either of honour or reward. Notwithstanding the captains & souldiers duties were of different nature: a souldier ought to be fierce

* *Arctum illis via: and yet a little before he faith, angustiam viarum constituebantur.*

and desirous to fight, but in Captains a wary fore-sight and deliberate kinde of proceeding is rather commended: and more oftentimes profiteth and helpeth he by protracting, then venturing rashly. For his part as he had to his power with weapons and hand furthered the victory, so would he likewise helpe now with direction and counsell, peculiar qualities to a Generall, and the place he sustained. And surely if they list but a little consider, the dangerousnes of the enterprize was very apparent. It was now night, the situation of the town was unknown, within nothing but enemies, and every corner fit for an ambush: nay if the gates were wide open, yet were it not safe for to enter, no not in the day time, but upon good discovery before hand, and assurance that all coasts were cleare. What? would they begin an assault when they could not discern the best place of approach, nor the height of the wals, whether it were best to attempt them by discharging of shot a farre off, or by engines at hand, or by mine? then turning himself to particular persons he demanded of them severally, whether they had brought their * Hatchers and Axes with them, and all other tooles necessary for an assault: and when they denied, What, quoth he then, are any mens hands in the world of that force, and strength to break down wals with Javelins and swords? What if it fall out that we must of necessity raise mounts, cover our selves with hurdles and frames of boord? Shall we not then be forced to stand like good fillie fools gazing and gaping at the height of their Towers and the strength of their fortifications? Nay rather let us stay for one night, and fetch hither in the meane time our engines and instruments of battery, and so carry the victory surely before. And herewith he dispatched the * servants and followers of the camp, and the freshest of his horsemen to Bebricum, to bring victuals from thence *lxx.* and all other necessary provision.

* *securos & dolabra.*

* *calones & lixæ.*

VI. The great battel at Cremona between the Flavians and the Vitellianists. Cremona sacked and burnt.

THE souldier discontented thereat and repining, was growing toward a mutinie, when as their horse men having scoured to the very wals of Cremona took certain stragglers of the Town, by whose confession it was understood that six Vitellian Legions, and the whole power that lay at Hostilia, hearing of the defeat of their fellows, had marched thirty miles that very day, and prepared themselves to fight, and would by and by be upon them. That terror opened their mindes, which before were closed against all their Generals good counsell, and so he commanded the third Legion to make stand upon the * Cawsey of the Pothumian way: fast by it on the left hand stood the seventh furnished Galbiana in a plaine field: then the seventh called Claudiana having before it a * common ditch for a kinde of defence, as the place chanced to yeeld: on the right hand stood the eighth Legion in an open ground: then the thirteenth in a thicker somewhat disguised by reason of bushes and shrubs. In this sort stood the standerds and ensignes of the Legions, but the souldiers were blended together, as it chanced in the dark. The band of Pretorians stood next to the third Legion, the auxiliary Cohorts were placed in the wings, and the horsemen guarded the flanks, and reareward: Sido and Italicus the Suevians with the choise of their Country men served in the forward. On the other side, the Vitellian Army, whose best course doubtlesse had been to have taken some rest at Cremona, and refreshed themselves with food and sleep, and so the next day to have given the on-set upon their enemies, starved with hunger and cold, for lack of a leader and want of direction, about the third

* *or ridge.*

* *agrestia fossa.*

and

hour

hour of the night dailied themselves upon the Flavian Armie, who stood now in array strongly prepared to receive them. The order and standing of the Vitellian Army I dare not for certain avouch, being doubtlesse disordered through anger and darknesse. Some affirme that the fourth Legion called Macedonica stood in the right wing: the fift and the fifteenth Legions, with certain companies out of three British Legions, the ninth, second, and twentieth filled up the middle battell; the left wing consisting of the tenth Legion, the two and twentieth and the first: the souldiers of Rapax and Italica dispersed themselves throughout all: the horsemen and Aides chose their own standing. The fight continued all night very doubtfull and cruell, with great mortality sometimes on the one side, and sometime on the other: courage or strength availed little in the dark, where the eye could not discern a friend from an enemy. On both sides was the same kinde of armour and weapons: by many mutuall questions each knew others watch-word: the banners also were mingled together, as it hapned a band to take any from the enemy and carrie them to and fro. The seventh Legion lately levied by Galba was pressed most hardly: six of her principall Centurions were slain, and some ensignes taken away, the Standard it selfe was hardly defended by Attilius Verus the chief Centurion; who with great slaughter of the enemy, and his own death in the end, notwithstanding saved his charge. The Flavianist thus going to the worse, Antonius re-inforced and strengthened the battell by sending of the Praetorian souldiers, who as soon as they undertook the fight repulded the enemy at the first, and anon were repulded themselves. For the Vitellianists had brought their engines of war, which before were dispersed and discharged against bushes and trees, without any hurt to the enemy, and placed them upon the cawties of the high-way to have an open passage and free scope to shoot out; among the rest a Balista of a wonderful greatnesse, belonging to the sixteenth Legion, shooting out huge and mighty stones galled them fore, and had made a farre greater havock among them, had not two souldiers undertaken an honourable exploit, and taking up Targets among the dead bodies gone unknown, and cut the cords and weights of the engine: whereupon they were by and by cut in pieces and so their names are not known; of the fact there is no question. Now the battell continued doubtfull, and Fortune indifferent to both sides, till at last in the night the () Moon rose and discovered the Armies, though indeceitfull fort, and more in favour of the Flavian side, because she was at their backs: by means whereof both the shadows of the men and horses stretched along toward the enemies, and so the Arrowes and Darts of the Vitellianists, being falsly bestowed upon shadows, fell short of the bodies; whereas contrarily, by reason of the Moone shining against them, the Vitellian souldiers were easily hit unawares with the blowes of the other, discharging as it were out of a covert. Antonius as soone as he could discern his own Company, and be likewise discerned of them, began to inflame them severally, some with flaine and rebuke, others with praise and encouragements, all with hope and large promises: demanding of the Pannonian Legions for what purpose they had now resumed Armes? If to wipe away the blot of their late ignominy, here was the field where they might reintegrate themselves in their honour again. Then turning to the Moesian souldiers, he challenged them as authors and beginners of the warre, adding that in vaine they had dared the Vitellianists with words and threats, if now they durst not abide their hands and looks. And after this and the like sort he spake to all whom he met: but most at large to those of the third Legion, putting them in remembrance both of their late and ancient victories; how under the conduct of Marcus

Antoni's

Antonus they had overthrowne the Parthians, under Corbulo the Armenians, and of late the Sarmatians. Then directing his speech to the Prætorians in great anger: As for you disgraced souldiers (quoth he) if you win not here, what other Generall, or what other Campe shall receive you? Youder loe, there be your ensignes and weapons, and present death if you leefe, for you have spent already your shame. Great crying and noyse there was on every side, when as the third Legion, as the manner in Syria is, with a great shout saluted the Sunne rising: upon which accident, or by the Generals policy, a generall rumour was spread through the Hosts that Mutianus was come, and the Armies had met and saluted each other. Where upon as supplied with new forces, they pressed forward and gave a fresh on-fet, the Vitellian ranks growing now thinner, as being without all direction, and banding together or disbanding at their owne courage or feare did induce them. When Antonius felt them weake in the shock, and yielding under his hand, with a Company firmly compacted he charged and disordered them. The ranks once loosed, brake, and could not be reunited by reason of the Carriages and engines which hindered the matter. The conquerours hotly pursuing the chafe disperst themselves along the Highway. The slaughter was the more famous, because in the same it happened the sonne to kill his own father: the thing and the names of the persons I will set down, as Vipianus Messalla hath reported it. Julius Manfuetus borne in Spaine and called to serve in the Legion furnamed Rapax, left a sonne at home under yeares, who growing afterwards to mans estate, and being enrolled by Galba into the seventh Legion, by ymeere misfortune here met and encountered with his own father; and having wounded him deadly, going about to rifle him, came into knowledge of him, and was likewise known by him again. Whereupon embracing the corpes, which now was without sense or life, with teares and lamentable voice he besought his fathers ghost, not to impute this impiety unto him, nor abhorre and detest him as a parricide: that it was the publick act of the cause: and what a small portion was one souldier of these civill warres? And withall he took up the body, made a pit in the ground, and performed his last duty toward his father. This was perceived by them which were next, and then by more also: in the end the fame of this strange chance went through the whole Army, and much complaining there was, and detestation of so cruell, and wicked a warre: and yet they continued nothing the lesse to kill and to spoile both kinsmen and friends, and even their bretheren also. They talk what a wicked fact was committed, and in the meane time commit it themselves. When as they came to Cremona, there appeared a new and no small piece of work yet behinde. For in the warre against Otho the German souldiers had cast their Campe about the walls of Cremona, and about their Campe Rampiers and Trenches, which they had now lately augmented. At the sight whereof the Flavians were at a stop, the Generals being doubtful what to appoint. To begin the assault the Army being tyred with the travell both of the day and the night, were a difficult matter & having no place of retiring at hand dangerous too: to returne to Bebricacum were intolerable pain, the way being so long, and besides, all they had done would be lost, and the victory made void: to fit down and intrench, that also were a thing full of danger, and to be feared, lest the enemies being so neare should fall out, and breed some disorder as they were disperst, and busie at their work. But above all these respects the Generals floy in most feare of their own souldiers, who would sooner abide any danger, then any delay: all that tended to safety was unfavoury; in precipitation was their hope; the greedy desire of the spoile made all killing, wounding, shedding

their blood to be matters of nothing. To this resolution therefore Antonius finally inclining, commanded to environ the trenches with souldiers round about. And first they fought aloofe with arrows and stones on both sides but with disadvantage to the Flavian part, upon whom the enemy discharged from above: then approaching neare he distributed to the Legions the trenches and gates, appointing to each their severall quarter, to the end the labour being thus divided the difference between the valiant and the coward might be perceived, and mutuall emulation of honour should excite them to vertue. The third and seventh Legion were assigned the quarter next to the way, which leades from Bebricum: the eighth and seventh furnished Claudiana took up the trenches on the right hand: the thirteenth was carried with a fury to the gate toward Brescia. After this they pawed a while, till they had fetched out of the fields thereabout, some of them 'spades and 'axes, some others 'hooks and ladders. Then with a strong 'Target-fence over their heads they came under the walls, and were received by those that understood that kinde of service, as having been trained up in the same schoole, who rowled down huge stones upon it, and forced the frame to stagger and fleet, then followed and searched into it with javelins and spears, till the connexion of Targets being dissolved and broken, they flew or maimed the men. Upon so great slaughter the Flavians were almost at a stay, had not the Captaines perceiving the souldiers to be tired, and all other encouragements prevaile but a little, shewed unto them the town of Cremona, as the price of their victory. Whether this was Hormus devise, as Messalla reporteth, or Caius Plinius be rather to be beleaved, who casteth the fault upon Antonius, I cannot easily determine; this only that whether Antonius or Hormus were Author of this most bad part, it was not unsutable to neither of their former infamous lives, and behaviours. But hereupon no danger of limme or life could stay the Flavian souldiers from breaking down the Trenches, and beating open the gates, even with their shoulders; and some climbing up by a double Target-fence took hold on their enemies weapons, and caught them by the armes: so the wounded and not wounded, the halfe dead and dying, came down tumbling together, and perished some after one fashion, and some after another, representing all diversities of deaths. The seventh and third Legion fought most bravely, and gave the sharpest assault, and Antonius the General himselfe, with the chosen men of the Auxiliary souldiers, had bended his forces that way. The Vitellianists perceiving themselves not able to sustaine any longer the force, and fury of men so obstinately bent, and that whatsoever they cast down upon them slid away upon the Target-fence, without doing any harme, resolved to rowle down at the last a great * engine upon them as they approached: which indeed for the present overwhelmed those that were under, but withall in falling it drew the battlements with it, and uppermost part of the rampier: and at the same time a Tower adjoining being battered with stones fell down. At which breach as the seventh Legion assaied to enter in a pointed battell, the third Legion in the meane season brake down the gate with their swords and axes. It is agreed upon by all writers, that the first man which entred the trench was Caius Volusius, a souldier of the third Legion, who presently going to the Rampire tumbled down all that resisted, and advancing himselfe in light proclaimed the Campe was taken: and as the Vitellianists were now beginning to faint, and leape down from the Rampire, the rest brake in. All the space between the trenches and the town was filled with dead bodies. And there againe appeared a new work, and another labour: the walls of the city were high, the Towers all of stone, the barres of the gates of iron, the souldier ready with weapon in hand on the walls, the

* Gallicus.

* Legions.

* Claudiana.

* Bebricum.

* Target-fence.

* Axes.

* Hooks.

* Ladders.

* Javelins.

* Spears.

* Stones.

* Swords.

* Axes.

* Hooks.

* Ladders.

* Javelins.

* Spears.

* Stones.

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* Swords.

* Axes.

* Hooks.

* Ladders.

* Javelins.

* Spears.

* Stones.

* Swords.

* Axes.

* Hooks.

the Townes-men many and sure to Vitellius, beside a great number of strangers assembled out of all places of Italy thither, by occasion of a Faire usually holden there at that time. But that as it was a help to the defendants in respect of the multitude, so was it a provocation to the assailants in respect of the spoil. Antonius commanded to take fire and burne certain most goodly buildings, standing without the walls, if peradventure the Towns-men upon the losse of their substance would be induced to yeeld. The houses that were neare to the walls, and exceeded them in height he replenished with the valiantest souldiers he had, who with blocks of timber, and tiles, and fire-brands, beat away the defendants from the walls: by this time also, the Legions had cast themselves into a Target-fence, and others shor stones, and arrows against them on the walls. Then the Vitellianists hearts began by little and little to faile them, and every man as he was first in degree was likewise the first to yeeld unto fortune, lest if Cremona also should be taken there would be no hope of pardon remaining, the whole wrath of the winners being like to turn not upon the poore and beggarly souldier, but upon the Tribunes and Centurions, by whose death some gaine might be gotten: contrarily the common-souldier not searching into sequels, and in lesse danger by reason of his basenesse, persisted still for Vitellius: and wandering in the streets, or hiding themselves in houses would not sue for peace, even then when as they had left off to make war. So the principall men of degree in the army razed Vitellius names, and defaced his images, and loosing Cæcina, who then was in bands, desired him to become intercessour in their behalf. As he made dainty to doe it, and bare himself proudly against them, they besought him instantly even with teares (a misery of all miseries, so many valiant men to implore the aide (4) of a disdainfull traitour) and then hung out over the walls their * sacred veles and insules, in signe of submission. Whereupon Antonius commanding his men to surcease all hostilitie, they brought out their ensignes and standards: the Vitellian Legions followed; a heave company, unarmed, and casting their eies to the ground. The Flavians closed about them, and first outraged them in speeches, and seemed to threaten violence unto them: but when they saw them not moved thereat, but patiently to endure all indignities, according to the circumstance of their present fortune, they began to call to remembrance, that even those were the selfe same men, that had a little before at Bebricum used their victory moderately. But when Cæcina came forth as a Consul in his robes with his sergeants before him making way through the presse, the conquering souldiers lost all manner of patience, objecting unto him his pride, and his cruelty, yea and his treason too: so hatefull are vices even where they are profitable. But Antonius interposed himselfe and sent him safely garded away to Vespasian. In the mean season the people of the town, among so many armed men, were greatly annoyed, and they feared nearly of a generall massacre, had not the Captaines intreated, and somewhat appeased the souldiers wrath. Antonius calling a full assembly made a solemne oration, speaking in glorious tearms to the souldiers of his own side, and in courteous to those of the other, concerning Cremona ambiguously. The Army was doubleles earnestly bent to the destruction and sack of the city beside a naturall desire of spoil, upon an old conceived displeasure against them: for in the warre of Otho also they were thought to have bested & helped Vitellius side; and afterwards the thirteenth Legion being left there to build an Amphitheatre (as commonly those Towns-men are naturally malapert) they had jested and scoffed at them. Many other circumstances made their case also the harder, as that Cæcina had in that Town exhibited his shew of "Fencers in honour of Vitellius victory: that it was chosen now the se-

* Velamenta & insules.

"Gladiatores; cond

exercises; he conversed not in publike in the face of the people (like those sluggish creatures, which if you supply with food lye carelessly stretched along) lurking in arbores and places of pleasure, he had cast off all memory alike, of past, present, and to come. Thus wallowing in sloth, and languishing in the groves of Aricia, the heavie newes came unto him of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, and of the revolt of the navie at Ravenna: soone after the sorrowfull tidings mixed with some joy concerning Cæcina came, both that he had revolted, and that he was put in bands by the armie. His blockish and dull disposition apprehended more the joy then the care, inso much that with great triumph he made his returne unto the city, and there in a solemne assembly commended, & highly extolled the dutifull affection of the souldiers. Then he commanded Publius Sabinus captain of the Guard, because he was inward with Cæcina, to be committed, substituting Alphenus Varus in his roome: immediately going to the Senate he made there a stately and magnificall oration unto them, and was required of them againe with all kinde of exquisite flatteries. Then proceeded a heavie sentence against Cæcina, pronounced first by Lucius Vitellius, and so by the rest of the Senate in order; who was in the Princes behalfe uttering their own griefe aggravated his fact with rearmes of affected indignation, That the Consull should betray the common-wealth, a Generall his sovereign Lord, and a man so greatly advanced in riches and honour his sole advancer and maker; without any touch at all or injurious speech against any of the Flavian Captaines, but onely blaming the error, and oversight of the armies: and for Vespasian's proceedings, with great caution touching that string, and alwaies sparing his name. Then Roscius Regulus presented a petition, & by humble suite obtained, a ridiculous thing both to give and to take, the Consulship for one only day which remained behinde of Cæcinaes time, & so the last day of October he entred and resigned his Office. It was observed by men skilfull that way, that never before was there any such substitution seene, but either upon error in the creation, or an expresse law for that purpose enacted. For Caninius Rebilus had likewise beene Consul for one day alone, at that time when Caius Cæsar was Dictatour " and the service of many in the civill warre required much speed in rewarding. About the same time the death of Junius Blæsus was openly knowne and much talkt of abroad: the circumstances whereof, as we have received them are these. Vitellius lying sick of a grievous disease in the Servilian gardens, chanced to espie in a turret not farre off many lights burning in the night season, and demanding the cause, they about him made answer that in Cæcina Tuscus house there was a solemne feast, and much company met, whereof Junius Blæsus was the principall guest; amplifying the sumptuousnesse of the entertainment, and the mirth, & the wanton solacing themselves, and such other matters farre above truth: yea and some stuck not directly to accuse Tuscus himselfe and others; but aggravated most against Blæsus that had so good leisure and lust in the Princes sicknes, to banquet and passe the time so merrily away. When they found Vitellius humour once sharpened, and it was cleare to them, that see deeply into Princes dislikes, that Blæsus might be overthrowne, the promoting and prosecuting against him was committed to Lucius Vitellius: who upon a sinister emulation malicing Blæsus (because he was so famous a man, and himselfe by desert so infamous) entred into the Emperours chamber, and taking his little sonne in his armes fell downe at his feete. When his brother demanded the cause of this his confusion, I come not (quoth he) for any feare or care of mine own, but my humble suit is, and these reares are shed in your owne behalfe, and your childrens. In vaine do we stand in feare of Vespasian, whom so many Legions as we have

* In amplifying the great bountifullnesse of Vitellius towards a man in all respects so unworthy as Cæcina, they uttered indeed their owne griefe, that so few a person should be so highly preferred, and yet seemed to complaine in Vitellius behalfe.

† Of whom that jest of Tully is remembered, *Quam v. glan-tem habemus consulem, qui toto consiliatus fuisset tempore (non enim oculis non vidit)* " Or, who being beholding to many had

have of our side, so many provinces of valour and trust, and so great and infinite distance by Sea and land doth withhold and keepe off: we had more neede to take heede of an enemy at home in our bosome, who vaunts of the Junii and Antonii for his progenitours, and maketh all demonstrations of curtesie and bountifullnesse toward the souldiers, as one descended of the imperiall blood: that way all mens mindes beginne now to bend: whilst your majesty in the meane time, carelesse of the este both of your friends and foes, nourisheth a concurrent, that taketh delight out of his banketting house to behold his Princes sicknesse and griefes. Vouchsafe, I beseech you, for his unseasonable mirth, to render him a sad and sorrowfull night, whereby he may both know and feelee, that Vitellius liveth and ruleth, and if ought should befall him but good, hath a sonne to leave in his place. Vitellius standing in dread between the feare of differing, and the open avowing of so wicked a fact, left the one might breed his destruction, the other procure great envy and slander, finally resolved to attempt it by poison: the suspicion whereof was strongly confirmed, by his going in great joy to visit Blæsus as he lay a dying; and moreover a most savage speech of his was overheard, wherein he vaunted (for I will report his owne very words) that he had fed his eyes in beholding his enemies death. Blæsus besides his honorable death and courtly conditions, was loyall and fast to Vitellius. For before Vespasian put up, when as matters were yet entire, being solicited by Cæcina and the chiefeest of the side, who began now to wax weary of Vitellius, he stidly resisted; a man of upright conversation, not turbulent, nor desirous of hasty rising, and so far from ambitious aspiring to the Empire, that in many mens opinions he was esteemed not worthy of it.

VIII. The proceedings of Fabius Valens, and his taking.

IN the meane season Fabius Valens marching forward, more slowly then was convenient in going to warre, with a great and effeminate traine of concubines and eunuches, was advertised in post of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, with the losse of the navy at Ravenna: and if he had followed with expedition his purposed journey, he might either have prevented Cæcinaes falling away, or overtaken the Legions before the battell was given. And some perswading him to take a few of his trustiest friends, & so avoiding Ravenna by secret by-ways to go in all speed to Hostilia, or Cremona: others were of opinion to send for the Prætorian cohorts out of the City, and so by strong hand to make passage. But Valens using delay, to the great hurt of the cause, spent the times of action in consultation: and then rejecting both the advices, and taking a middle course, which in cases of danger and doubt of all is the worst, he neither was venturous enough with the one, nor provident enough with the other, but only wrote letters to Vitellius for some supply. Whereupon three cohorts were sent with the British wing, a number neither fit to passe secret with all, nor sufficient to break thorow by force. But Valens even then, amidst to great danger, abstained not from his old untemperate living; but was defamed, and noted to take by force his lewd pleasures, and pollute his hosts houses, wheresoever he came, with adulteries, and other unlawfull lusts: he had both might and money, great means to induce; and the last lusts fortune beginning to fall, now at the farewell shewed themselves most outrageous. When the horsemen and footmen were come, then appeared the weaknesse and fault of that counsell. For neither could he with so small a company, though he had beene most trusty, passe thorow the enemies, neither yet were they fast and trusty indeed: but for a while

By reason of both which names he might claime to be lineally descended of Cæcina, sister to Augustus Cæsar, as by their pedigree it may appear.

* Of Prætorians it should seeme: and yet we finde 14. more Prætorians, and there were but 16. in all 2. Hiji.

shame, and the reverence of their Generall being present, restrained them, bonds of no long continuance with men^a greedy of dangers, and carelesse of credit: upon feare whereof Valens sending the cohorts before to Arminium, and appointing the wing to guard them behinde, with a few in his company, whom adversitie had not altered, turned aside into Umbria, and from thence to Etruria. Where understanding the event of the battell at Cremona, he entered into a notable determination, and if it had succeeded, of great consequence; to betake himselfe to the sea, and setting on land in some part of the province of Narbon, to raise France and the nations of Germany, and so stirre up a new war. Assoone as Valens was gone, Cornelius Fuscus came with an army upon them at Arminium, and bestowing his ships not farre from the towne forced the souldier for feare to yeeld, and made himselfe master of the plaine of Umbria, and the countrey of Picenum all along the sea side: and so all Italy on the one side of the Appennine mountaines was under the subjection of Vespasian, and on the other side under Vitellius. Valens having embarked himselfe in the bay of Pisa was driven by the violence of the sea, or contrary winde, into the port of Hercules Monœcus. Not farre from thence Marcus Maturus Procurator of the sea Alpes remained, a man very faithfull and constant in Vitellius cause, notwithstanding all thereabout had declared themselves for the contrary side, who intreating Valens with all kinde of courtesie, and warning him, not rashly to enter into the province of Narbon, with this admonition stroke a terrour into his minde, and withall the rest of the company began to faint for feare, and stagger in their allegiance. For Valerius Paulinus a^b Procurator, a valiant souldier, and a friend of Vespasians before his advancement, had sworne the cities round about unto him; and gathering all those, which being^c dismissed by Vitellius of their owne accord resumed armes, kept the colony of Forum Julii, being the key of the sea, with a garison: his dealing therein carrying the more credit, because he was borne in that towne, and was highly esteemed among the Prætorian souldiers, whose Tribune sometimes he had bene; and the townesmen also upon favour to their countryman, and hope of greatnesse hereafter, endeavoured to further the side. This strong preparation being reported in the amplest fort to the Vitellianists, who already were wavering in minde, Fabius Valens retired in all speed to the ships, accompanied only with foure^d "Sperrenien, three of his friends, and as many Centurions: Maturus and the rest were at their liberty to stay behinde, if it liked them, and sware to Vespasian. But as the sea was safer to Valens then the shoare, or towne, so floating thereon unresolved, and seeing rather what to shun then what to follow, he was at the length by contrary weather cast upon the Stœchades Ilands, upon the coast of Marselis; from whence Paulinus sending out of his ships fetched him in.

^a A middle course. It may seeme that Valens for his part resolved upon the first opinion, that was *actum in ulte cohortibus valida manu percussio*, but the fault was in Vitellius who had sent no more.

^b Men greedy of danger. *Apud acidos periculorum*. So be the words in our copies, the meaning I know not; and the narration following I finde in my conceit to be somewhat imperfect, as wherefore Valens did send the power rather to Arminium into the enemies mouth, then back to Vitellius, if he meant not to follow then himselfe upon what intent and purpose he went unto Umbria and Etruria; and what he would have done, if he had not had advertisement of the battell at Cremona, unless it were to take the secret way now, which before he refused, toward Hostilia and Cremona. Which circumstance surely would not have bene omitted.

IX. The estate of the Provinces abroad upon the troubles in Italy.

Assoone as Valens was taken, all the provinces turned themselves to Vespasians side, the matter beginning in Spaine at the first Legion surnamed Adjutrix; which upon the memory of Otho was enemy to Vitellius, and drew with it the tenth and sixth Legion also. Neither did the provinces of France make any stay. And for Britanny, the great favour and reputation in warlike affairs, that Vespasian had gotten being Lieutenant thereof the second Legion under Claudius, did easily win that Legion unto him, albeit not without some stirre of the rest, whereof many Centurions and souldiers, who had been advanced by Vitellius, were unwilling to change the Prince, whom they had proved already. By means of which dissention and continuall rumours of civill warres, the Britains took heart and rebelled, through the procurement^a of Venusius; who beside a naturall fiercenesse of courage, and hatred of the Romane name, was incensed particularly, by a private unkindnesse between him and the Queene Carthimandua. Carthimandua was Queene of the Brigantines, of high and noble linage, who upon the delivery of King Caratacus, whom she took by^b fraud, and sent to furnish and set out the triumph of Claudius, wan favor with the Romans, & greatly increased her strength: whereupon ensued wealth, and of wealth and prosperity riotous and incontinent life: insomuch that casting off Venusius, who was her husband, she joynd her selfe in marriage with Volocatus her harness-bearer, and crowned him King: which fact was the overthrow immediately of her house. The good will of the countrey went generally upon the lawfull husband: but the Queens untemperate affections were peremptory and violent in maintaining her minion. Whereupon Venusius by the helpe of his other friends, and the revolt of the Brigantines, made warre upon Carthimandua, and brought her into great extremities: then praying aid at our hands, our cohorts and wings were sent to defend her, which after sandry skirmishes with diverse event, delivered her person out of peril, but the kingdome remained to Venusius, and the war unto us. About the same time our affaires in Germany through the insufficiency of our captains, and seditiousnesse of our Legions, forreine force assailing us, and our allies betraying us, were reduced to those desperate tearmes, that we stood in danger of leeing the countrey: but that warre together with the causes, and particular events thereof (for it continued long) I will hereafter declare. The Dacians also stirred, a nation never loving us, and as then our army being withdrawne out of Mœsia, not fearing us neither. When the first altercations and troubles began, they held themselves quiet, & looked but on: but when as they perceived Italy to be all in armes, and between the sides every where open hostilitie, forcing the standing camps of the cohorts and wings, they put themselves in possession of both the banks of Danubius, and were now at the point to have razed the camps of the Legions, had not Mutianus, having knowledge before of the victory at Cremona, opposed the sixth Legion against them, lest two forreign powers should have broken in at one time, the Germanes and Dacians, from two diverse coasts. As often heretofore, so now especially fortune was favourable to the Romanes, bringing Mutianus with the power of the East to arrive there at that instant; and that in the meane time the matter was so dispatched at Cremona. Mutianus departing away left Fonteius Agrippa, who had been one yeare Proconsull of Asia, Lieutenant Generall in Mœsia; assigning him sufficient forces out of the

Vitellian Legions, whom it was thought a point both of policy and peace to disperse abroad in the provinces, and keep occupied in forreine war. Neither were other nations at quiet. In Pontus a barbarous bondman, which sometime had been Admirall of the Kings navy, raised up a sudden warre in the countrey: his name was Anicetus a freedman of the late King Polemo, sometime of great credit and power, and now since the kingdome was reduced into a province displeased and grieved with the charge. Whereupon having associated unto him in Vitellius name the nations that dwell upon Pontus, alluring the poore and neediest sort with hope of booty and spoile, he became in short time Commander of competent forces, with which he suddenly invaded & brake into Trapezus, a very ancient city built by the Græcians, in the uttermost borders of Pontus: where a cohort was slaine, which in time past was in the service there of the King, but being afterward made citizens of Rome, had taken ensignes and armour after our manner, retaining the slothfulnesse and dissolute life of the Greeks notwithstanding. He burned also the navy there, doing his pleasure on that sea, which as then was ungarded, by reason that Mutianus had given order for the best of the galleys, and all the souldiers to meete him at Byzantium: upon occasion whereof the barbarous people of the countrey ranged abroad, and robbed without feare of checke or controlment; building their boats on the sudden, weich they call *Camææ*, of narrow sides and broad bottoms, wrought and joyned together without any brasse or iron, and when the sea goeth high, as the waves rise they raise also the sides of the vessell with boords, untill they close and cover it above like a house, and so the boats tumble up and downe in the middle of the waves, having a prow alike on both sides, and ready to row either way without any danger, as it shall fall out for their purpose. These things moved Vespasian to assigne unto those parts some Vexillary souldiers out of the Legions, and Viridius Geminus for captain, a man of good proove in service: who setting upon the enemies being in disarray, & dispersed in seeking of spoile, drave them to their boates, and then causing some galleies to be built in haste, pursued and overtooke Anicetus in the mouth of the river Cobibus, being there under the protection of the king of the Sedochezi, whom he had won by money and gifts to undertake his defence. And indeed at first the king threatned to protect his suppliant with force of armes: but when as he saw himselfe put to the choyce, to accept either reward for yielding him, or warre in defending him, as an unconstant and disloyall barbarian, upon composition he surrendered Anicetus to die, and delivered the fugitives, and so end was made of that servile warre. Vespasian being joyfull upon the obtaining of this victory, all things succeding unto him above his own wish, was certified soone after being in Egypt of the battell at Cremona, which caused him to make the more haste to Alexandria, that seeing Vitellius army was defeated and broken, he might prefe also with hunger the city of Rome, standing altogether upon forraine provision. For so likewise he made preparation to invade Africk, situate on the same coast, both by sea and land, meaning to cut off the two storehouses of come from the enemies and so procure famine, whereof consequently diffention would grow.

¹ Barbarous people also of the countrey. Others as I thinke beside those which sociate themselves with Anicetus: namely the Achæi, Heriochi, and Cercæ dwelling on the other side of Pontus Buxinus; and according to Strabo living as they are here described, by piracy.

X. Antonius

X. Antonius Primus marcheth from Cremona to Fanum Fortuna.
His jarring with Mutianus.

W^Hilest in these generall alterations thorowout the whole world, the state thus altered and passed, Antonius Primus leaving Cremona, left also his former care of well carrying himselfe, supposing the warre to be at an end, and no difficulty in that which remained: or else peradventure prosperity, in a man of that disposition, discovered the secret and inward faults of his minde, as covetousnesse, and pride, and other vices that were suppressed before. Italy he harried as a conquered countrey: the Legions with all kinde of courtesie he sought to assure himselfe: in summe by all speeches and deeds he made the way to his owne greatnesse. And to give the souldier the more his owne will, and leave him the bridle at large, of his meere motion he granted unto the Legions the choise of Centurions in their roomes that were slaine: by which kinde of election the busiest and troublefomest fellows were chosen; and generally the souldier was not governed by the direction of his captaine, but the captaine drawne by the violence of the souldier. After these points tending to faction and corrupting of discipline, he converted himselfe to the prey, nothing dreading Mutianus at hand, which was a more hainous offence, then to have contemned Vespasian himselfe. Nevertheless the army marched on, without carriages, because the winter was neer, and the fields overflowne with the Po. The ensignes and standards of the conquering Legions, and the aged or impotent souldiers, with many sound also, were left at Verona. It seemed sufficient, now the warre was in so good a forwardnesse, to take onely the cohorts and wings, and certaine chosen men out of the Legions. Unto this company the eleventh Legion also adjoynded themselves, who at the first had made some delay, but seeing the good successe of their fellowes were forry it was their ill hap to be absent: with it there came also six thousand Dalmatians newly levied. Poppæus Silvanus was Lieutenant generall: but the whole directions of matters rested in Annius Bassus Lieutenant of the Legion, who with great industry and quietnesse disposed of all that was to be done, and under colour of obedience governed Silvanus peaceably, being a man of no action in military service, and trifling out the times of doing in talking. To this power were adjoynded the best of the mariners at Ravenna requiring Legionary service, and in their roomes the Dalmatians were sent to serve at sea. At Fanum Fortuna the army and the leaders were at a stop, being in doubt concerning their principall purpose, because they had heard the Pretorian cohorts were already set forth out of Rome, and presumed that the passages of the Apennine hills were fortified and guarded against them. But that which caused most feare was want of provision, in a countrey waisted and consumed by warre, and the seditious cries of the souldiers, demanding ** Clavarium* (which is the name of a donative) of them who had neither provided money nor corn: and the too much haste of the souldiers hindred greatly, whilest that which in due order might have been taken and served some while, was in a moment spoiled in snatching. It is reported by most credible writers, that among the winners there was such a contempt of common honesty, and such unnaturall dealings against all lawes humane and divine, that a common souldier among the horsemen was not ashamed openly to professe, that he had slaine his owne brother in the last battell, and to require recompense for the same at the captaines hands: who neither willing to reward the fact in regard of common humanity, nor daring to punish it in respect

^{*} *Clavarium* a donative to buy them called *gares clavi*; as *Calcearium* in Suet. *Vesp. cap. 8* i. buy them shoes.

respect of the nature of the present warre, deferred the matter, pretending that he had deserved much more, then they were presently able to give: how it was ended I finde not recorded; notwithstanding in former civill warres I finde the like to have happened. For in the Battell fought against Cinna at Janiculum, one of Pompeys souldiers slew his owne brother, and when he saw what he had done, slew himselfe also, as Sisenia reporteth: so much our ancestors have exceeded us, not onely in glory of their vertues, but in griefe for their faults. These and the like drawne out of ancient history it shall not be amisse to remember, where the place and matters require to set down either * example of that which is good, or comforts for that which is bad. Now Antonius and the Flavian Captaines being at Fa-
* exempla veterum aut solatia malis.
 rum, thought it expedient to send some horsemen before, and search all the coast of Umbria, to finde some easie and gentle passage over the Apennine: and withall they determined to send for the standards and ensignes, and all the souldiers that remained at Verona, and to replenish the Po and the sea with store of provision. There were of the Commanders which fought all meanes to delay: for Antonius was * growne now too intolerable, and * better hope was conceived of Mutianus: who being inwardly vexed that the victory was so speedily gotten, and fearing unlesse he were present at the taking of Rome at the least, he should have no part, neither of the war, nor the honour, wrote unto Primus and Varus ambiguously, sometime perswading to follow with instance, and sometime discouraging of the profitableness of delaying; framing his speech in such sort, that if things fell out ill, hee would clearly disclaime them; if wel, he might take them upon him: but Plotius Griphus, whom Vespasian had lately made a Senator and Lieutenant of a Legion, and the rest of his trusty friends he gave plaine direction to stay till his coming: all which persons returned unto him a plausible answer, and greatly blamed the heady proceeding of Primus and Varus. Those Letters Mutianus sent to Vespasian, and so procured that Antonius devises and doings were not accepted according to his expectation. Which thing Antonius tooke very impatiently and imputed the fault thereof unto Mutianus, by whose calumniation he conceived his dangers had growne: neither did he forbear to use hard speeches against him, as a man of an intemperate tongue, and not a customed to acknowledge any superiour. He wrote also letters to Vespasian in a more haughty and arrogant style, then becomed a subject to his Prince, with secret glances and nips at Mutianus: That it was Antonius and no body else, who first put in armes the Legions of Pannonia, and brought them into the field: that by his procurement and working the captaines of Moesia were first stirred up to the warre: by his resoluteness the Alpes were passed, Italie possessed, and the aide of the Rhodians and Germanic nations cut off: then, that Vitellius Legions being at discord and dispersed the vantage was spied, and they overthrown first by a furious charge of horsemen, afterward by a power of footmen for a whole day and a night together; that was indeed the bravest point of the service, and his onely doing: as for the mishap of Cremona, it was a mischance of warre; and that the deciding of other civill dissensions in other ages had cost the Common-wealth much dearer, even the subversion of many great towns. That he served his Prince not with sending of messages and writing of letters, but with his person and weapon in hand: neither did he envy or hinder their glory, that in the meane time had quieted Moesia: they regarded the peace of Moesia, and he the conservation and safety of Italy. By his perswasions France and Spaine, the most puissant parts of the Empire, were joynted to the side: but all his paines and travell were in vaine, if they alone should reape the rewards, which had no part in the perill.

perill. Mutianus was advertised of all his proceeding, and thereupon eschewed great enmity, which Antonius prosecuted simply and souldier like, but Mutianus closely, and therefore the more irreconcilably.

XI. Vitellius proceedings and behaviour after the losse at Cremona. The revolt of the navy at Misenum.

But Vitellius having received so great a blow at Cremona, concealing the news, and foolishly dissembling the matter, differed the remedies of his evils, not the evils themselves. For if he would have plainly confessed it, and taken advice thereupon, he had both hope and strength enough and too much remaining: but when as he contrarily fained that all went on his side, by that untruth he married his owne case, and cut off from himselfe all meanes of recovery. In his presence there was no mention of warre, but a wonderfull silence that way: in the citie all speeches of it were forbidden, which caused the more: and they, which if it had been lawfull would have talked nothing but truth, being restrained gave out much more then it was. The captains also of the Flavian side helped to increase the same, carrying Vitellius spies, as they chanced to take them, round about the campe, to see and view the strength of their Victorious army, & so dismissing them back to their master. All which at their returne Vitellius, after secret examination had, commanded to be made away. But above all other the constancy and resoluteness of the Centurion Julius Agrestis was most notable; who after much speech tending to incite Vitellius to vertue in vaine, at length obtained that himself might be sent to view the forces of the enemy, and see what had passed at Cremona. For the performing whereof he fought no corners, but addressed himself directly to Antonius, and openly professing what charge he had from his Prince, and what was his intent, he required he might be permitted to take a perfect survey of all things. So some were sent with him, who shewed him the place where the battell was fought, the ruins of Cremona, the conquered Legions. Agrestis went home againe, and making relation, when as Vitellius would not beleve his report, but charged him with untruth, and further that he was hired thereto: Seeing then (quoth Agrestis) no meane proove will serve, and neither my life nor my death can now stand you in any other stead, I will give you an assurance which you may beleve; and so departing from him, he sealed his sayings voluntarily with his blood. Some wrote that he was slain by Vitellius commandement, but of his fidelity and constancy they reported the same. Now Vitellius being as it were awaked out of sleepe, commanded Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus with foureteen Prætorian cohorts, and all the wings of the horsemen to keep the straits of the Apennine. After them followed a Legion of Seamen; a power both for number and goodnesse of men and horses sufficient (if another had bene Generally) to make war offensive, not onely to stand upon their defence. The rest of the cohorts were committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother to guard the city withall. Himselfe abating nothing of his wonted riot, and hasty through distrust, hudled up the election of officers, wherein he declared Consuls for many yeares to come. Moreover new treaties and more gracious were concluded without allies, and the right of Latium conferred upon strangers. To some he released their tributes, to others he granted immunities, without all care of posterity mangling and mayning the Empire. But the common sort accepted these favours that seemed so great, and the foolishlest bought them with money, which

Suetonius Othone c. 10. Xidellina and after him Zaxan reporteth this in the story of this war, with some small difference of circumstance.

b. Suet. Vitell. c. 11. comitia in decem annos ordinari sive perpetuum consilium.

wife men accounted but void, being such as could neither be given nor taken with the safety of the state. At the last through the instant request of his army lying in Mevania, with a great train of Senators assumed, partly upon sute and most upon feare, he repaired to the campe irresolute of himselfe, and obnoxious to unfaithfull counsels. As he was speaking to his souldiers in publike assembly, it fell out to many unluckie birds to flye over his head (a monstrous matter) that the day was overcast, as it were with a black cloud: and another no (2) lesse ominous and of evil presage, that a bull which was appointed to be sacrificed, brake away from the altars, overturned the furniture of the ceremonie, and was knocked downe farre off from the accustomed place. But the greatest monster was Vitellius himselfe, a Prince without skill in the profession of armes, and devoide of direction and counsell, demanding est-foones of others in what order to march, what diligence was requisite in making discoveries, what meane was to be observed in urging or delaying the warre, and upon every flying report apparently fearefull in countenance, and trembling in gate, and beside all this most commonly drunken. At the length growing weary of the campe, and understanding of the revolt of the navy at Misenum, he returned to Rome, ever fearing most the blow that came last, and careless in the meane time of the maine chance. For whereas it had been a course most cleare in reason, & evident in fight, to have passed the Appennine with his army, which then was in heart and strength, and so to have assailed the enemies almost consumed with hunger and cold, he on the other side fell to * dispersing his forces, and so abandoned his best and faithfull souldiers, whom he left thereby to the enemies mercy, and delivered them as it were into their hands, contrary to the opinion of the most expert Centurions, who disliked greatly the disuniting, and if their advice had been asked, would have told plainly their minde: but Vitellius inwardly friends hindered them from acceffe, the Princes eares being so framed, that he accounted all sharpe that was wholesome, and liked of nothing, but that which was presently pleasant, and afterwards hurtfull. But the navy at Misenum (so much the audacioussesse even of one single man in civill diffentions may worke) was brought to revolt by the meanes of Claudius Faventinus, a Centurion ignominiously cast by Galba, who counterfeiting letters from Vespasian, with hope of reward induced them to change their allegiance. The Admirall thereof was Claudius Apollinaris, a man that neither constantly kept his fidelitie, nor stoutly maintained his treason: and Apinius Tiro, who had bene Pretor, and was then by chance at Minturnæ, offered himselfe a head to them which revolted; by whose meanes the colonies, and free townes were drawne to the side, the Putolani shewing themselves most forward that way. But Capua on the other side, persisted firme to Vitellius: whereupon there passed under colour of the publike cause, much private choler between the two townes. To the pacification of these troubles Vitellius chose out Claudius Julianus (who had bene late Admirall of the navy at Misenum, and governed himselfe in that charge with great mildnesse) as the meekest man to appeake the souldiers mindes; assigning unto him a power of one city cohort, and the ** fencers which were under his charge. As soone as the campos approached the one to the other, Julianus without any great stay turned to Vespasians side, and so joyntly they took Tarracina, a place of great strength in regard of the wals and situation, if the men within had bene faithfull and good. Upon knowledge whereof Vitellius leaving part of his navie at Narnia, with the capitaines of his Guard, sent his brother Lucius Vitellius away with six cohorts, and five hundred horse, to manage the warre of Campania. Himselfe being greatly perplexed in minde was yet somewhat revived

* Taking some with him to Rome, but principally in that he sent away with his brother, as appeared anon, six cohorts and five hundred horse into Campania out of this army.

** Gladiatores.

ved with the earnest good will of the souldiers, and clamours of the towne people requiring armour and weapons; whom being nought else but a cowardly company, whose boldnesse never went beyond words, he called by the false title of armies and Legions. At the perswasion of his freedmen (for of his friends the greatest men were left trusty) he commanded the tribes to be called, and swore them which gave in their names: too many presenting themselves, he divided the charge of the muster between the two Consuls, and assailed the Senators at a certaine number of bondmen, and quantitie of silver. The Gentlemen of Rome made offer both of their service and money, even the Libertini requiring of their owne motion they might be admitted to do also the like. This counterfeited forwardnesse made the offices that were done for feare, be thought to proceed of good will. And indeed many pitied not so much the man, as the place he sustained: and Vitellius himselfe ceased not by his countenance, speech, teares, to provoke and compassion and pity, promising largely, and (as the nature is of men in great feare) without measure. Moreover he took then upon him (which he had refused before) the style of ⁴ Caesar, upon some superstitious conceit of the name, and because in a time of feare, the counsels of wise men, and pralings of the people are heard and respected alike. But as all actions entred into upon heat without consideration are strongest in the beginning, and afterward fade and decay, so here the Senators began by little and little to shrink, and the Gentlemen likewise; at the first with some respect and Vitellius absence, but afterward more openly, being afraide and pensive for the danger which was like to ensue, till in the end Vitellius seeing the attempt not feasible, for shame was contented, not to demand that he could not obtaine.

1 New treaties: *Fœdera socii, Latium externi* that is, to our socii their *fœdera* were renewed with a further increase of exemptions and privileges; and to forrainers that privilege was granted, that those which had borne small office with them should by that means become *cives Romani*: for that is the maine point of *jus Latii*. *Adp. 2. Epist. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

2 No lesse ominous: the breaking away of the beaſt at sacrifice was among Romans an ominous matter. Titus alittle before his death *Sabinus* perit, saith * *Suetonius*, *Aliquando trifidus, quod sacrificiis hostia aufugerat. Idem b. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

XII. The Flavians pass over the Appennine. The Vitellianists at Narnia yeeld themselves. The death of Fabius Valens.

As the possessing of Mevania by the Vitellianists had wrought great terror in Italy, seeing another warre as it were sprung up a fresh by that meanes, so of the contrary side the departure of Vitellius in so fearefull manner procured great credit, and good to the Flavian cause. For presently thereupon the Samnites, and Peligni, and Marſi revolted; and upon emulation that Campania had prevented them, to recompense their slacknesse, as men newly come to a new master, shewed extreme diligence in furthering the service. But in passing the Appennine the army by the foulnesse of the winter weather was greatly distressed, and marching with all libertie and quietnesse could hardly wrestle out of the snow, so that it was cleare to be seene, what danger they must needs have sustained, if fortune it

Suetonius Vitellio c. 8. scemeth to say otherwise cognomen Germanici delatum ab universis cupide receptis, Augusti dissoluti, Caesaris in perpetuum recusavit.

a cap. 10. b cap. 59. c cap. 18. d cap. 45.

which the Flavian Captaines were more often beholding, then to their good guiding and skill, had not turned Vitellius back home againe. In the mountaines Peticulus Cerealis met them, who in clownish apparell through knowledge of the countrey had escaped Vitellius hands. Cerealis was of neere affinitie with Vespasian, and offsome name for matters of warre, and therefore was assumed among the Leaders. Many write that Flavius Sabinus and Domitian might also easily have escaped, and certaine it is, that divers messengers sent by Antonius by sundry cunning sleights came to their speech, pointing the place, and offering them means for their safety: but Sabinus alledged that his crazy body was not to undertake a matter of that paines, and such an audacious attempt. Domitian would have gladly ventured, but he feared the keepers whom Vitellius had set about him, although they offered to accompany him in his escape, lest peradventure it had beene a snare to intap him: and indeed Vitellius himselfe, in regard of his owne kinsfolkes, intended no crueltie against Domitian. When the Flavian captaines were come to Carfula, they staid there a few daies to repose their army, till their Legionary power should overtake them: and the place of the campe in it selfe was delightfull, with a large goodly prospect, and very safe for the provision of victuals, having so many of the wealthiest Cities, as it were storehouses behinde him. And besides they were in some hope that the Vitellianists, which were not distant above tenne miles would fall to some parle, and so from a parle to a revolt: which thing the souldiers could not abide to heare of, but desired an end rather by conquest, then by peace: even their owne Legions they were unwilling to stay for, loath to have more fellows in the spoile, when they needed none in the danger. But Antonius calling them publicly together, shewed unto them, that Vitellius had yet some forces remaining, wavering perhaps and unconstant if they might have time to consult, but of fierce stomach if they were driven to despair: that the beginnings of civill warres were to be permitted to fortunes deciding, but the accomplishment of the victory was to be governed by reason and wisdom: that the navy of Mesenum, and the most flourishing countrey of Campania were already revolted, and there remained nothing of all the world unto Vitellius, save onely so much as lay between Tarracina and Narnia: and surely they had wonne honour sufficient in the Battell at Cremona, and blame too much by destroying the towne. Therefore they should not now desire to take Rome, but rather to save it: their reward would be greater, and their glory most great, if they wrought the safety of the Senat and people of Rome without bloodshed. With these and other like speeches their minds were mollified, and soone after the Legions came. The Vitellian cohorts terrified with the fame of the army so much increased, began to waver, no man animating them to the warre, but many to revolt, who desired to make a present of their bands and cornets unto the conquerour, to purchase favour hereafter; and gave also advertisement, that fast thereby at Interamna was a garrison of foure hundred horse. Whereupon immediately Varus was dispatched with a band of men lightly appointed, and few some few that made resistance: but the most part laid downe their weapons, and yeelded themselves to his mercy: some fled to the campe at Narnia, and filled all there full of feare and terror, extolling above truth the forces and valour of the enemies; to diminish their owne dishonour in losing their fort. Neither was there any punishment for offences among the Vitellianists, on the other side the rewards were apparent of those that revolted: so that from thenceforth the contention was, who should be most traitour, and daily some of the Tribunes, and Centurions fled to the enemy: for the common souldier was obstinately bent for

Vitellius

Vitellius, untill Priscus and Alphenus Generals forsaking the Campe upon feare, and returning to Vitellius, discharged the rest from all blame of treason. About the same time Fabius Valens was put to death in the prison at Urbine. His head was openly shewed to the Vitellian Cohorts to put them out of all hope: for before they beleaved that he was escaped into Germany and putting in arms both old and new souldiers there: but when they saw he was dead, they began to despair. The Flavian Army also took a wonderfull conceit as if his death were undoubtedly the end of the warre. Valens was borne at Anagnia, of a gentlemans house, loose in conditions, and not without grace in seeking by wanton jests the name of a pleasant conceit. In the games of Juvenalia in Neroes time he *plaid a part, first as it were by compulsion, then voluntarily, with more dexterity then credit. Being created Lieutenant of a Legion he both fought to prefer Verginius to the Empire, and then to discredit him. Fonteius Capito his Lieutenant Generall, either because he was entered into treason, or because he could not induce him to treason, he murdered and made away. A traytour he was no doubt to Galba, and true to Vitellius, a vertue in him so much the more eminent, because so many others were false. Now the Vitellian souldiers seeing all their hope cut off, going to yeeld themselves to the contrary part, even in that also had a care of their honour, and came down into the plaine under Narnia under their ensignes and banners displayed, the Flavian army stood armed with their weapons bent, as in battell, in thick ranks along the way side. So the Vitellianists were received in the middle, and being so inclosed about, Antonius entertained them with comfortable and gracious words, and appointed some of them to abide at Narnia, and some at Interamna, leaving some of his owne Legions withall, without molestation to them if they were quiet, and yet of force sufficient to repress them if they rebelled.

* Mimos agitavit.

XIII. *Vitellius upon composition with Flavius Sabinus Vespasians brother, offereth to resigne up the Empire. Sabinus by the souldiers is driven out into the Capitoll, and there besieged. The Capitoll is burnt: Sabinus taken and slaine.*

During their abode at Carfula, Antonius and Varus sent continually messengers unto Vitellius, offering him, if he would surcease Armes, and yeeld himselfe and his children to Vespasians mercy, life, money, and what secret place he would chuse of Campania to retire himselfe into: to the same effect Mutianus wrote also unto him: and Vitellius oftentimes gave eare thereunto, entering into speech about the number of his servants, and the choise of the place. So great a senselesse he had possessed his minde, that if other men had not remembred, that he had beene once Prince, and therefore was not to look for securitie in private estate, hee himselfe would have quickly forgotten it. But the principall men at Rome secretly incited Flavius Sabinus being Provost of the City, to put himselfe into the cause, and undertake part of the victory and of the honour: making remonstrance unto him, that the City Cohorts was his owne peculiar souldier, the Cohorts of the Watch-men would questionlesse take his part, and their owne retinue of bond-men should be at his disposition; beside the fortune of the side, and the easie course of proceeding they finde, that be in traine of winning: that he should not yeeld the honour of the Action to Antonius and Varus: that Vitellius had but few cohorts in number, and those discouraged and trembling at the evill news that came out of all

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quarters:

quarters: the common people was fickle and changeable; and if Sabinus would prevent himselfe for a head, they would use the same flattering termes for Vespasian, which now they did to the other: as for Vitellius he was a man not able to governe himselfe in prosperitie, much lesse sufficient to weild and winde out of his declining estate: that the honor of finishing the war would be his who first should take possession of the Citie; and so were it fit in all congruity, both for Sabinus to referre the Empire to his brother, and for Vespasian to esteeme of all other mens service secundarily to Sabinus. These warlike speeches made but a slender impression in his feeble old minde, and some did secretly suspect & charge him that thorow envy and emulation he fought rather to hinder his brothers good fortune. For Flavius Sabinus was the elder brother, and exceeded Vespasian both in riches and authoritie, whiles they were both private men, and was thought to have faved his credit and kept him from breaking by lending him money, but taking in mortgage his house & lands for repayment thereof: whereupon albeit in outward shew they continued friends, yet some secret jealousies were feared betweene the. But the better interpretation was, that being a milde man he abhorred from slaughter and blood, and therefore created divers times with Vitellius a peaceable copping of matters upon conditions. And after divers meetings at his house, at the last a capitulation was concluded upon (as the fame went) in the temple of Apollo, only two persons, Cluvius Rufus and Silius Italicus being witnesses of their words: their contentances were noted afar off by the beholders: Vitellius seemed abject and base, Sabinus not insulting, but pitying rather. And if Vitellius could as easily have persuaded his friends, as he was ready to yeeld himselfe, Vespasians Army had entred the City without blood-shed: but the loyal and faithful servants of Vitellius flatly rejected all speech of peace and conditions, declaring the danger and dishonor thereof; & that the performance consisted only in the winners good pleasure. Nay said they, Vespasian will not be so confident, as to suffer Vitellius to live, though in a private estate: or if he would, yet your very owne souldiers and friends will not abide it: and so through their pity your life shall come in danger. You are old, and therefore for your part, as one that hath had his fill of both fortunes, are content to accept of conditions; but what title and share shall your little son Germanicus have? now they offer money, servants, & the pleasant places of Campania to solace you in, but when Vespasian shall once be settled in the Empire, neither he, nor his friends, nor his souldiers will think themselves safe, whileso great a concurrent doth live. Even Fabius Valens, whom they had in prison, and reserved in store if ought should goe wrong, was too heavy for them to endure: much lesse are we to think, that Antonius and Fuscus and the chiefe flower of the side Mutianus, will otherwise deale with Vitellius then to make him away. Caesar left not Pompey alive nor Augustus Antonius, unless perhaps Vespasian carry a braver mind, the meekest among many of your fathers followers & clients, when he was fellow in office with Claudius the Emperor. Nay rather as it becometh you being son of a thrice Consul & Cenfor, as it becometh so many honorable titles of your most noble house, let despair at the least arme you to courage and boldnesse. The souldiers persist still for you: the good wil of the people continueth yet very fervent: in summe no greater harme can happen, then that which we run into voluntarily, die we must, if we be overcome, & die we shall, if we yeeld: the difference only is this, whether we should end our lives virtuously and with honour, or with shame and perpetuall reproch. But Vitellius cares were stopped against all manifold counsels: his minde was overcome with care and pity, left with too long resisting he should leave the conqueror lesse mercifull to his wife and children. A mother also he had of great years,

of Cornelius Tacitus.

but she died some few daies before, very reasonably not to see the ruine of her house, having gained nothing by her sons preferment, but sorrow & a good name. Upon the eighteenth day of December, hearing of the revolt of the Legion & cohorts at Narnia, he departed out of the Palace in mourning weed, with his servants all sad and weeping about him, and withall in a small * chaire was carried his little young sonne, as it were to his buriall. The people in passing used their accustomed flatteries, being as then out of season: the souldier kept silence, but seemed to carry wrath in his countenance: neither was there any man so senseless, or unkindruff of humane instability, which was not moved with that sight. An Empe- * Tacitus P. r. lio. 6. 15. somewhat otherwise, ror of Rome, a little before Lord of the whole world, to abandon the seat of his state, and thorow the people, the citie to go out of the Empire! The like was never seene, never heard of before. Sudden violence oppressed Caesar the Dictator, and secret conspiracie Caius: night and the obscure corner of a countrey house covered Neroes flight: Piso and Galba died as it were in the field: but Vitellius in the assembly of his owne people, amidst his one souldiers, women also looking out of their windowes, after he had uttered these few speeches agreeable to his present heaviness, that he gave place in regard of quietnesse, and the good of the weale publike, only desiring them to retain some remembrance of him, and take pity of his brother and his wife, and the harmlesse age of his young children; presenting withall his son unto them, and recommending him sometimes to particular persons sometime to the generall assembly: at the length overcome with tears he loosed his sword from his side and offered it unto Cæcilius Simplex the Consul that stood by, surrendering thereby as it were the power of life and death over the citizens. Which when the Consul refused to accept, the whole assembly also clamorously gainsaying it, he departed protesting he would in the temple of Concordia lay down all his regalities, and so as a private man retire himselfe to his brothers house. But there the multitude began to cry more then before, not suffering him to enter into a private house, but calling him to the Palace stopping up the other passage, and leaving that only open which let to Via sacra. Whereupon not knowing what to do, or whether to turn him, he returned in the end to the Palace again. Now the same was gone before the fact that he had resigned the Empire: and Flavius Sabinus had writtento the Tribunes of the cohorts, to keep their soldiers in order. And now as if the whole common wealth were fallen into Vespasians arms, the chiefe of the Senators with many gentlemen, and all the city-souldiers, and the watchmen flocked to Sabinus house. There they understood of the peoples constant affection toward Vitellius, and the threatnings of the German cohorts: but Sabinus had proceeded toofarre now to draw back; and every man upon his owne particular feare urged him being otherwise loath to goe out and take armes, lest the Vitellianists should meete with them afterward when they were severed, and so of lesse strength. But as it falls out in such cases, all gave counsell, but few tooke part of the pill. About Lacus Fundani the armed men of Sabinus were encountered by some of the most resolute Vitellian soldiers: there a final skirmish was fought, as in a sudden tumult, wherein the Vitellianists had the better. Sabinus seeing his side go down, as the safest way upon the present, seized upon the Capitol with his souldier, and some Senators and gentlemen, whose names it is not easie to set downe, because many when Vespasian was prince pretended to have done that service to the side. Some women also retired into the Capitol, and there were besieged: amongst whom the most famous was Verulana Gracilia, drawn neither with respect of children, nor kinsfolk, but only because she would be of a party. The Vitellianists having pinned them up, set the sen-

Salutem fidei &
milles H. S. a
Flavio Sabino
Vespasii in fratre
populi, faith
Succ. 1. 1. 1. 5
that is, 731250
144.

b Sacerdot. vici.
c. 14. Suffragan
matus in fuit, qua-
fi eorum probati-
cium prohibui-
tuffit, iudici-
ante Catta mu-
lu. re qui videt
oratur, ita quif
eabit, ita dicitur
firmius ac diu-
tiffime imperato-
rum fit fuperfies
parentis extitiffe
Alu tradunt in-
fam tedio pre-
fentium, & im-
minutum me-
tu. nuncum a
filio impetraffe
haud sane diffi-
cult.

* *Leffler's*.

- c *Suetonius V-*
telio. c. 15.
 somewhat
 otherwise,

Joseph. Ant. lib. 4. c. 42.

tinels so negligently, that about midnight Sabinus set forth and brought into the Capitol his own children, and Domitian his brothers son, and dispatched out other messengers to the Flavian captains, shewing them how they were besieged, and unlesse succour came, were in great danger, & passed the whole night in that quietness without any attempt from the enemy, that he might have easily escaped without any peril. For the Vitellian souldiers as they were fierce, and stout against dangers, so in labour and watching they were not diligent; and withall a great shower falling on the sudden hindred both their fight and their hearing. When the day appeared, before any act of hostility was begunne by either, Sabinus sent Cornelius Martialis a principall Centurion with instructions to Vitellius, complaying and charging him with breach of covenants and that it was but a colourable matter in him, and a fained shew of resigning the Empire, onely to intrap to many noble personages: for if otherwise, why withdrew he himselfe from the Rostra, into his brothers house standing neer to the Forum, and full in the sight of the world, & not rather to his wives in mount Aventine out of the way; for so had it been meetest indeed if he had meant to have lived as a private man, & avoided all shew of a Prince: whereas contrarily he returned againe even into the Palace, the very seate of the Empire, and from thence he sent forth a company of armed men, who had polluted the most famous part of the city with the blood of innocent persons, not forbearing the Capitoll itselfe: for his part he continued unarmed, and lived in all respects as an other Senarour, whiles in the meane time the matter was tried betwene Vespasian and Vitellius by maine battels of Legions, taking of townes, and yielding of cohorts: yea, when Spaine, Germanie and Britanny were revolted, yet did he being Vespasians brother continue still in allegiance, till Vitellius began first to motion a parley, who surely should finde in the end that peace and composition is indeed for the glory of the conquerours, but for the utility of the conquered: or if it repented him of his bargain, let him not make war against him, whom he had with falsehood beguiled, nor against Vespasians young sonne (for what would the death of old man and one child availe?) but let him go out and encounter the Legions, and there trie the maine matter: other things would follow the event of that battell. To this charge Vitellius in great feare made answer, with some words in excuse of himselfe, & laying the blame upon his souldiers, whose too much vehemency, his modesty, he said, was unable to bridle: and withall advised Martialis to convey himselfe out of the house by a privie way lest the souldiers should murder him as a negotiour of the peace, which they so greatly detested: and indeed Vitellius was now but a cipher, neither able to command nor forbid, nor Prince in effect, but onely matter of warre. Martialis was scarce returned into the Capitol, when as the Vitellian souldiers, in a great fury were also at hand, without any leader or capitaine, but every man of his owne head: leaving with speede the Forum and temples upon it behinde them they set themselves in array and marched up the hill, even to the first gate of the Capitoll. There were in old time certaine open galleries upon the side of the cliffe, on the right hand as a man goeth up; from the tops whereof the defendants with stones and tiles beate the Vitellianits down, who had in their hands nothing but swords, and to stay while engines and shot were fetched seemed lost time: wherefore they took firebrands and hurled them into the uttermost gallery, and following the fire were at the point to have entred the gate of the Capitoll being halfe burned, had not Sabinus plucked downe all the images and glorious monuments of our progenitors, and in the entrance of the gate made as it were a countermure of them. Then they assaied to make their entrie on the other

side of the Capitoll by Lucus Aflyi, and by the stayes of a hundreth steps, in the ascent to Rupe Tarpeia. At both these places the assault came unlooked for, but the nearer and hotter was that by the Aflynm: neither could they be stopped from climbing up by the buildings that touched together, which as in a time of long peace were raised to the height of the floore to the Capitoll. Heere it is doubted whether the assailers fired those buildings, or (as the more received opinion is) the defendants thereby to repulse them which pressed forward, and where come so farre on: but howsoever it was, the fire there beginning, from thence run along the galleries that joynted to the Temples: then the Eagles which bare up the roofe being of old drie timber drew and maintained the flame. And so the Capitoll, the gare being shut, no man defending it, no man attempting to spoile it, was burned to ashes; the most lamentable mischance, and detestable fact that ever befell the people of Rome since the City was founded; especially no forraigne enemy invading, and the gods most plentifully powring their benefites upon us, if our owne evil conditions would have permitted us to enjoy them: the feat of the great god Jupiter founded by our ancestors with the approbation of the gods, (1) as a pledge of the Empire, which neither, (2) Porfenna when the City was yielded, nor the Frenchmen when they took it, could hurt, thus to be destroyed by the fury of our owne Princes! It was once also burned before in a civil warre, but by private malice: now it was publicly besieged, and publicly burned: and that nor in honorable defence of our country, which might some what lighten the losse, but in the ambitious upholding of partialities & fides. The Capitoll was vowed first by king Traquinius Priscus in the war against the Sabius, (3) who alaid the foundation, rather according to the hope of future greatnesse, then proportionable to the present estate of the Romans. After him Servius Tullius with the helpe of our allies, and Tarquinius Superbus with the spoile, when Sueffa Pometia was taken, finished the worke: but the honor thereof was reserved to the time of liberty. For (4) after the kings were driven out, Horatius Pulvillus in his second Consulship dedicated it, in that magnificent and sumptuous tract, that the excessive wealth of the Romans which afterward followed, perchance might adorne and beautifie the worke, but did not augment it. Four hundred twentieth and five yeares afterward, when Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were (5) Consuls it was burned and builded againe upon the same foundation. Sylla after he had gotten the upper hand tooke the care of it upon him, yett id he not dedicate it: this point only he wanted to make him indeed, as he was in (6) name perfectly happy: but Lutatius Catulus name remained to bee seeme among to many workes of the Emperours, even untill Vitellius time. That building then was fired, which disinayed more the defendants than the assailers: for the Vitellian souldiers lacked neither skill, nor resolution in cases of difficulty: but on the other sides the souldier was fearful, the Captaine without courage, and as a man halfe distrust, had neither the use of his tongue, nor his cares, nor governing himselfe by the advice of others, & yet not able to resolve of himselfe, but running about from one place to another, at every cry of the enemy, forbod that he had commanded, and commanded againe that he had forbidden. Anon, as it happeneth in loft and desperate cases, every man was a commander, and no man a putter in execution: at the length calting away their weapons, they began to devise how to flee and escape secretly away. Then the Vitellianists brake in and killed, burned, and slew; some few military men that offered to fight were slaine: among whom Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis Casperius Niger, Didius Scæva were the most of note. Flavius Sabinus was beset and taken, being neither armed, nor attempting to

fice, and Quintius Atticus the Confull, a man of fpeciall mark by reafon of his office, and through his owne vanity and folly, having publifhed edicts in honour of Vefpafian, and to the difgrace of Vitellius. The reft made fundry fliffts to efcape, fome in bondmens apparell, others were hidden by their clients, and conveyed away amongst the fuffe: fome there were alfo that had learned the Vitellianifts watch-word; whereby one of them knew another, and fo asking and answering accordingly: ufed boldneffe in lieu of a hole to lurke in. Domitian at their firft breaking in was hid in the fextens houfe, and there by the policy of his freedman put in a linnen garment, as the minifters of the temple did weare, and fo efaped unknown, and lay fecret at the houfe of Cornelius Primus, one of his fathers followers, neere to the Velabrum. Afterward when his father came to the ftate he pulled downe the fextens lodging, and builded there a little chappell in honor of *Iupiter his Preferver*: and alfo erected an altar and caufed this hiftory to be cut in marble: and when he came to the Empire himfelfe he built a great Temple to *Iupiter his Keeper*, and confecrated himfelfe in the lap of the god. Sabinus and Atticus being loaden with wyrons, and brought to Vitellius, were neither received with ill fpeech, nor ill counce- nance, wherat they which challenged to kil them, & reward for their fervice, fretted and chafed: and fo the next beginning the cry, the rafcall fort of the people de- manded Sabinus death, mingled threats and flatteries together. And as Vitellius prefented himfelfe upon the ftayres of the palace to intreat for his life, they forced him in the end to defist: then they flabbd and mangled him, and cutting off his head trailed the body into Gemonie. This was the end of Sabinus, a man fuirely not to be contemned. He had ferved in publike place thirty five years, and was greatly renowned both for matters of peace and of warre: for integritie and upright dealing no man could touch him: fomewhat he was two full of words; the onely thing blamed in him during the feven years that he ruled in Mœfia, and the twelve yeares that he was Provost of the City: in this laft act of his life fome judged him cowardly, others moderate rather and fparing of his citizens bloud; but of this all men agree that before Vefpafian was Prince, the reputation of the houfe refted in Sabinus. It was thought that Mutianus was glad of his death: and many were of opi- nion, that it fell out not ill in refpect of quietneffe, all ftrife and emulation being thereby taken up betwene two, whereof the one was the Emperours brother, and the other carried himfelfe as his fellow. But Vitellius when the people required alfo Atticus the Confuls death plainly withftood them himfelfe, being fomewhat ap- pealed, and in fome fort to require him, for that being examined, who had firft fired the Capitoll, he took upon him the matter himfelfe, and by that confeffion, whe- ther it was true indeed, or fained onely to ferve the prefent purpofe, feemed to take upon him the blame of the fact, and cleere Vitellius and his adherents.

[illegible]

2. Porfenna when the city was yeer'd.] It must be that either Tacitus followed some other tradition in this story then we have, as indeed by Livy it appeareth there were other, or else had forgotten himself in reporting it. Of hostages given to Porfenna Dionysius *lib. 5.* and Livy *lib. 2.* make mention of surrendering the City I finde no word spoken by any other we have extant save Tacitus, to my remembrance.

[illegible]

XIII. *Lucius Vitellius taketh Tarracina.*

IN the meane season Lucius Vitellius pitching his campe at Feronia, pressed fore upon Tarracina to take it, having shut into the towne the * fencers & mariners, who durst not come out of the wals, nor hazard themselves in the field. Their captaines as (we have remembred before) were Julianus over the fencers, and Apollinaris over the mariners, men both in a dissolutnes, and insufficiency more like fencers then captaines: observing no order in watching and warding, nor repaying the weake parts of the wals, but passing both nights and daies in wantonneffe and melody, upon those pleafant sea-shores, and dispersing the souldiers abroad to make provision for their riot, never talking of war, but in banquet. Apinius Tiro was departed some few daies before, and with his extortions and sharpe dealing in the free towines, purchased more ill will then strength to the side. In the meane time a servant of Verginius Capito fled out of the towne to Lucius Vitellius, promising him, if he would allow him sufficient men, to deliver secretly the castle being unmanned, and accordingly in the dead of the night he brought certaine light-armed cohorts, into the place standing upon the top of a hill, over the enemies head. From thence the souldiers ran down rather to a butchery then a battell, killing some unarmed, others beginning to arme, some newly awaked out of sleepe distracted and confounded with feare, darknesse, and found of trumpets and noise of enemies. A few of the * fencers made resistance, and were slaine, albeith they sold their lives deare: the rest ran headlong to the ships, where through the like feare all things were in the like confusion; or so much the more because the townefmen were gotten amongst them, whom the Vitellianists also did kill without any difference. Six ships upon the notice of the surprisall escaped, and with them Apollinaris the Admirall of the navie: the rest were either taken upon the shore, or else sunk in the sea, being overcharged with the company that leapt into them. Julianus was brought to Lucius Vitellius and scourged, then slaine in his presence. Divers have accused Triaria Lucius Vitellius wife, that girding her selfe with a sword like a souldier, she should have demeaned her selfe cruelly, and insolently amidst the pitifull cries, and lamentable destruction of the poore towne. Lucius himselfe sent a lawrell in token of victory to his brother, requiring withall his further pleasure, whether he should returne presently to Rome, or stay and subdue the rest of Campania: the interposing of which little time fell out greatly for the good both of Vespasians side, and of the state. For if the souldiers presently after their victory had directly repaired to Rome, whiles they were in courage and heart, by reason of their late good successe, beside a naturall obstinate nesse in them, the matter would not have beene ended so quickly without much adoe, and the evident destruction of the city. For Lucius Vitellius albeith he were infamous otherwise, yet was he industrious, and powerful not as good men by vertues, but by vices as the worst sort.

citie a cruell spectacle and shamefull was to be seene: in one place fighting and wounding, in other tippling and bathing: here streams of blood, and heapes of dead bodies, & hard by it strumpets and strumpets fellows: in sum all the licentiousnes of a dissolute and riotous peace, and the misery of a most cruel captivitie: so that a man plainly would judge one and the same town, both extremely furious and raging, and extremely drowned in pleasures. There had afore times passed great conflicts between armed powers in the city, twice when Sylla, and once when Cinna overcame, and the cruelty then was no lesse: but this was an unnatural brutish security, that men for one moment of time would not intermit their accustomed pleasures, but as if this had given them further occasiō of joy amidst their festiual daies, clapped hands & rejoyced, without care of sides, at the publick calamities. But the greatest difficultie of all was in taking the Prætorian campe, unto the w^{ch} the valiantest amongst the Vitellian soldiers had betaken themselves, as to their last refuge, & therefore the Flavians were the more earnest to assault it, especially the old Prætorian cohorts, employing all means devised for the taking of most fortified towns, as the target-ence engines of battery, mounts, and firebrands, crying aloud that that one work was the accomplishment and perfection of all the travels & dangers, which they in so many battels had passed; that the city belonged to the Senate and the people, & the temples to the gods, and both were restored to their owners: but the souldiers honour was in the campe, that was his countrey, and his dwelling place, which unless they could straightwaies recover, they must and would lie all night in their armour. On the other side the Vitellian soldiers, although inferior both in number and fortune, disturbed the course of the victory, hindring the peace, polluting the houses and altars with blood, and embracing the last comfort to conquered persons. Many lay gasping and died upon the towers and battlements of the walls. When the gates were broken up, they that remained alive presented themselves to the conquerors, and died all with their faces toward the enemy, and wounded upon their foreparts: such care they had, seeing they must die, to die in most honorable manner. Vitellius when as the city was taken, conveyed himselfe in a carrying^a chaire, by the backgate of the Palace, into his wives house in the mount Aventine, intending if hee could have lyen secret that day, to have fled by night to Tarraçina to his brother and the cohorts there. Anon changing his minde, and as it fals out to men in a maze, fearing all things, and most diliking the present, he returned into the Palace againe now vast and desolate, even his basest servants being either fled away, or else purposely shunning his presence. This great solitarinesse, and silence in those places astonished him: whereupon he assayed to open that which was shut, and was amazed finding all voide. After much pitifull wandering about, being wearied he cast himselfe into a base corner: whence Julius Placidus Tribune of a cohort pulled him out, and led him along thorow the city with his hands bound behinde him, and his garments all torne, a most ignominious spectacle, many reviling him, and no man pitying his case: the dishonourableness of his end had taken away all compassion. Being led in this maner, one of the Germane souldiers aimed a blow, whether intending to strike at Vitellius upon some quarell, or because he would sooner rid him from shame, or else at the Tribune, it is uncertain, certaine it is that in striking he cut off the Tribunes eare, and was forthwith slain himselfe. Then forcing Vitellius with the points of their swords sometimes to looke up and abide all indignities, sometimes to see his owne images breaking their necks, and many times to behold the Rostre, and the place where Galba was slaine, they haled him along, and at the last thrust him into the Gemoniæ, where the body of Flavius Sabinus had

* Sellala, Suet.
Vitell. c. 16. ge-
natoria sella.

^a In Cellalam
janitoris, faith
Suetonius. c. 16.
religato profori-
bus eam, et, li-
que & cultus
objectis.

had lien. One word he was heard utter not proceeding from an abject minde, in answer to the Tribune who insulted over him: That he had yet sometime been his Prince: and so after many wounds received he fell down dead: and the common people as much without reason rayled upon him when he was dead as they flattered him being alive. He was sonne to Lucius Vitellius: about seven^a and fifty yeares old when he died: the Consulship and sacerdotall dignities, with a name and place among the chiefest of Nobility, he attained unto, not through any sufficiency of his owne, but by his fathers great fame and renowne: the Empire was conferred upon him by those which knew him not, and yet never man found so constant good will of his souldiers by vertuous means as this man with all his cowardly sloth: notwithstanding there was in him plaine meaning and liberality, which without discreet handling turn often to a mans ruine: faithful friends he deserved rather then found, because he fought them more by great gifts, then vertuous behaviour. It was a singular benefit to the Common wealth, it cannot be denied, that Vitellius was put downe; but they which betrayed him to Vespasian^b have small reason to reckon^c among their good deeds to the state, being the same men that had also revolted from Galba before. That day the Senate could not be called, because it was already farre spent, and the Magistrates and Senators upon feare had withdrawne themselves out of the City, or else lay hidden in their Clients houses. Domitian when all feare of hostility was past, presented himselfe to the Flavian Captaines, whom the souldiers straight-waies saluted Cæsar, and armed accompanied him to his fathers house.

^a Seven and fifty yeare old.] Vitellius was born, faith Suetonius, ^b *Druso Cæsare & Norbano Flacco Coss.* which was ^c *p. ii. cap. 3.* ^d *ab iube condita* the 768. yeare, the 24. of September, or as some say, the seventh of the same moneth. The day in ^e *b* *clides* the which he went out of the Palace with intention to resigne the Empire, was according to Tacit. the 18. of Decem- ^f *circumstances* ber in ^g *anno 822.* the day following being the 19. of December the Capitol was burned, the ^h *twentieth of Decem-* in Tacitus, Jo- ⁱ *ber* ^j *Antonius* entered into the towne, and the death of Vitellius ensued. All which doth appeare plainly by the ^k *eph. 4. 256.* course of the story of Tacitus. So that from his birth to his death we have no more by just account but fifty four ^l *cap. 42. ex-* yeares, and as much as is betwene the seventh or foure and twentieth of September, and the twentieth of ^m *Decem-ber.*

^b Especially ^c *some of them* ^d *who were tra-* ^e *itorward tra-* ^f *itors to Vesp-* ^g *as also, as* ^h *Cecina by* ⁱ *name. Sucte-* ^j *nus Tit. cap. 6.* ^k *Xiphilinus, &c.*

THE FOWRTH BOOK OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. The behaviour of the Flavian souldiers in the City, after the death of Vitellius.

Vitellius thus being slaine, the warre was rather ended then peace begun. For the conquerors with unplaceable hatred, pursued the contrary side thorowout the City in armes: the streets were strowed with dead carcasses, the Temples and common places embued with blood; every one lying slaine, where it was his chance to be overtaken, without distinction of place: and anon licentiousnesse growing, they began to search houses, and fetch forth such as were hid: if they saw any man looke like a souldier, personable of stature and of yeares not disagreeing were he souldier or Citizen they murdered him: satiating themselves at the first, whilst their malice was fresh, with nothing save blood. But anon the heate of their choler abating, they converted their cruelty into covetousnesse; suffering no Closet to escape unrised, no hidden place any where to be secret, pretending the Vitellianists lay hidden therein; that was the colour to break up mens houses, or if resistance were made, an occasion to slay them. Besides the souldiers, the rascals and beggerly scum of the people, now with the formost, helped to sack and to spoile: and some of the lewdest bond-men voluntarily described their wealthy masters: some were detected by their owne friends: every where lamentations and outcries were to be heard, and the miserable state to be seene, and face, as it were, of a City taken by the enemy: inasmuch that the insolent and riotous souldier of Otho & Vitellius, so much detested before was now in comparison much wished for againe. The commanders of the side were indeed sufficiently able to kindle a civill war, and unable to moderate the victory. For to stirre up dissensions and troubles, the worst man most commonly beares greatest stroke; but peace and quietnesse are not established, but by men of rare gifts, and excellent vertues. Domitian had already possessed himselfe both of the title, and lodging of Caesar: not bending his studies as yet to matters of state, but in adulteries and dissolute demeanour behaving himselfe as an Emperours son. Arrius Varus was captain of the Guard: but the whole power, in effect, and direction of affaires, rested in the hands of Antonius Primus; who at his pleasure tooke money, and servants out of the Palace, with the like liberty, as if it had been the spoiles of Cremona. The rest, either for modesty or because they were not of name, as in warre they passed unrenowned, so at this time they went unrewarded.

II. Lucius Vitellius yeeldeth himselfe, and his souldiers to the Flavianists.

The city fearing new troubles, and ready to submit themselves to the present possessor, required that Lucius Vitellius, as he with his Cohorts returned from Tarracina, might be surpris'd, and so all remnants of civil war utterly extinguished.

extinguished. Whereupon the horsemen were sent before to Aricia, the Legions going not beyond Bovillae: but Vitellius incontinently, without further delay, yeelded himselfe and his cohorts to the discretion of the conqueror: his souldiers likewise threw away their unfortunate weapons upon indignation rather then feare. Then they were marshalled in length and led thorow the city, as it were, in triumph garded with armed men. Not one of them shewed any figure of submissenesse in countenance, but all sad and sterne, not moved with the shoutings, and taunts of the multitude insulting over them: only some few, through impatience breaking out, were beaten down by their guard, the rest committed to prison. Not one of them let fall any unseemly word, but even in the midst of adversity they retained their honor and fame. Then Lucius Vitellius was put to death: a man in vices equal to his brother, howbeit in his brothers reigne the more vigilant man: and not so much partaker with him in prosperity, as violently carried away with the current of his adversity.

III. Lucilius Bassus sent to quiet Campania, the servant of Verginius Capito hanged.

ABout the same time Lucilius Bassus, with certain light horse-men, was sent to quiet the countrey of Campania, where the free cities were at discord rather each against other upon private quarels, then any against the Prince upon rebellious intent: but at the first sight of the souldiers they were straightway appeased. And the lesser colonies escaped unpunished, only Capua was appointed to lodge the third Legion that Winter, and some noble families by reason thereof were afflicted: where as on the contrary side, the Tarracinenfes, who for Vespasians sake had endured so much, were no wayes relieved. So much are we prone to requite injuries then good turnes: for thankfulness is a burden, revenge swifter and reckoned as a gain. Norwithstanding it was some comfort unto them, that the servant of Verginius Capito, who betrayed the Town, as before we have shewed, was hanged with the same rings on his fingers, which he had received from Vitellius, as a reward of his treason.

III. Matters concluded upon in the Senate, after the death of Vitellius.

NOW at Rome, whatsoever honours and preeminences were usually united to the Emperours person, the Senate bestowed upon Vespasian, joyfully, and conceiving assured hope of future tranquillity. For seeing the contagion of civil dissension beginning in France and Spaine, had passed to the German souldiers, then taken a course to Illyricum, and lately infected Egypt, Judaea, and Syria, in summe, all provinces and armies: they were to presume reasonably, the whole world being thus purged and cleansed, that the humour was spent, and civil waeres and calamities were at an end. Which hope and gladnesse of theirs was increased by certaine letters received from Vespasian, endited as if the warre had yet been on foot, for so they shewed at the first sight: notwithstanding he spake in all points as their Prince; modestly indeed of his own person, and of the weale-publick magnificently, howbeit the Senate was not slack in declaring their obedience. To himselfe with Titus his sonne was awarded the Consulship, to Domitian the Prætorship and Consularie authority. Moreover Mutianus had written letters to the Senate, which thing ministred matter of speech: If he were a private man, why should he write thus in publick to the Senat? he might have spared his pen, and within few

N

dayes

* Transferring himselfe be-
like, e. patens
penatibus, whi-
ther he was
conducted by
the souldiers,
in Palatium.
b Tac. in vita
Agricolæ, admo-
dum juvene
Domitianus, ex
patria fortuna tantum
centum usum
panis.

a. n. Hist. Capua
Vitellius fide. c. 2.
b This affliction
surely was very
short, for it
could not begin
before the very
later end of De-
cember, and in
the beginning of
January, totius
legio fœderat
Arrius Varus mi-
lit. 3. c. 1. Syria
venerat, Tac. qui
ellicewhere: un-
lesse he forgot
himselfe in the
one place of the
other.

a A fragment of
this sentence con-
sistens in extant
ad verbum a-
mong the decay-
ed antiquities
of Rome.
b In the warre
of Galba and
Vindex against
Nero.
c Consularie in-
signia, Dial. 54.
specifically two
points of it.
d Tac. Hist. 2. c. 1.
e Tac. Hist. 2. c. 1.
f Tac. Hist. 2. c. 1.
g Tac. Hist. 2. c. 1.

days after have uttered the same there in person, as one of the house: likewise his inveighing against the Vitellianists was disliked, as coming too late, and carrying no shew of liberty now: but especially that seemed arrogantly spoken against the common weal, and contumelious against the Prince, where he vaunted, that the Empire was in his disposition, and by him was collared upon Vespasian. Nevertheless covering their disdain in secret, they flattered openly, and in most ample and honourable termes awarded him triumphall ornaments; indeed in respect of his service in the civill war, but an expedition against the Samaritan^a was pretended: then to Antonius Primus were decreed Consularie ornaments, and Prætorian to Cornelius Fuscus, and Arrius Varus. After these things, devoutly remembering the gods, they enacted that the Capitoll should be builded anew: all which points were specified first and comprised in Valerius Asiaticus the designed Consuls oration; to whom the rest assented, the greater part with countenance and wagging of hands, some few either chief in place, or chiefly exercised in the art of flattery, with set orations and speeches. But when the course came to Helvidius Priscus, who was designed Pretor, he uttered his opinion in termes honourable enough to a good Prince, yet without all flattery or glozing: a thing much commended and allowed of greatly by the Senate: and this was the day which especially procured unto him, both great offence and great glory. The matter seemeth to require, seeing we are^b once again fallen to mention him, whom many times hereafter we shall have cause to remember, that we should at this time briefly record what life he had led, what studies he had followed, and what fortune he had proved. Helvidius Priscus was borne in the first region of Italy, in the free city^c of Tarracina: his fathers name was Cluvius a principall Centurion. Being very young he applied his rare and excellent wit to those profound studies, not, as the most part to cloke sloth, and idleness with so glorious a name, but that he might proceed to manage publick affairs being first by that means better armed against all mischance of fortune. In the study of philosophie he followed the learning of those^d masters, which define that onely to be good which is honest; that onely ill which is dishonest: other qualities not inherent in the minde, as powerableness, nobility, and such like, neither good nor evil. When he had onely beene Questor, Petus Thrasea made choice of him for his sonne in law. Of his father in lawes conditions he borrowed nothing so much as liberty: in quality of citizen, Senatours husband, sonne in law, friend: in all parts and offices of life he was alwayes one, and the same man, a contemner of wealth, stiffe in a good cause, not removeable for any feare: to some men he seemed too desirous of glory: and indeed that passion, amongst all other, even of

^a Hist. for
civ. civis in
Asiaticus he is
mentioned of-
ten before.

^b The Stoicks,
out of whose
schools the
opinions had
their begin-
ning. L. 1. c. 1.
2. c. 1. c. 7.
Cic. 10 Parado-
xica, and others.

^c See, 16. Annual.

wife men is last layed away. At the fall of his father in law he was^e driven into banishment, and returning under Galba he called Eprius Marcellus, who had informed against Thrasea, to his answer. This attempt, of so great and so just a revenge, notwithstanding divided the Senate into parts: for if Marcellus were overthrown, then whole troupes of others, which were in the same case, must needs goe to wrack. At the first the contention was hot and fierce, and maintained of both sides with notable orations: but when Priscus perceived that Galba was doubtfull in the point, at the intreaty of many Senatours, he desisted from following the suite; divers men, according to their severall dispositions, diversly interpreting his fact, some commending his moderation, others mistaking his uncertainty. But that same assembly when the Senate confirmed the Empire to Vespasian, withall an embassage was agreed upon, to be sent to the Prince. Hereupon arose taunting and bitter words betwene Helvidius and Marcellus. Helvidius opi-

nion

nion was, that the Embassadors should be elected, and named by the magistrates being first sworn to chuse of the fittest. Marcellus required they might be chosen by lot, to which purpose also the designed Consul had spoken before: but the principall cause, which pricked Marcellus so forward that way, was the shame which might redound to himself, fearing, lest other being chosen, he should seem to be as unworthily rejected. And so, after some few brawling words interchangeably used, by little and little they fell to continuall, and bitter orations: Helvidius denuding, what caused Marcellus so much to feare the judgement of the magistrates, seeing he excelled many other, both in eloquence, and wealth, things which might easily move them to that choice: unlesse peradventure the remembrance of his own manifold misdeeds drave him to distrust them: that the lot made no difference betwene the good and the bad, but suffrages and the judgement of the Senat were devised to enter into every mans fame, and behaviour that it greatly appertained both to the commodity of the common wealth, and to Vespasians honor, that those of the Senat should be sent to meet him, which were best accounted of for innocency, and integrity of life, who might season (as it were) the Emperours eares, with good and vertuous speeches: that Thrasea, Soranus, and Sentius had been of Vespasians old friends, and acquaintance, whose accusers, if they must not be punished, much lesse sent and shewed in places of credit, and that by this choice of the Senat, the Prince should, as it were be admonished whom to like and whom to eschue. For no greater instruments, or helps of good regiment can there be, then good friends: that Marcellus had done for his part sufficiently, having induced Nero to the destructions of so many innocents: let him enjoy his rewards and impunity, and leave Vespasian to better directors. Marcellus replied, that not his opinion, but the opinion of the designed Consull was impugned, and the ancient precedents, which committed the choice of Embassadors to lot, to take away all occasion of suiting and debate: that there was no new cause, that he knew, why so old a custome should now be abolished, or why this honour done to the Prince should be turned into a dishonour to any, considering that every man was sufficiently able to carry that message, and do allow reverence to him in the name of the Senat: nay rather they were to beware, lest through the perverseness of some the Princes mind might be offended, being now at his entry full of jealousies, and marking not only words, but also all gestures and countenances. That, for his part, he well knew the quality of the times wherein he was borne, and what forme of government our fathers, and grandfathers had established: beyond he honored and admired, but professed to follow the present estate. That he praised and wished indeed for good Princes: but if it were otherwise, would tolerate such as they were. As for the overthrow of Thrasea, why should he give account of accusing, when as the Senat gave none of condemning? not his orations, but their voices wrought his undoing: but so was Neroes manner, with such shewes to colour his cruel proceedings, whose favour and friendship anguished his minde peradventure as much, as banishment did some other mens. Finally, that well might Helvidius in constancy, and courage be equall to Cato and Brutus: for his own part, he was one of that Senat, which were but servants, as well as himselfe, and would likewise counsel! Helvidius, not to seek to climb above the Prince himselfe, nor like a rutour to bridle with his precepts Vespasian^f having attained to those yeers, and that honor, and having beside so good an issue. For as wicked Princes love to rule, and reigne without limitation: so Phisic ornaments, faith, Suetonius Vespasianus

^g That is, the
time of the
first state.

^h Sueton. trium-
phalem, for his
service in Bri-
tany in Claudi-
us time Vespas-
ian had ob-
tained trium-
phal ornaments,
faith, Suetonius
Vespasianus

N 2

notwith-

Rhene, were a part and member of the Catti; and being thrown out by civill sedition, they seated themselves in the uttermost limits of France, which then lay void of inhabitants, and took in with the Iland that is situate in the flattes, and hath the Ocean before, behinde and on either side the river of Rhene. And albeit they were confederate with the Romans much mightier then themselves, yet were they not, as it happeneth in such overmatches, spoiled of their riches and wealth, but only bound to minister men and armour to the behoofe of the Empire, and so for a long time they were employed in the German wars. Afterward they became more famous by reason of certaine cohorts of them sent over into Britanny by the Romans, under the leading of certaine noblemen of their own nation, according to their ancient order: and beside, there remained behinde in the countrey a company of chosen horsemen practised especially in swimming, so that they would in whole troups passe over the Rhene in harness, and governing their horse in their hands. The principall men among them, and farre exceeding all other, by reason of their royall parentage, were Julius Paulus, and ^b Claudius Civilis, whereof Paulus was lately put to death by Fonteius Capito under colour of a falsely surmised rebellion: Civilis was sent in chaines unto Nero, and acquitted by Galba, and againe under Vitellius ^c escaped narrowly, the army instantly demanding his death. Upon these causes his anger was founded, and upon our troubles his hope. But being of a crafty and subtle wit, above the ordinary of those barbarous people, and carrying himself rather like a Sertorius, or an Hanniball (as indeed in the maine of his face he was not unlike) fearing lest if he should make open defection, our armies would advance themselves against him as an enemy, he covered his dealing with love to Vespasian, and favour toward the side. And in truth ^d Antonius Priscus had sent certaine letters unto him, wherein he willed him to divert away the aides ^e sent for by Vitellius, and under shew of trouble in Germany to stay the Legions there. The same advise also Hordeonius Flaccus had given him by word of mouth, partly upon good will to Vespasian, and partly upon a care of the state, which seemed to be in evident perill of utter destruction, if a new warre should begin, and so many thousands of armed men passe into Italy. Thus Civilis being resolved to break, and yet concealing his purpose, as meaning to governe himselfe in the action by the event, began after this manner to work innovation. At the commandment of Vitellius, the able men of the Batavians were summoned to be pressed to the warre: which being of it selfe a burdensome thing, was made much more insupportable, by the avance and lewd disposition of the officers, who billed chiefly such as were old or impotent persons, and then for money released them: againe such as were under age, and faire (as many of their youths are of a comly tall stature) them they carried away to abuse their bodies. At these dealings the countrey being highly offended, certain factious heads were suborned, to perwade them to refuse to be pressed. Whereupon Civilis assembling into a sacred wood under pretence of a banquet the nobility of the nation, and the chiefe of the communality, when he saw them, at far in the night, merry, and warmed with wine, he begetteth a solemne oration, recounting first the praises, and glorious acts of the nation, and then discourseth unto them of the injuries, infolencies, and other miseries whereunto they are subject, that are subject unto a strange nation: for that now they were not with the Romans in state of friends and allies, as in former times, but flat servants and slaves; and that not under a Lieutenant Generall, which were more tolerable, albeit they come with a chargeable traine, and a proud and disdainfull kinde of commanding: but they were delivered into the hands of petty Captaines, and Centurions, whom when they had filled

with

with spoiles and bloud, then were they removed, and straightwayes fresh hungry masters set over them, and new devises of polling invented. That now the day of the muster approached, when children should be drawn from their parents, brethern from brethern, never to see one another again: and that, which might the rather encourage them, the Romans were never in so poore a case, having nothing in their standing camps, but a rich spoile, and old men to guard it: wherefore they should only lift up their eyes, and not be afraid: at the naked and bare names of Legions: that they had strength of their own, both of footmen and of horse, the Germans were allied unto them in bloud, the French likewise affected: that even the Romans themselves would not greatly mislike of this warre, the losses thereof, if any were, they might impute to Vespasian, and if they went through and conquered, they should not be called to their account. Having ended his speech with great approbation of the audience, he bound them with barbarous ceremonies and adjurations used by them in like cases, in a firme association together. Straightwayes messengers were dispatched to the Caninefates, to induce them also into the league. The Caninefates inhabit a part of the Iland, of the same language and race, in valour equal to the Batavians, but inferiour in number. Then Civilis sent secret messages to sollicite ^f the Batavian cohorts, which had served as aides in Britannie, sent into Germany, as before ^g we have shewed, and at that time remaining at Magontiacum. Among the Caninefates there was one Brinio, a wilde and foolhardy braine, howbeit of a high and noble stock, whose father, having sundry times invaded our borders, and done many acts of hostility, boldly contemned those mock-expeditions of Caius the Emperour: wherefore being defended of so rebellious a kined, in that respect they liked him best of all others. And thereupon setting him, after their countrey manner, on a target, and bearing him round about on their shoulders, they elected him Generall: and he forthwith associating unto him the ^h Frisians, a nation beyond the Rhene, invaded the standing campe of two cohorts ⁱ adjoining to the Ocean. The Roman souldiers, neither foresaw this sudden invasion of the enemy, neither, if they had, were of sufficient force to repell it: so the campe was taken and spoiled, and the victualers and merchants, wandering securely abroad as in peace, cut off. Then they drew forth, to make their approaches to the castles, and holds, which by the captaines of the cohorts were set on fire, because they were not defensible: the ensignes, and bandes and such souldiers as were left, gathered themselves, under the leading of Aquilius a chiefe Centurion, ^k into the higher part of the Iland, composing an army, rather in name then in power: for Vitellius at his departing drew away the chiefe strength of the cohorts, and for supply took out of the nearest villages, of the Nervians and Germans, a raw company, whom he had loaded with armour. Civilis, supposing it surest to work by fraud and deceit, blamed the captaines, for that they had forsaken their castles, assuring that he alone, with the cohort under his charge, would easily repress the tumult of the Caninefates: and therefore willed them to returne every man to his own place. It was perceived, that his counsell proceeded not of good meaning, but tended only to this end, that the cohort being severed might be overthrowen with greater facility: and by many apparent arguments, and speeches of the Germans themselves, a nation joyfull of warre, and not concealing long their own joy, it was discovered daily more and more, that Civilis, not Brinio, was the head and contriver of this conspiracy. Wherefore, seeing his secret plots took none effect, he fell to plaine force, and cast his power consisting of Caninefates, Frisians, and Batavians into three pointed bartels, each nation by themselves. The Romans opposed their

^a Tacitus himselfe, 1. Hist. Plat. Regnum Frantius and Savabonius call him Julius Civilis. But howsoever their names were, it seems by Tacitus that Paulus and Civilis were brethren.

^b 1. Hist.

^c By this circumstance we may gather, that the German rebellion began about the beginning of winter, for Tac in noting both places, and times, is in my sense too negligent.

^d Tac. 1. Hist.

^e Whereof mention is made 1. Hist.

^f 1. Hist.

^g 2. Hist.

^h Tac. de morib. German.

ⁱ For within the Iland no Legion was encamped, but only some cohorts.

^k Nearer to Vetra, where two Legions lay, quinta & quintadecima.

forces against him, not farre from the river of Rhene, directing also their shippes, which after the burning of the castles, they brought to that place, against the enemy. After a little skirmishing, a cohort of the Tungrians fled to Civilis: whereupon our souldiers, discomforted with the sudden treason, were on all sides beaten down, both by their false fellows, and enemies: the like perfidioufnesse was also on the water. A great part of the rowers (being Batavians born) faining unskilfull in handling their oare, hindred both the mariners, and souldiers in doing their duty: anon without dissimulation they wrought directly against them, and forced the ships to the enemies side, killing the Masters and Centurions, that would not condescend to their treason. And so the whole fleet, of foure and twenty barkes, either fled to the enemy, or was taken by force. This victory both presently won great reputation, and afterward stood in great stead: for they got both armour and ships, which before they wanted; and throughout France and Germany, they were highly renowned as the authors of liberty. The Germans by and by sent Embassadors offering them aid: and Civilis, by policy and gifts, endeavoured to win the hearts of the French, sending the Captaines, whom he had taken, gently home, and giving the cohorts free choice, either to abide with him, or at their pleasure to return to their country: if they would tarry, he offered them honorable reward for their service; if otherwise, at their departure he bestowed upon them the spoiles of the Romans, withall admonished them in secret of their calamities sustained to many yeares, and of their miserable thralldome falsely intitled a peace; shewing them how the Batavians, though not charged with tributes, as they, had notwithstanding taken arms against them, which tyrannized over them both. That the Romans, at their first encounter, were put to the flight by them, and discomfited: what were then to be hoped, if all France should joyne to shake off the yoke? Italy was disarmed, and could of it selfe, neither conquer nor keep; but with the provinces bloud were the provinces won. That they should not be discouraged with the remembrance of Vindex misfortune: for the Batavian horse were the men, which defeated him and his Army; and amongst the Aides of Verginius there were beside some French out of Belgica, and in true account France was ruined by her own forces. But now if it pleased them to joyne with him in this action they both should make but one party: beside that they had seen and learned the best of the Romans military discipline: moreover those old experienced Batavian cohorts, before whom Othoes Legion could not stand, no doubt would go with him. Let Syria, and Asia, and the East, used to serve kings, be slaves if they list; in France many men were yet alive born before tributes began, neither could it be denied, that Germany of late, by the overthrow and death of Quintilius Varus, had given a check to the Romish usurpers, banished servitude, and provoked to the field, not a Vitellus, but a Cæsar Augustus. That liberty was granted by nature to dumbe beasts also, but vertue and valour were peculiar ornaments of mankind, and to the valiant alone the gods gave their assistance. Wherefore, since they were at good leisure, and fresh, he willed them to set courageously upon their busily occupied and tried enemies: whiles some leaned to Vespasian, some clave to Vitellius, undoubtedly harm might be wrought against both. Thus Civilis, laying the plot for France and Germany, aspired, if his purpose took effect, to the monarchy of those most mighty, and most wealthy countreyes.

¹ And Tributes began about six score yeares before, so that many in France be like were long lived.

¹ At the naked and bare names of Legions) At this time were six imperfect Legions, or rather names of Legions, as he termeth them here: in high Germany, at Magontiacum, two, *quarta*, *quintina*, & *sextadecima* alias *duodevigesima*, beside eight Batavian cohorts. In lower Germany, at Bonn, *prima legio*: beneath it at Noricum

sum *sextadecima*; and lowest of all, at *Vetere quinta* & *quintadecima*, both under Mummius Lupercus. The two last were in this war utterly destroyed, and their camp razed. Tac. *sextadecima* & *prima*, after Hordeonius death yielded themselves to the enemy, and were by the enemies appointment removed to Trier; then of their own accord they went to the Madionitrici, and from thence were sent for Cerealis and received into grace. The two Legions also at Magontiacum yielded themselves to the enemy at the same time, and were not removed from their campe, who upon Cerealis coming returned againe to the Romans, Tacit. The eight Batavian cohorts revolted at the first beginning of the warre to Civilis. Now in supply of these so revolting, yielding themselves, and being slain, there were assigned under the leading of Petilius Cerealis seven legions, saith Tacitus, to wit, *sexta* *Vidrix*, which came with Munitanus out of Syria, and *Octava* *Angusta*, one of the Moesian legions (for so it should be read, not *Octava decima*, there being none of that name *inter vidricas*) *maetresima* *Rapax*: *secunda*, surnamed as I think *Flavia*, & *recens* *conscriptis*: *quartadecima* *Gemina* out of Britanny: *sexta* *Ferrata*, & *decima* *Gemina*, out of Spain. For whereas the common copies of Tacitus have *tertia* & *prima* ex *Hispania acule* there was no *tertia* in Spain, and that the Spanish *Sexta* was in this action, we finde expressly set down lib. 5. *Hist.* True it is, that a *prima* (surnamed *Adjutrix* was in Spaine: but seeing we finde, lib. 5. twice mention of *decima*, a Spanish legion, we must say, that either all legions of Spaine were called away, against probability, or else that *prima* should be read *decima*. So that following these corrections, in the latter end of this warre against the Germans and French, we have not at this time eleven legions employed by the Romans.

Superioris Germanie	{	<i>Quarta</i> <i>Macedonica</i> .
		<i>Octava</i> <i>decima</i> alias <i>duodevigesima</i> : <i>Didius</i> <i>Vocula</i> <i>legatus</i> .
Inferioris Germanie	{	<i>Prima</i> : <i>Herennius</i> <i>Gallus</i> <i>Legatus</i> .
		<i>Sextadecima</i> : <i>Namifus</i> <i>Rufus</i> <i>Legatus</i> , as I think.
<i>Sexta</i> <i>Vidrix</i> , e <i>Syriacis</i> .		
<i>Octava</i> <i>Angusta</i> , e <i>Moesis</i> .		
<i>Una</i> & <i>recensima</i> <i>Rapax</i> , e <i>Vitellianis</i> .		
<i>Secunda</i> <i>Flavia</i> , e <i>recens</i> <i>conscriptis</i> .		
<i>Quartadecima</i> <i>Gemina</i> , e <i>Britannicis</i> .		
<i>Sexta</i> <i>Ferrata</i>	{	ex <i>Hispanicis</i> .
<i>Decima</i> <i>G. mina</i>		

VII. *Hordeonius Flaccus*, Lieutenant General of both Germanies, lying at *Magontiacum*, commandeth *Mummius Lupercus*, who with two Legions the fifth and fifteenth lodged at *Vetere*, to go forth against *Civilis* and the Batavians: but the Romanes lost the battell and fled back to *Vetere* their standing camp.

But *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who at the first by connivence nourished *Civilis* attempts, now receiving fearful advertisements, that the* camps were surprized, the cohorts defeated and slaine, not one Roman left in the whole Batavian Iland, commanded *Mummius Lupercus* the Lieutenant, who governed the standing camp of two Legions, to go forth against the enemy. *Lupercus* taking the Legionaries about him, and the *Ubians* at hand, with certain horsemen of the *Treveri* not far off, led them out in haste, taking also with him a wing of Batavians, which being long since secretly corrupted, notwithstanding made shew of fidelity; to the end that in the very instant of joyning, betraying the Roman, they might slip away with more damage to the one, and better welcome to the other. *Civilis* placed round about him the ensignes of the late taken cohorts, that his souldiers might be encouraged in beholding the monument of their late glory, and the enemy dismayed with the memory of their overthrow. Moreover he caused his mother, and sisters, together with the wives and young children of all his souldiers, to stand at their backs for an encouragement to the victory, or a shame if they happened to flee. In the joyning of the two armies, the singing of their men, and how-

* *Quarta*, as it seemeth was without Lieutenant, at least in this story none is named, and peradventure *Vitellius* had taken him away but surely *Didius Vocula* although by office but once Legate of the xix. alias the xxij. executed no doubt both the charges.

* *Castra* fr. cohortium.

ling of their women, farre exceeded and drowned the feeble shrowt of our Legions and cohorts; and the Batavian wing fleeing to the enemy, and straightway turning upon us, bared the left flank of our battel: notwithstanding the Legionary souldiers, as in a case of such danger, yet retained their weapons in their hands, and themselves in array. The Aides of the Ubians and Treveri ran most shamefully away, and brake every where, which chafe the Germans pursued and gave by that means leysure to our Legions to retire themselves into their camp called Verera. Claudius Labeo captain of the Batavian wing, who had followed at home a contrary fiction to Civilis, left that either his death should offend the country, or his presence minister cause of diffension, was quietly sent out of the way into Frisia.

¹ *Mummium superius* Belike Vitellius left the Legions only bare of men, and as it were half Legions (for these two Legions were not above five thousand men) but disarmed of captains also, leaving here but one Lieutenant over two Legions, and yet as though he had forgotten himself, we finde another *tanquam ex machina*, to wit Numifus² Rufus. Of whose coming into Veters, we finde no reason, for we finde him in another place out of Veters with little reason. If he were there from the beginning, why doth Tacitus tell us here, that Luperculus *disarmis legionibus infirmis* came? If not, then he comes in here, as he comes in elsewhere, to be the out: But in declining to the Germans, as there are, in my opinion, many little imperfections and negligencies, which we spare we will touch, as occasional to serve, but most of them we have supplied and explained in the contents of the chapters, and by inferring sometimes a word or two in the text, as by comparing the books it will appear.

Legati legio-
num Alumnus
Lupercus &
Numisius Ruf
illum murosq
firmabant.

VIII. *The eight Batavian cohorts, which had served the Romans so long in Britannie, against Otho, and elsewhere, solicited by Civilis forsake Magontiacum, make their way at Bonna by the sword, and so joyne to Civilis.*

IN the mean season the messenger sent by Civilis to Magontiacum, to solicit the cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates, came thither, and found them in readinesse, by Vitellius commandment, to march toward Rome. Upon that message received, forthwith they waxed proud, and intolerable, crying out (or else refusing to march) for their donative, for double wages, for an augmentation of the number of their horsemen, things indeed promised by Vitellius, but demanded by them, not in hope to obtaine, but to pick an occasion of mutinie : and Flaccus, yielding to divers of their demands, gained nought els, but that they more instant-ly craved those things which they knew he could not but denie. So setting Flaccus at naught they took up their ensignes, and marched toward low Germany, to joyne themselves with Civilis ; Hordeonius calling the Tribunes and Centurions alto to counsell, debated the matter, whether he should by maine strength seek to inforce them which so contemptuously brake away : anon, partly of his own cowardly nature, partly through the timorousnesse of the officers, who trusted neither the faith of their Aides, nor the force of their Legions, being gathered in haste of men unskilfull in service, he resolved to keep his souldiers within the trenches, and let the Batavians passe. Afterward, repenting himself of that resolution, they also blaming it, which were chiefe authours thereof, as if he meant to pursue them, he wrote to Herennius Gallus governour of Bonna, and Lieutenant of the first Legion which wintered there, that he should stop the Batavians from passage, promising that he with his whole power, would not faile to be on their backes. And so verily they might have been defeated and slain, if Hordeonius on the one side, and Gallus of the other, had brought forward their power, and enclosed them in behinde and be-fore :

* At Magontia-
cum then with
Nordionius
were abiding
two Legions,
quarta & dus-
decimæ alia
duodecimæ.

fore: but Flaccus changed his purpose againe, and in other letters of later date willed Gallus, not to stay their passage. Whereupon suspition arose, that the Lieutenants of set purpose stirred up and fostered these warres; yea all the mischiefs, which either had chanced already, or were feared hereafter, were imputed, not to the cowardlinesse of the fouldier, or strength of the enemy, but onely to the fraud and falldow of the Leaders. When the Batavians drew neare to the Campe at Bonna, they sent before certaine messengers, to delare to Herennius Gallus the intention of the Cohorts: that their meaning was not to make warre with the Romans, in whose behalfe they had so oft borne armes; but forasmuch as they were wearied with a long and fruitlesse service, their desire was, quietly to live at home in their country. And therefore if no man made opposition, their passage should be harmlesse: but if any hostility were offered, they would make their way with the sword. Whilst the Lieutenant stood divided in minde what to do, his souldiers urged him to put it to the fortune of a field. There were in his campe three thousand ^a Legionary fouldiers, and certain tumultuary cohorts of Belgians, and withall a number of pezants, and followers of the campe, brave men before the danger approach, in the danger but cowards. Out they issue at all the gates of the campe to enclose the Batavians, whom they knew to be far inferior in number. The Batavians mindfull of their old order in service, set themselves in array in pointed battels standing on every side close together, and having their front, their flanks, and their back surely guarded, and so with great facility brake through our thin companies. The Belgians first gave ground, and then our Legionaries were beaten back, and ran for fear toward the trenches, and gates of the campe. There the most slaughter was committed: the fosses we filled up with dead bodies, and many died in the throng, by tumbling one over another, and running upon their own weapons, as well as slain by the enemy. After this victory the Batavians went forward, leaving Coleyn of the right hand, and attempted no act of hostility in the rest of their journey, but excusing the battell at Bonna as a thing done by constraint, and for their own safety, when as they intreated for peace and it would not be granted.

xi. The cohorts of the Batavians and Canninefates? These are the *duo cohortes Batavorum quantuadecim legionis auxilia*, [as oft mentioned in the first and second of the history, and now remaining at Magoniacum, whither Civilis sent *legatos* to solicit them to the party, as it appears in this book. And albeit in none of the places before remembered there is any mention of Canninefates, yet by this place it is to be intimated, that those eight cohorts consisted of both people, only the Batavians carried the name, as being the greater and more known people; and to say truth Canninefates were but a kindred Batavians, dwelling in the Batavian Iland, using the same speech and manners with the Batavians, as little before and therefore, as I think, in his book *De moribus Germanorum*, he nameth only the Batavie, either because the other were intended also by that name, or because they were not greatly worthy naming.

IX. *Civilis colourably sweareth his men to Vespasian : then with his Batavians, and the assistance of certaine German nations, he besiegeth Vetera, giveth an assault, and is repulsed.*

Civilis, upon the coming of those old Cohorts, had now under his conduct a full and complete armie: nevertheless wavering in minde, and standing irresolute, considering the puissance of the Roman Empire, he caused all his men to sweare to Vespasian, and sent forthwith Embassadours to the two Legions, which being defeated by him in the former battell were fled to Vetera, requiring them also to take the like oath. Their answer was, they would not be advised

neither by traitour nor enemy; that Vitellius was their Prince, to whom alone they owed their faith, and should stand for him in armes, to their last breath: wherefore let not a fugitive, and faithlesse Batavian carry himselfe as umpier of the Roman affaires, but rather look for condigne punishment for his desert. Civilis being greatly incensed with this answer, bringeth the whole Nation of the Batavians into the field. The Bructeri and Teucteri associats themselves, and messengers were sent into Germany, who raised the whole Country, some to win honour, and some to gaine spoile. Against these great threatnings and bandings of so many enemies, Mummius Lupercus, and ^a Mumifus Rufus, Lieutenants of the Legions, fortified their trenches and ^b walls, and razed the buildings, which in so long a peace were erected, not farre from the Campe, in manner of a town, lest they should be a harbour for the enemy. But through oversight they omitted to convey the victuall, and other provision therein into the Camp, suffering it to be taken at discretion: and so in few dayes that was riotously consumed, which by good order would have relieved their needs a long time. Civilis led the middle bartell himselfe, wherein was the flower and strength of Batavia: and on both sides of the Rhene, to the end the sight of his army might strike in the greater terror, he caused the regiments of the Germans to march, the horsemen gallopping about the fields; and withall the ships were brought up the streame. So on the one hand the ensignes of the old cohorts, on the other the pictures and images of the wild beasts taken out of their woods and consecrated groves, according as every Nation useth to beare in the field, amazed our men, and terrified them doubly, with the shew both of an externall, and civill warre. Moreover the great compasse of the trench made the attempt of the besiegers more feasible and increased their hope. For whereas it was made to containe two Legions, at that present it had scarce five thousand armed men to defend it, beside the followers of the campe, which upon the breaking up of the peace gathered thither and there remained doing them some service in the war. A part of the camp was situate upon the pendant of an easie hill, and part stood upon the plaine ground. That standing campe Augustus settled there, supposing it sufficient to watch over, and as it were to besiege the countreyes of Germany, never imagining that the world could go farre otherwise, as that they should presume to begin and assaile our Legions: whereupon the lesse cost was bestowed, either to helpe the site of the place, or the strength of the bulwarks: men and armour alone were thought a sufficient defence. Now to the end, that being severed in place, the prowesse of each Nation might more distinctly appeare, and be seen, the Batavians, and the Germans which dwelt beyond the Rhene, took standing each by themselves and began to dart at our men a farre off: But when as they saw most of their weapons sticking in vaine in the turrets, and pinnacles of the walls, and many of themselves wounded with stones thrown from above on their heads, leaving that kinde of oppugnation, they suddenly with great forces and outerie assayed to scale the trenches, the most part by setting up ladders, others climbing over the heads of their fellows upon a target-fence. And as some were now clammering up, they were beaten down headlongs with swords and push of pike, and so with clubs, and darts overwhelmed, being men otherwise hot in the beginning, and too too courageous when fortune favoureth, but then for desire of prey they tolerated all hardnesse also; yea and that which with them is usuall, they endeavoured to prove with engines, whereof they had of themselves neither experience nor skill, onely some fugitives and captives taught them to frame timber in ^c manner of a bridge, and to drive it forward on wheeles, whereon certaine standing above might skirmish with them on the walls,

unconquered Augustus, and Lupercus alone duarum Legionum Hybernus praefatus, and that Movius was not in Jovis, but rather was Lieutenant of the sixteenth Legion, whose standing camp was at Novesium, it may be gathered elsewhere by Tacitus. ^d For the Hiberna, or hiding camps of the Legions, wherein these latter times walled as towns. ^e To wit, the Batavians.

walls, as it were from a mount, and others within secretly undermine the foundations. But the defendants, with great stones shot out of ^a engines, battered downe their rude and ill framed worke. And when as provision was made of ^b hurdles, and plancks to cover them in giving the assault, our men shot burning speares, and fired the worke; assailing with fire even their assayers; who despairing at length resolute any thing by force, deliberated to lay a lingring siege therunto, knowing that they had but few dayes vittaille within, and many unprofitable monthes to consume it, and hoping withall, that of want of food treason would ensue: that the faith of bondmen alwaies fickle would now be fleeting, beside the casualties, which usually happen in warre.

¹ In manner of a bridge Vegetius, lib. 4. in the description of Turris Ambulatoria maketh mention of Pons inbecuetus. Turres sunt ambulatoria ad edificationem speciosa ex trabibus tabulatisque compacta, tanta proceritate, ut non solum murus, sed etiam turris altitudine superent. His plures voce mechanicae aere subducunt, quarum laepe magnitudo tam ampla movetur. Inter utrosque haeret arctem, corpus impetu desinit murus. Cetera urbem partem accipit, postea factum de trabibus trabibus, quoniam solum prolium inter turrim murumque consistunt. & per eum regreduntur: namque milites occupant muros & in civitatibus morantur. In speciosis paribus cunctis & fugiuntur collocantur, qui propugnatores depellant, &c. In this place Tacitus seemeth to take Pons for the whole engine of Turris Ambulatoria, and not only that speciall part which Vegetius calleth by that name.

X. Hordeonius dispatching Vocula before removeth from Magontiacum with his power to Bonna: and thence to Coleyn. Where he resigneth the execution of his charge to Vocula; following notwithstanding the army from thence to Novesium, where, as it seemeth, he stayed till his death. At Novesium Gallus is joyned in commission with Vocula: and so they removed forward to Gelduba. Where being encamped, Vocula wasteth the Gugerri, and Gallus is beaten by the Germans.

IN the meane time Flaccus, having understood of the siege of Vetera, and sent into France to levy aides, selected out of his Legions a company of chofen men, and committed them to the leading of Dillius Vocula, Lieutenant of the eighteenth Legion, willing him to hasten, and make all possible speed along the banke of the river, himselfe followed slowly, and drooping for feare, being mortally hated of his souldiers. For they openly charged him, that he had suffered wilfully to scape from Magontiacum the cohorts of the Batavians, or rather purposely sent them away: that Civilis rebellious attempts were by his connivence fostered, and by his meane the Germans called to the party. That neither Antonius Primus, nor Mutianus, had so strengthened Vespasians side, as Flaccus by this kinde of dissembling dealing: for open enemies and armes might openly and with armes be repelled, but fraud and deceit were matters hardly esied, and therefore could not be avoided. That Civilis stood in the field embattelled against them, but Hordeonius out of his bed-chamber gave order, and directed as was most for the enemies behoofe: and why then should so many armed companies of valiant souldiers be governed by a sicke and filly old man? nay why should they not rather dispatch such a traitour, and see their fortune and vertue from the ill chance of so unlucky a leader? As they were in these speeches one with another, letters came from Vespasian which incensed them more, the which Flaccus, because he could not conceale, caused openly to be read before the assembly, and sent the bringers thereof bound to Vitellius.

Vitellius. By this meanes the souldiers mindes were somewhat appeased: and so they came to Bonna the standing campe of the first Legion: the souldiers whereof were more displeased with Flaccus then the other, laying the fault of their late overthrow wholly upon him: averring that they at his commandement marched forth against the Batavians, assuring themselves upon his promise, that his Legions from Magontiacum should assaile them behinde; and so no supply coming from thence they lost their lives through his treason: that these matters had never been notified to the rest of the army, nor to the Prince, or else by the helpe and assistance of so many countreys this sudden rebellion might have been quenched in the beginning. Whereupon Hordeonius caused the copies of all the letters, which he had sent into France, Britanny and Spaine, requesting their helpe, to be read to the army, and began a very ill example, that all letters sent from abroad should be delivered to the standard-bearers of the Legions, who read them to the souldiers, before they came to the Generals hand. Then he commanded one of the most factious to be apprehended and bound, rather to put his right in ure, then because the fault was but of one man alone; and so he removed with his army from Bonna to Coleyn, where many Aides resorted unto him of the French nation, which at the first with all their power assisted the Romanes, till afterwards seeing the Germans prevaile, many of them tooke armes, against us in hope of freedome, and that point attained, for desire of soveraigntie. But the wrath of the Legions still increased, neither could one souldiers imprisonment terrifie them: nay even the party imprisoned impeached the Generall of treason, alleading that he had been messenger between Civilis and him, and therefore a colour was sought to take him away, lest he should declare and testifie the truth. Then Vocula, with marvellous stoutnesse ascending into the Tribunall, commanded the souldier, as he exclaimed & cried, to be apprehended, and carried away to execution: which thing so terrified the bad and seditious, that the sounder fort without impeachment fulfilled his commandement, and anon by common consent they demanded Vocula to be their Generall: which place Flaccus willingly resigned to him. But their mindes were already mutinously affected, and many new occasions of more rage were presented; as want of pay, and provision of corne,^b France refusing to yeeld souldiers and tributes; the Rhene also by reason of drought unusual in that countrey hardly able to beare any vessell: scarcitie of victuals; garrisons of men placed along the banke to keepe the Germans from passing the river; and so lesse corne, and more men to consume it. Among the ignorant and simpler sort the lownesse of the water was held for a prodigious matter, as if the rivers also, and the ancient defences of the Empire had now forsaken us, and that which in peaceable times would have been counted chance, or proceeding of naturall causes, at that time was called a fatall matter, and gods indignation and wrath. At Novesium they assumed the sixteenth Legion; and Herennius Gallus Lieutenant of the first Legion was joyned with Vocula in part of the charge: yet durst they not goe to finde the enemy, but encamped themselves at a place called Gelduba. There they trained, and practised their souldiers in ordering of battels, in fortifying, entrenching, and other military exercises. And to the end that they might by booties and spoiles take courage and heart, Vocula led forth part of his army into the country of the Gugerni adjoining, who had allied to themselves with Civilis: part remaining behinde with Herennius Gallus. And as by chance, not farre from the campe, a barge loaden with corne, was run upon a shelve, the Germans espying it laboured to draw it to their side of the water; which Gallus would not endure, but sent a cohort to the rescue; the Germans also increas-

^a Taking along with him the first Legion, or a great part thereof, as it doth appeare elsewhere.

^b And yet not ten lines before hewitcheth *affluens Gallum, que primo rem Romanam traxit fruantem*.

sed their number, and so by little and little, supply resorting on both sides, a battell was fought: wherein the Germans, after the slaughter of many of our men, by force haled the boat away. Our souldiers, being thus put to the worfe, according to their custome there, blamed not their own cowardlinesse, but the treason of the Lieutenant, whom they drew out of his tent, tare his clothes, and beat his body, commanding him to tell upon what price, and with what complices he had thus betrayed the army. But Hordeonius was charged with the whole envie of the fact; him they termed the contriver of the mischiefe, Gallus only the instrument, till at length Gallus, being terrified with their threatnings of his destruction, to save his own life, was content to charge Hordeonius also with treason. Then was he put in bands, and afterward, at the returne of Vocula loosed, who the next day following put to death the authors of the stirre. So strange diversitie there was in that army, both licentious to commit all enormities, and patiently to abide all corrections. The common souldier was firme to Vitellius; the principall men more enclined to Vespasian. Hence came it, that successively, and by course as it were, they offended, and suffered for their offences: that fury and rage were interlaced with obedience, and they easily punished, which could not be governed.

Who, as it seems, played behinde at Vespasian.

1 In the meane time Flaccus] Hordeonius Flaccus remaining at Mentz, where the standing campe was of *Magontiacum*. *quarta et ultima circa alibi ducessema*, undertaking of the siege of Vetera, sendeth Didius Vocula Lieutenant of the *sexta* *cinta alibi ducessema* before with the choise men picked out of the two Legions, whom Hordeonius, leaving sufficient power to guard the campe at Mentz, seemeth immediately to have followed and overtaken at Bonna, a towne likewise upon the river, eleven miles above Coleyn, and therefore above Vetera, according to Antonius in Itinerario, and Tac. 1. Annal. and so joyntly to have removed to Coleyn: where at the instance of his mutinous army, and upon infirmities of body, he resigned his Generallship, at least the execution to Didius Vocula: and yet notwithstanding removed with them to Novesium, now call'd Nuis, a towne sixteen miles below Coleyn, according to Antonius. At Novesium Flaccus as it seemeth staid, and there was, as appeareth anon, flaine by a mutiny of drunken souldiers. But Vocula with a great part of the army marched further downe, and meet to Vetera, encamping himselfe at Gelduba, a castle likewise upon the Rhene, *ubi civis generalis praecipe*, saith Pliny. And thus much for the declaration of some circumstances, in my opinion, not so plainly and particularly set down, as they ought, by our Author.

XI. Civilis combineth himselfe with the Germans, wasteth the French side, urgeth the siege of Vetera, and giveth diverse assaults in vaine.

Contrarily all the Germans extolled Civilis exceedingly, and combined themselves with him in league, yeelding of their noblest men for pledges. Whereupon he gave commandment to them which lay nearest, to waste the Ubii and Treveri, and with another company to passe the river of Mosla, and forrey the Menapii and Morini, and frontiers of France. In both places a spoile was made, and with greater rage amongst the Ubii, because being originally descended from the Germans, renouncing their countrey, they called themselves Agrippinenses after a Romane denomination: whose cohorts through negligence and carelesnesse, as being farre from the banke of the Rhene, were flaine in the villentance, in oppidum *Vibonium*, in quo gentis erat, veteranos colonianque deducti imperat, cuiusmodi indicium ex vocabulo ipsius, Tac. 12. Ann.

yond the Rhene, who were desirous of battell, to goe and breake up the trenches, and being beaten backe, estoones to give a fresh assault, not caring to leese many of those, whereof he had so many to spare. Neither did the night bring an end to their travell: but heaping up wood round about and setting it on fire, they fell to feasting together, and as they were heated with wine, ran rashly and desperately to the assault: which attempt of theirs was altogether without effect. For their darts, as being thrown into the dark, fell voyd without any doing of hurt. The Romanes with great dexteritie levelled at the Barbarians standing in the light, and especially at such as were boldest to presse forward, or glistered most in their furniture: which thing Civilis perceiving commanded the fire to be put out, and to fight pell mell in the darke. Then there arose confused clamours, and noyses, variable chanches, and uncertaine adventures: no foresight in striking or warding; on what side soever the cry arose, thither they would turne their bodies, and direct their arrowes: valour profited nothing, chance ruled all, and the most valiant men oftentimes were slaine by the most cowards. The Germans ran with unadvised rage: but the Romanes souldiers acquainted with dangers, hurled their clubs headed with iron, and heavy stones, not at a venture: where they heard any labouring to breake in, or setting up ladders within their reach, they thrust them backe with the pikes of their bucklers, and followed them with darts, and many which had got on the walls they stabbed with daggers. The night being thus spent, the next day discovered a new kinde of assault. The Batavians had builded and brought forward a tower ^c of two heighes, which as it approached neere to the Prætorian gate (for that part of the campe was of easiest access) our souldiers brake it in pieces with mightie planks run against it, and logges cast upon it, with great damage and slaughter of them that stood thereupon. At which accident the enemies being dismayed, our souldiers suddenly issued out, and cut off many of their men, with all the Legionary souldiers, being expert and skilfull that way, devised many warlike engines; but that which was the most dreadfull, was a ^d moveable and wagging engine, in manner of a crane, which being suddenly let down snatched up one or more of the enemies, and hoysed them aloft in the sight of the rest, and so the beame turning about let them fall into our campe. Civilis laying aside all hope of winning by force determined to change that course, and by tract of time to effect the same purpose, seeking in the meane season by messages and promises to corrupt the faith of the Legions.

XII. *Montanus a Captaine of Vitellius side, and borne at Triers, bringeth word to Novesium of the event of the battell at Cremona: whereupon they there and the rest at Gelduba sware to Vespasian: and sent Montanus to declare the same to Civilis, willing him to desist from hostilitie: but contrarily Civilis wrought Montanus to his purpose, and laid the plot of the rebellion of France, which shortly after ensued.*

THIS was the effect of that which passed in Germany before the ^a battell of Cremona: the event whereof Antonius Primus signified by letters directed unto them, sending withall ^b Cæcinae edict: and ^c Alpinus Montanus Captaine of one of the vanquished cohorts, by word of mouth, confessed the overthrow of the side. Hereupon ensued diversitie of affections. The auxiliary souldiers of France, which served without all partialitie, and neither hated nor loved the one faction nor the other, at the persuasions of their Captaines, were content forth-

^a Or double boorded.

^d Suspendium & nutus machinæ navicularis.

^e Which was fought about the latter end of October, as it is declared elsewhere.
^f Who as *Caes.* published beke: some credit in favour of the *Flavian* side.
^g Sent by the *Plautian* side.
^h *Hist.*

with to forsake Vitellius: but the old souldier stucke at it, till upon Hordeonius rendering, and the Tribunes urging they tooke the oath; albeit neither in countenance, nor minde seeming to be fully resolved, but pronouncing roundly the rest of their oath, and at the name of Vespasian either stopping, or tripping it lightly over, or skipping it quite. Then were the letters of Antonius to Civilis read in open assembly, which raised many suspicions in the souldiers heads, because they seemed to be written as to one of the same faction, and spake hardly of the German army. Anon word was carried to the campe at Gelduba, where the like was both spoken and done; and thereupon Montanus sent with charge to Civilis, to warne him to desist from making of warre; and that he should not cloke any longer upon rebellion with the colour of following sides. If he fought to helpe Vespasian, his desire now was accomplished, and his purpose performed: To these allegations Civilis replied, first in futtle and craftie termes: afterward perceiving Montanus to be of a hot and fierce disposition, and ready to accept any new impression, he beginneth with a complaint of the manifold perils, which for twentie five yeeres space he had endured in the Roman service: A worthy, and just reward (quoth he) have I had of my travells, the death of my brother, mine owne imprisonment, and the bloody words of his army, of whom being demanded to the slaughter, by the law of nations I doe, and may justly seeke my revenge. But as for you ^a Treveri, and the rest but fruitlesse service, continuall Tributes, whips, gibbets, and slavery under proud insolent masters? Behold I a Captaine of one cohort; and the Caninefates and Batavians, a small portion of ^b France, have ^c destroyed and overthrowne those vast and vaine camps of theirs, and ^d doe besiege them with famine and sword, to conclude, if we venture, we shall either recover our libertie, or if we leese, be in the same state we were in before. Civilis having thus incensed Montanus, dismissed him away, howbeit willed him to make a more favourable report, who accordingly at his returne onely signified, that he had not sped in his embassage, dissembling the rest which straight after brake out.

XIII. *Vocula overthroweth two Captaines of Civilis, sent against him as he lay at Gelduba.*

Civilis retaining part of his host, sent the old cohorts, and the forwardest of the Germans against Vocula and his army, under the leading of Julius Maximus, and Claudius Victor his sisters sonne. In the way they tooke up and spoiled the standing campe of a wing sited at Afciuburg, and so suddenly assaulted the enemies campe at Gelduba, that Vocula had no leisure to speake to the souldiers or to display the ranks. Thus much onely as in a tumult, he warned to strengthen the middle battell with Legionary souldiers, and the Auxiliaries to cast themselves about on every side. Then our horsemen brake forth, and seeing the enemy in good order and array to receive them, they turned their backs, and fled toward their footmen: whereupon a slaughter ensued and no fighting. The cohorts also of the Nervii through feare or falsehood fled, and barred the sides of our men and so way was made to our Legionary souldiers, who began now to be overthrown within the trenches, and to lose their ensignes, when as suddenly with a new supply the fortune of the battell was changed. For certaine cohorts of Vafcones led by Galba, and then ^e sent for, comming neere the camp, and hearing the noise as they fought, assailed the enemies backs being intentive another way, and caused a

^a For *Alpinus* was borne at *Triers*. 3. *Hist.*
^b *Tacitus* in some other places, seemeth to confound them under the name of the *Germani*.
^c Those in *H. Land.*
^d Meant of *Vulva*.

^e From whence? *Novesium, Bon-*
na, Magontia-
cum, or from what coast of the world?

great terrour then so small a number could otherwise have done, had not the enemy beleevd, some of them, that the rest from Novesium, and some, that the whole power from Magontiacum was come. That error also increased the Romanes courage: and whilst they presumed upon other mens strength they recovered their own. The most valiant of the Batavian footmen were slaine, the horsemen escaped with the ensignes and captives that were taken in the first conflict: on our side were slaine that day more in number, but men of small service; the Germans lost the very flower, and strength of their army. Both the Generals by like default deserved the overthrow in reason alike: and winning were negligent both alike to follow their fortune. For if Civilis had furnished his side with greater forces, they could never have been by so few cohorts inclosed about: and the campe of the Romanes being, as it was, by force broken up, had doubtlesse been utterly razed. Vocula likewise lacking scouts abroad to signifie the enemies approach was suddenly surpris'd, and so in one moment went to fight, and was overcome: afterward winning more by lucke then desert, and not trusting his own victory nor using the benefit thereof, he vainly trifled out many dayes before he would march toward the enemy; whom if he had presently followed and pursued the course of his victory effectually, he might at that blow have raised the siege of the Legions at Vetera.

XIV. *Vocula putteth Civilis to flight, and entereth Vetera.*

Civilis in the meane time had assayed to induce the Legions to surrender, as though the Romanes had been quite overthrowne, and his men obtained an entire victory. For proofe whereof he commanded the Romane ensignes, and banners to be carried about, and the prisoners produced in fight, whereof one ventured worthily, and declared aloud how the whole matter had passed, and was killed in the place by the Germans, which thing caused them within to beleve his relation the better, and withall by waisting and burning of the villages they might discerne that their owne victorious army was comming. When Vocula came neere unto Vetera he commanded the ensignes to be pitched in the sight of the campe, and a ditch and trench to be cast round about: that laying aside their baggage and needlesse furniture in place of safety, they might fight more lightly and lesse encumbered. Whereupon the souldiers began to exclaime, crying to goe to the battell, and now they were growne to that custome to threaten their Leader. So without taking to much time as onely to set the battell in array, disordered, and tired, they began the fight; for Civilis was ready to present them the battell, reposing no lesse affiance in the follies and faults of his enemies, then in the vertue and valour of his own people. Of the Romane side the matter went doubtfull and hard, and the most mutinous proved the most daftards: some there were which notwithstanding of the victory lately obtained kept their standing, galled the enemy, and animated themselves and their fellows. The battell being thus brought back again, which erewhile in a manner was lost, they held up their hands to them in the camp, that they should not neglect to use the opportunitie, who beholding all things from the walls issued forth all at the gate, and by chance Civilis being by the fall of his horse overthrowne, of both sides was thought to be wounded or slaine; which greatly dismayed his men and caused them to breake, and contrarily put courage in ours. But Vocula pursued not the chace, but entering Vetera onely augmented the rampiers, and towers of the camp, as against a new siege, being had in a jealousie,

by

by this kinde of cold dealing, to desire the continuance of the warre: and not without cause, having so often marred the victory for want of good following.

XV. *Vocula vittaileth Vetera, and returneth to Gelduba, and thence to Novesium, where Hordeonius in a mutiny is slaine. Vocula with his power goeth to relieve Magontiacum besieged by the Germans. The faithfulnessse of the Treveri to the Romanes at the beginning of these troubles.*

Nothing distressed our souldiers so much, as lacke of provision and food. Whereupon the carriages of the Legions, with a weake and unserviceable company were sent to Novesium, that from thence by land they might furnish the army with vittailles; for the enemies were masters of the river. The first convoy passed peaceably without molestation, Civilis being not yet recovered of his hurt: but anon understanding another company was sent to Novesium, and certaine cohorts assigned to conduct them, marching as in time of great quiet carelessly, not keeping themselves to their ensignes, but casting their armour and weapons into the wagons, and roving about licenciously, he sent before to rake up the bridges and straits, and then in good order charged upon them. The battell was fought with troupes displaced out thinly in length, and continued doubtfull, untill the night tooke up the quarell. The cohorts proceeded forward to Gelduba, the campe standing there as it was, guarded by the souldiers which Vocula had left. There was no question what perill there would be in the returne, the forragers being but few, and heavily loaden: whereupon Vocula determining to goe out and relieve them, increased his army with a thousand men chosen out of the two Legions, which were besieged at Vetera, the first and fifteenth, a stubborne and headstrong souldier, and hating his captaines. More went then were commanded, at their going openly murmuring, that they would no longer indure famine, nor be obnoxious to the secret practises of the Lieutenants: but those which remained behind complained, that they, by carrying away so many men, were forsaken, and left as a pray to the enemy. Whereupon a double mutiny grew, the one part recalling Vocula seditiously, and the other in like sort refusing to turne againe to the campe. In the meane season Civilis besieged Vetera. Vocula marcheth to Gelduba, and leaving Gelduba (which Civilis straightway tooke up) from thence to Novesium, not farre from whence, shortly after, his horsemen skirmished with the enemy prosperously. But prosperitie and adversitie inflamed alike the enemy their captaines destruction: and the Legions being augmented, by that increase out of the first and fifteenth Legion, more insolently required their donative, understanding that money was sent from Vitellius. Whereupon Hordeonius, without further delay divided the money among them in Vespasians name, which was the principall thing that ministred matter, and sed the mutiny which followed. For the souldiers, having idle spending money, gave themselves to riot and banquetting, and assemblies by night, and by that meanes renewed their former wrath and displeasure against Hordeonius, whom they hailed out of his chamber and slew, none of the Lieutenants or Tribunes daring to gainsay, or withstand them being hardened, by reason of the night season, against all modesty and shame. The like was intended against Vocula, if he had not in a bondmans attire escaped unknowne in the darke. As soone as the heat of their fury was past they fell to consider the danger wherein they did stand, and sent by and by Centurions with letters to the cities of France, desiring

desiring supply of money and men, themselves when Civilis approached, as the common sort without head is headlong, fearefull and sluggish, rashly tooke up their weapons, and soone laying them downe ran away. Adversitie bred discord, those of the upper army disioyning their cause from the others. Notwithstanding the images of Vitellius were set up again in the camp, and in the cities of Belgium adjoyning, when as Vitellius himselfe was now downe. Then the souldiers of the first Legion and the fourth and eighteenth upon repentance came in, and submitted themselves unto Vocula, at whose hands receiving againe the oath to Vespasian, they were led forth to raise the siege at Magontiacum. The army which besieged it (consisting of Catti, Ulpian and Matician) was already departed away loaden with spoiles, and being by our men met with on the way scattered and at unawares, was in part put to the sword. Moreover the Treveri along their confines cast a trench with a * parapet, and with a great slaughter on each side skirmished against the Germans, untill shortly after revolting, by that odious fact, they defaced all their good service done heretofore to the Romanes.

XVI. The disposition of the common people of the Citie, at the beginning of the yeere. The ordinary Senate upon the first day of January. Mutianus supplanteth Antonius Primus.

The yeare of the citie 823.

IN the meane season Vespasianus second time Confull and Titus in absence entered their office, the citie being in great anguish and diversly perplexed, besides the miseries which presently they felt, upon a false alarme of the revolt of Africk, and the rebellion of Piso Proconfull there, a man of milde and quiet disposition: but because through the tempestuousnesse of the winter the ships came not home, the poore people which day by day were accustomed to buy bread, and cared for nothing else of common affaires but corne, feared that all the ships of that coast were purposely stayed, and the corne detained, and fearing quickly beleaved it. In which imaginary conceit the Vitellianists also confirmed them, who had not as yet wholly left off their former affections and humours. Neither was the rumour displeasing unto the winners, as hoping to make their profit thereby, whose insatiable lust and desires no forrein warre, much lesse any civill victory could ever fill or content. The first of January the Senate was assembled by Iulius Frontinus the * Citie Pretor, and solemne thanks with praise concluded upon to the Lieutenants and armies, and kings which friended the cause. The Pretorship also was taken from Tertius Julianus, because he had forsaken his Legion applying it selfe to Vespasianus side, and bestowed upon Plotius^b Griphus. Hormus was made a Gentleman of Rome, and straightwaies Frontinus resigning Domitianus, Caesar tooke the place. In his name all letters were written and edicts published, but the power and direction of affaires rested in Mutianus, save that Domitian either pricked forward by his friends, or upon his own pleasure, & lust presumed to do many things of himselfe. But Mutianus principall feare was of Antonius Primus and Arius Varus, whom beside that they were greatly renowned for their late famous exploits, and in great credit with the souldiers, the common people also loved well because they had slaine none but in the field. Moreover it was given out by some, that Antonius had solicited Scribonianus Crassus, a man of great honour, both in respect of his worthy ancestours, and of his late * brothers high place, to take upon him the state, assuring him of a sufficient number of complices to uphold and maintain it, had not

Scribonianus

Scribonianus refused the offer: a man so greatly fearing uncertainties, that even an assured certaintie could not easily have sturred him. Therefore Mutianus, because Antonius openly could not be put down, spent upon him many good words, and great commendation in the Senate house, and secretly laded him with promises, putting him in hope of neerer Spaine, which by the departure of Cluvius Rufus lay void, and bestowed upon his friends Tribuneships, Captainships liberally. And when Mutianus had filled with these windes of hope and desire his emptie vaine-glorious minde, he proceeded subtly to infringe his power, and utterly put him out of his strength, by dismissing unto their wintering place the * seventh Legion, which did most earnestly affect Antonius. The third Legion also that depended upon Arius Varus was sent away backe into Syria: another * part of the army was carried into Germany. So the citie being disburdened of those which were prone to breed trouble, recovered her former estate, the lawes tooke their due discourse, and the magistrates resumed their charge.

XVII. Certaine matters which passed in the Senate.

THE day that Domitian after his new honour came into the Senate, he made a briefe and courteous speech concerning his fathers, and brothers absence, and of his owne greene yeeres and lacke of experience, with a comely grace and decent behaviour: his often blushing and being out of countenance, his qualities being not yet knowne abroad, was reputed modesty and bashfulness. When as he proposed that Galba should be restored to his honour and dignitie, Curtius Montanus was of opinion, that the memory of Piso should be solemized, the Senators allowed of both: howbeit concerning Piso it tooke none effect. After this, certaine were allotted to see restitution made of those things, which had beene by force taken away in the warre, and some others, to view and set up the brazen tables of the lawes, which by * tract of time were decayed, and others to reforme, & purge the publike records, and registers, which by flattery of times were corrupted, and to moderate and stint the publike expenses. Tertius Julianus was restored to his Pretorship, after it was knowne that he fled to Vespasian: notwithstanding Griphus kept his roome too. Then the Senate awarded, that the cause betweene Mufonius Rufus, and Publius Celer should be revived and determined: and so Publius was condemned, and satisfaction made to the soule of Soranus. In this daies worke as the publike severitie of the Senate was notable, so privately Mufonius wanted not his due commendation, for having judicially prosecuted for just a revenge: as contrarily¹ Demetrius the Cynicke was generally blamed, for that ambitiously, and without regard of his credit, he had lent his hand to protect a manifest offender: for Publius himselfe had neither spirit nor tongue to plead his owne cause. When the signe was given, and a flagge of revenge, as it were, set out against the accusers, Junius Mauricus requested Domitian, that it would please him to communicate a copy to the Senate of the Princes records and papers, whereby they might be certified particularly, who had required to have the accusing of whom. Answer was made, that the Princes advice was to be asked in a case of that weight: whereupon the Senate, the principall personages, beginning the example, conceived a forme of oath, which all the magistrates sware, contending who should be formost, and the rest, as their voices were severally asked, solemnly protesting, and calling the gods to witnesse, that they never had attempted nor done any act against the life of any, nor reaped commoditie or honour by the calamities of others, they which were

guiltie

* To whom it belonged, in the absence of the consuls, to assemble the Senate.

^b One of Antonius's favorites.

* Piso, whom Galba adopted.

¹ Scribonia Galba's daughter.

² Sextus & Octavia de Julia.

By the burning of the Capitol the Cyprian meted such satisfaction.

Amal. 16. Suet. Vespas. 15. Xiphil.

guilty that way pronouncing it faintly, and mincing the oath, but diversly wresting and changing the words. The Senatours allowed of them which sware truly, and openly reprov'd others perjury: which reproofe lay most heavily upon Sario-
lenus Vocula, and Nonius Actianus, and Cestius Severus, persons infamous for their often accusings under Nero: and beside, which aggravated his cause, Sariole-
nus had lately attempted the like with Vitellius: so that they bent their fits against him, and ceased not to offer violence, untill he departed the house. From him they
went to Pactus Africanus, seeking to throw him out likewise, because he had given
information against the Scribonian brethren, renowned both for their wealth
and mutuall agreeing together, and procured their destruction with Nero. Africa-
nus neither durst confesse the matter objected, nor could well deny it: but turning
himselfe to Vibius Crispus who pressed him neereft with his interrogatories, he on
the other side challenged him of the like, seeking to shift off the odiousnesse of that,
which he could not directly defend, by joyning the plantiffe in the same crime.
That day Vespasianus Messalla wanne himselfe great credit, both for eloquence
and good nature, undertaking, being under Senatours age, to make intercession for
his brother Aquilius Regulus. Regulus was extremely hated, because he had
wrought the overthrow of the noble houses of the Crassi, & of Orphitus. He was at
his own suit appointed by the Senate to be their accuser, and undertook that odious
charge voluntarily being very young, & not, as some others, to avoid danger that in
refusing might grow to himselfe, but in hope of rising higher thereby. And Sulpicia
Prætextata wife of Crassus, with foure of his children presented themselves in a
readinesse to prosecute the matter, if it would please the Senate to take knowledge
thereof, Messalla, neither justifying the cause nor the man, but opposing himselfe
against the perils of his brother, had moved some to compassion. Then Curtius
Montanus replied with a bitter oration, proceeding so farre, that he charged Regu-
lus with giving of money after Galbaes death to him that slew Piso, with biting of
Pisoes head being dead. These things (quoth he) I trow Nero never constrained you
to doe: neither saved you either your life, or your honour by such savage crueltie.
Let us grant their defence to be tolerable, which chose rather to bring others into
ruine, then themselves into perill, for your part you had nothing to leese: your
father going into banishment left you voide of all danger that way, his goods were
parted amongst his creditours and your age as yet not capable of honour: you had
nothing that Nero should either desire from you, or feare in you. Nay it was your
owne bloud-thirsty humour, and gaping for gaine, which caused you to employ
your gifts, being as yet not knowne nor tried in defending any mans cause, to the
destruction of the nobilitie: when at one blow you ruined and overthrow innocent
children, and reverend old men, honorable women, and by this good service in de-
stroying the Commonwealt merited Consular spoiles, seven thousand thousand
sesterces, and an honourable Priesthood: when you blamed Neros slack and re-
missive kinde of proceeding, that he went house by house and tired out both himselfe
and the whole company of the accusers, whereas he might with like facilitie and
speaking of a word subvert the whole Senate. Keepe I pray you (my Lords) and
make store of a counsellor of so good a dispatch, that every age may be furnished
and as our old men imitate Marcellus and Crispus, so your young may doe Regulus.
Disonesty even when it thriveth not, findeth followers, what wilt it do then when
it doth prosper and flourish? and whom we dare not offend having been but Que-
stor, what shall we doe when we shall have passed the higher offices of Pretor and
Consull? or doe ye thinke that Nero shall be the last tyrant? indeed so they also
beleeved

beleeved, which overlived Tiberius and Caius when in the meane time arose ano-
ther more cruell and detestable then either. We feare not Vespasian; his age war-
ranteth us, and his moderate disposition: but precedents dure longer the dispo-
sitions. We are waxen cold (my Lords) neither are we now the same men, that
asfoone as Nero was slaine required these promoters, and all other instruments of
tyranny to be punished *more majorum*. After the deace of an ill Prince the first day
is alwaies the best. With so great applause and liking of the Senate Montanus was
heard, that Helvidius conceived hope of the possibilitie of overthrowing Marcellus
also. Therefore beginning his speech with the commendation of Cluvius Rufus,
who being as rich, & as famous for eloquence, had notwithstanding in Neros time
never procured any mans danger, he pressed Marcellus both with his own fact, and
with the others examples, and the Senatours fingers even tickled against him.
Which when Marcellus perceived, making semblance of departing the house, We
are gone Helvidius (quoth he) and leave to you a Senate of your owne: take your
pleasure, and "exercise your kingdome in the presence of the young Prince. After
him followeth Vibius Crispus both well warmed and nettled: Marcellus with a
threatning countenance, Crispus halfe smiling, but at the entreatie of friends,
they came againe to their place. And so the contention growing hotter, and of the
one side many and good, on the other few & mighty banding together, and inveigh-
ing despitefully one against the other, that day was consumed in brawlings. The
next meeting Domitian beginning to perfwade, that old griefs and grudges should
not be revived, but buried together with the memory of the late times, wherein men
were forced to do many things against their own mindes, Mutianus continuing the
speech opened at large in favour of the accusers, gently admonishing withall, and as
it were intreating them, who seemed to refuse their actions which they had discou-
tinued. The Senatours, when they saw they were crossed in following their liberty,
medled no further, and Mutianus, left the judgement of the Senate should seeme to
be little regarded, and a general pardon as it were proclaimed of all crimes commit-
ted under Nero, commanded Octavius Sagitta and Antistius Sofianus, Senatours by
calling, which were without leave returned from exile, to be reduced into the same
Ilands again. Octavius had frequented with Pontia Posthumia another mans wife
adulterously, and because she refused after to marry him, he flew her upon extreame
passion of love: Sofianus by his lewd qualities had been the ruine of many: both of
them had been condemned and banished by a heavy sentence of the Senate, and o-
thers being reitored they were left still in the same penalty. But Mutianus could not
with all this wipe the ill opinion away of his former dealing: For Sofianus and Sa-
gitta were men vile and of no account, neither mattered it where they lived: but the
accusers great gifts, great wealth and great power, being men so well seen in all lewd
practises, were feared not without cause. The Senators minds were anon in part re-
conciled by means of a certaine cause heard in the house, and decided according to
ancient custome. Manlius Patricius a Senator made complaint, that in the Colony
of Siena he was bearen of the multitude at the magistrates commandment, and not
contented with this outrage they * mourned and wailed, and made shew of celebra-
ting his funerals in his own fight, with many scornfull and reprochfull speeches re-
doubling upon the whole Senate. The parties accused were called, and upon due
examination convicted and executed, and an act made to admonish the people of
Siena to behave themselves in modest manner hereafter. At the same time An-
tonius Flamma was condemned of extortion, at the suite of the Cyrenenses, and
exiled for his cruell behaviour, and shedding of innocent bloud.

XVIII. *A view taken of the Pretorian souldiers. A loane motioned in the Senate. The funerals of Flavius Sabinus.*

AMidst these things there had welny broken out a fedition of the souldiers. The Guard-souldiers dismissed by Vitellius, and assembled in favour of Vespasians cause, required their former place: likewise the ^asouldiers, which upon hope of the same roome were chosen out of the Legions, demanded performance of promise. Neither could Vitellius gard well be removed without much bloodshed. So Mutianus, comming to the campe to the end he might better view their yeeres of service, appointed the winners severally to stand, with their ensignes and weapons, a little distance asunder. Then he willed the Vitellian gard, as well those which yeelded themselves at Bovillæ, as others fought out within the citie & about, to be produced in a maner unarmed, then to be divided, and those which were chosen out of the German and British armes, and so of the rest, if any were, to stand each by themselves. The first sight hereof did straigh amaze them, to see the contrary side as in a pitched field flourishing with their weapons and darts, and themselves without armour, deformed, and in poore miserable state cloed about. But when they began to be drawn, and distracted hither and thither, they trembled all, especially the German souldiers, as if the separation tended only to fort them out to the slaughter; whereupon they fell to embrace their companions, to hang on their necks, to kisse them as for their last farewell, beseeching not to leave them alone, and that in the like cause they might not abide harder fortune then others, with obsecrations sometimes to Mutianus, sometimes to the Prince that was absent, sometimes to the gods and the heavens to relieve their distressed estate; till such time as Mutianus calling them all liege men of one soveraigne, and souldiers of the same Prince, eased them of this vaine feare; the rest of the souldiers present with a shout furthering their teares, and declaring themselves to favour their cause: and so for that day the matter was shut up. Some few dayes after Domitian in an Oration made offer unto them of land and possessions, who being now assured and out of all feare, did boldly refuse it, praying to have their former service and wages againe. It was but a prayer, many such as could not be denied: and so they were received into the Gard. Afterward they which had served their yeeres, and accomplished their just number of stipends, were honourably dismissed: some others criminally, and for their misdeameour singled out one by one: the safest remedy to weaken and dissolve the consent of a multitude. Then a motion was made in the Senate, whether upon necessitie indeed, or because they would have it to seeme so, that a loane should be made, by private men to the publike of sixty millions of sesterces, and the charge thereof committed to Poppæus Silvanus: but shortly after the necessitie ceased, or the false semblant. Then by a law propoed by Domitian the Consulships conferred by Vitellius were disannulled: and Flavius Sabinus' funerals were celebrated with Consorial pompe: great demonstrations of fortunes sicklenesse, turning upside downe whatsoever seemeth high in the world.

^a *Indis statim principatus pro- fectus est Vesp- lianus quatuor- genties milia H. S. ubi effi- ciuntur, hoc est sex, tantu sester- tium, est. 16. one of the greatest summs I remember any were named, amounting to above three hundred millions of pounds. That is, 468750. pound ster- ling.*

¹ Funerals were celebrated with Consorial pompe. *Consolium fonsus* the most honourable, and solemne manner of buriall: as the Consorship was the most honourable office, and accomplishment, as it were of all other. Polybius lib. 6. saith, that in the buriall of a Consul, or Prætor, certaine chosen out for the like to the dead person accompanied the corse *aditum* only, that is, *in rose purpurea purpura*: in the buriall of a Consul *aditum*, *in purpura*.

XIX. *The*

XIX. *The death of Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke.*

ABout the same time Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke was slaine: the truth of which murther I will briefly set downe, resuming first certaine former matters, which may seeme to have ministred chiefly occasion, and cause to such like inconveniences. The Legion in Africke, and the Aides assigned to guard the frontiers of the Empire that way, in the time of Augustus, and Tiberius, were under the government of the Proconsull, till Caius a Prince of a troubled braine, & having in jealousie M. Silanus, who then was Proconsull of Africke, removed the Legion from the Proconsull, delivering it to a Lieutenant sent for that purpose. The parting of an office thus betweene two without subordination, and their charge and points of commission lying intermingled, and running joyntly together, bred and nourished, as was intended, discords and quarels: and so through snifter emulation the Lieutenants office incroched & grew, either because they continued longer in charge, or because inferior persons commonly take more paine & delight in contending with their superiours, the greatest men of the Proconsuls, seeking rather safety then might. Now at this time Valerius Festus was Lieutenant of the Legion there, a riotous young man, and one that gaped after great matters, but much perplexed in minde, by reason he was so nearly allyed to Vitellius. This Valerius in his often conferences which he had with Piso, whether he perswaded him to take upon him the estate, or opposed himselfe against Pisoes soliciting it is uncertain for at their secret communication none was present beside: and when Piso was slaine most men inclined to favour the slayer; certaine it is, that the province and souldiers were ill affected toward Vespasian. And some of the Vitellianists escaping out of the citie, layed downe before Piso the great possibilitie of effectuating that purpose: that France was in termes of revolting, Germanie readie to side themselves with him, adjoining the danger wherein he stood for his owne person, and that in a suspected peace open warre was the onely safe course. As these things were in doing, Claudius Sagitta capitaine of the Petrin wing came thither, having outslayed Papirius a Centurion sent by Mutianus, and avouched that the sayd Centurion had Commission to dispatch Piso: that his kinsmen and sonne in law Galerianus was already dispatched in Rome: so that the onely hope of safety consisted in venturing boldly: and of venturing there were but two wayes, either straight to take armes, or slaying into France to offer himselfe there for a head to the Vitellian armies. Notwithstanding all which allegations Piso persifted unmoveable: and anon the Centurion sent by Mutianus came, who as soone as he arrived at the port of Carthage proclaimed Piso Emperour, wishing to him as Prince all successe and prosperitie, and requiring all that he met, being amazed at the wonder, to joyne in the same cry. The credulous common people flocked in the market place & demanded the presence of Piso, filling the citie with shouts and acclamations of joy, partly upon negligence to search out the truth, and partly upon a pleasure in flatterie. But Piso, whether upon the intimation of Sagitta, or of his owne modestie, refrained from going abroad and committing himselfe to the peoples discretion; & examining the Centurion, perceiving it was but a snare to intrappe him, and so to make him away, he commanded him to be slaine, not so much for hope of escaping himselfe by so doing, as upon just indignation against the Centurion, because the same man had beene one of the murtherers of Clodius Macer, and meant to bring his

his hands lately embued with the blood of a Lieutenant now to the slaughter of a Proconfull. Then he checked the Carthaginians with a sharpe and severe edict, & ceased to execute even the usuall points of his office, keeping still within dores, left any occasion of new commotion by mischance might arise. Festus understanding how the people was daunted and dafed, the Centurion slaine, and other occurrences part true, part false, or enlarged and amplified, as fame feedeth in going, sendeth certaine horsemen to murder Pifo; who making all haste in the dawning of the day brake into the house of the Proconful with drawn swords, the most part not knowing Pifo by sight, being Auxiliaries of the countrey, and Moores picked out for the purpose. Whereupon meeting one of his servants, not far from his bed-chamber, they asked him who he was, and where Pifo was to be found: the servant perceiving his masters danger, notably and resolutely answered, that he was Pifo, and so was presently slaine in the place: by and by after Pifo himselfe was massacred. For there was in the company Bebius Massa, one of the Procurators of Africk, that knew him; even then a worker of good mens destruction, and one that often will fall in the course of this storie, as an instrument of the mischeifes, and a cause of the miseries that we sustained afterward. Festus in the meane time stayed at Adrumetum to watch how the matter succeeded, & from thence went to the Legion, where he commanded Cetronius Pifanus the Campe-master to be committed to ward, upon private displeasures, betweene them, pretending that he was an abettor, and complice of Pifo. Some fouldiers also and Centurions he punished, and some he rewarded: neither of them for any desert, but because he would seeme to have ended a warre. Then he tooke up the debates betweene the * Ophenes and Lepitani, which of small beginnings, as robbing of cattell & corne from the countrey men, were now by force of armes maintained in the field. For the Ophenes being the weaker side had called the Garamantes to aide them, a savage people and altogether given to robbing & stealing upon their neighbours: whereupon the Lepitani were hardly bested, and their fields being round about waisted, trembled for feare within the walled townes, till such time as the cohorts and wings came, who put the Garamantes to flight, and recovered all the spoile, save onely that which certaine out-riders had carried further into the countrey, & fold there among their wild inaccessible cottages.

XX. *Vespasian at Alexandria receiveth advertisement of the death of Vitellius. The embassage of Vologesus king of the Parthians to him. Titus speech with his father. Corneis sent to Rome. The foundation of the Capitoll is laid.*

* 40. millia sagittario n. f. i. h. Suetonius Vespasiano c. 6. not disagreeing from Tacitus: for the Parthians were inveterati. In Pto. die f. i. h. Suet. Domitiano c. 1. super irrogata urbana officina atque peregrina distribuit. mirari se Vespasiano dicente quod sacellum non solum mitteret.

After the battell at Cremona, and good newes from all quarters, many of all sorts hazarded to put themselves upon the rough winter seas, and sailed with lassie to carrie Vespasian the newes that Vitellius was slaine: and king Vologesus Embassadours were there offering forty thousand Parthian^a horsemen to aide him. It was a glorious and joyfull thing, to be sought unto with offers of so great assistance, and yet not to need them. So thanks were given to Vologesus, and he would send an Embassage to the Senate, and assure himselfe of peace with the Romanes. Vespasian converting his cares upon Italie, and the affaires of the Citie, was advertised somewhat hardly concerning Domitians dealings, as if he had^b passed the bounds of his age, & carried himselfe above his compasse rather like an Emperour then an Emperours sonne. Therefore the most serviceable part of his army he

he delivereth over to Titus willing him to prosecute and finish the Jewish warre. It is reported that Titus before his departure used long speech and intreatie with his father, desiring him not to beleve lightly, or enter in choler at the tale of every backbiter, but rather to reserve himselfe free for an indifferent audience, and carry a placable minde towards his owne sonne. For neither were Legions nor navies so strong defences and rampiers of a Princes estate, as the multitude of children. Friends with time and fortune, sometimes by unadvised desires, or oversights, decrease, fall from us and fade, whereas a mans owne blood cleaveth fast, and cannot be disjoyned: especially in Princes, whose prosperity as well may others enjoy, but their adversitie touched none neere, but their neereft in blood: and how should they two being brethren agree, if the father gave not first an example. Vespasian not so much pacified toward Domitian, as delighted with the good nature of Titus, bad him be of good comfort, and looke to his charge in advancing the weale publick with armes in the field; himselfe would take order with matters of peace, and domestically affaires. Then he committed to sea, which as yet was tempestuous, his best ships of saile fraught with corne: for the Citie was in such distresse, and stood in those termes of famishing, that when the corne came from Vespasian, they had not at all in their storehouses above ten daies provision. As concerning the setting up of the Capitoll againe, he committed the charge thereof to Lucius Vestinus a Gentleman of Rome, but for authentic and countenance one of the principall men of the city; by whom the soothsaiers being called together expressly charged, that the reliques of the former temple should be conveyed and carried away into the marishes, and the new erected upon the selfe same foundation: for it was not the pleasure of the gods the old forme should be altered. The one and twentieth of June being a goodly faire day the whole plot of the Temple was bound, and tied about with fillers and garlands. The fouldiers, whose names had lucky significations entered in with fortunate boughes. Afterward the Vestall Virgins, with boies and girles which had both father and mother alive, washed it with waters fetched from rivers, and springs, and running streames. Then Helvidius Priscus the Pretor, Plautus Elianus one of the chief Priests going before him, hallowed the floore with a solemne sacrifice of a swine, a sheepe and a bullocke, and lying the entrailles upon a greene turfe, calling first upon Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and the rest of the gods protectors of the Empire, that they would prosper the work, exalt and advance this their owne habitation, begun by the devotion of men, with their divine and celestiall power, he put his hands to the fillers and ropes, wherein a huge mighty stone was fast tied, and withall the rest of the Magistrates and Priests, the Senate and Gentlemen, and a great part of the people pressing with great desire and joy, drew the stone to the foundations, throwing in withall ingots of gold and silver, and oare never tried in the furnace, but raw as it grew: for the soothsaiers forewarned that the worke should not be defiled with stone, or gold which had beene destinated to any other use: onely the rooffe was made higher: that alteration alone was not disallowed by the gods, and the former temple, for want of proportion that way, was thought to lacke statelienesse, and majesty convenient for a building, wherein such a masse of men should be holden.

^a He committed the charge thereof. Most of the other writers affirme contrary to Tacitus, and so the truth as I thinke, that Vespasian was present at the laying of the first foundation of the Capitoll. Sueton. * Vesp. a Cap. 8. *Vespasianus vestitionem capitoli agebat: sed sibi purgandis manus amovit, ac suo collo quedam extulit.* Xiphilin *scribit rem a gentilibus: sed quod quidam, auctor et re et re non improbare.* That is, he saw with him to build the temple in the Capitoll, himselfe first carrying out some part of the rubble. And yet by Tacitus the greatest man present in this action was Helvidius Priscus Pretor urbanus, the highest office in the absence of the Consuls. And surely beside

^b From his father at Alexandria: for this ther he accompanied his father, and from thence returned back to Germania which voyage is particularly described by Josephus in the last words of his fourth book *ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ*.

^c C. de divinatione, cum inauguratione exercitum, census populum, lustraret, hanc nominatibus qui lustrari decerent eligebantur: quod idem in delectis consules offerant, ut prius non: sed longa nominis.

the credit of Tacitus, who may overweigh twenty such writers at random, I cannot see how in possibility Vespasian could well be in Rome before the one and twentieth of June: for at Alexandria he attended certain months, saith our author, *certa mens operum*. Now from the eleventh day of November to the tenth of March, saith *Pogonius*, (lib. 4.) *maria clauduntur*: from the tenth of March to the fifteenth of May, *privatim maria clauduntur*, and not lightly ventured upon but by merchants: so that before the middle of May or there about it is not likely hester out of Alexandria. Zonaras seemeth to say, that he stayed a great while longer in Egypt, then otherwise he would have done, upon hope that Jerusalem might have bene wonne before his departure, and so Titus should have accompanied him also to Rome. Again the voyage of Vespasian to Rome was long, and much of it performed by land, and many great business dispatched in the way. Josephus *lib. 7* cap. 5. and 10. Suetonius and others, so that in all reason his entry into Rome was toward the latter end of the sommer, and so he was not present at the foundation of the Capitoll.

XXI. The Treveri and Lingones, at the instigation of Clasicus, Tutor, and Sabinus, assembling secretly in the counsell at Coleyn determine to revolt from the Romans. Vocula removeth from Magantiacum to Coleyn. Claudius Labeo maketh a roade against the Caninefates without great effect.

When the death of Vitellius was heard of in France and Germanie, it doubled the warre. For Civilis now laying aside dissimulation declared himselfe, and made open warre against the Romane Empire. The legions which had served Vitellius wished rather forraine bondage, then to have Vespasian their Prince. The Frenchmen conceived courage, and hope of freeing themselves from the yoke, supposing that the same fortune was befallen to our armies in all places alike: and indeed a rumour was noised that our standing campes in Pannonia and Moesavia were straitly besieged by the Sarmatians and Dacians: the like was reported of Britannie. But nothing perswaded them so much to believe, that the Romane Empire was come to an end, as the burning of the Capitoll. For the city had bene once before taken by the French, but the seat of Jupiter then being untaken, the Empire stood and remained: whereas now by this fatal fire a manifest signe of the gods heavy wrath, and displeasure was given. And the Druides out of their vain superstitious learning did prophesie that the Empire of the world was to passe, and beate beyond the mountains. Moreover a common fame went, that the noblemen of France, when they were sent by Orho against Vitellius, did covenant together before their departure, that in case the Romane Common-wealth ceased not thus to be torn by multiplying of civill wars, and domestick troubles one straight succeeding another, they would joyntly attempt to recover their ancient libertie againe. But before the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus nothing brake out whereby the conspiracie might be perceived: after his death there passed messages, between Civilis and Clasicus captaine of the wing of the Treveri. Clasicus in birth and wealth farre exceeded the rest of that quarter. He was extract from the line of their ancient Kings, his ancestors renowned in warre and in peace, and himselfe boasted to be descended of enemies to the people of Rome, rather then friends. Unto him in this action adjoynded themselves Julius Tutor, & Julius Sabinus, the one of Triers, the other a Lingon. Tutor was appointed by Vitellius overseer of the bank of Rhene. Sabinus besides a naturall vanitie was pricked forward with the vain-glory of a supposed kined; that his great grandmother for her beauty had pleased Julius Caesar, when he warred in France, and was by him carnally known. These three by secret conferences searched the mindes and inclinations of the rest: and when they had made acquainted, and associated to them such as they supposed fit for the purpose, they appointed a meeting in Coleyn, in a private house: for the publike state of the Citie utterly abhorred all such attempts. Notwithstanding

Primates Galliarum et Orthon adversus Vitellium missi. Who these Primates Galliarum were, and when and from whence sent by Orho against Vitellius, I conceive not: unless it be meant of the Romane Senators, whereof many were French by birth, whom Orho assumed into his traine against Vitellius: but men of their quality me thinke should have not great cause to seek so great an alteration.

withstanding certaine of the Ubij and Tungri were present at the consultation: but the strongest part and that which carried the matter was of the Treveri and Lingones. Neither made they any long deliberation, but all with one voyce cryed amaine, that the Romans did nothing but rage in civill diffentions, that the Legions were slaine, Italy wasted, and the Citie of Rome even taken: that all the armies were held occupied every one with their severall warres: and if the Alpes were fortified with good and sufficient garrison, and so their liberty won and assured, then might France determine at leisure what course to take of further proceeding, and how far they list to enlarge. This was no sooner said then allowed: a scruple remaining concerning the remnant of the Romane souldiers. Many were of minde that they were to be put to the sword, as mutinous, and faithlesse persons, and polluted with the blood of their leaders: but the opinion of sparing them prevailed, least hope of pardon being taken away they would become desperate. So it was thought more convenient by faire meanes to allure them to the partie and that the Lieutenants alone being made away, the common souldiers would easily be wonne to the side upon guiltinesse of their owne misdeeds, and hope of impunity. This was the forme of their first consultation, and some were sent abroad into France to kindle and stirre up the warre: they themselves pretended all subjection and obedience to Vocula, that they might oppress him at the more unawares. Vocula had secret intelligence hereof, but he had not forces to punish it, his Legions being both thinne, and unfitted. So between unsure souldiers, and secret enemies, supposing it the best way that now he could take to use their owne arts against them, he dissembled the matter and went downe to Coleyn. Thither Claudius Labeo was escaped, having corrupted his keepers, who as before we have said was taken, and confined out of the way into Frisia, and promising that if he might have men he would goe into Batavia, and reunite the greatest part of the countrey againe to the Romane Empire: having a pretty company of horsemen and footemen assigned, he durst not enterprise any thing amongst the Batavians, but drew certaine of the Nervii and Bethasij after him into the field, and rather by stealth, then by way of open invasion, made some incursions upon the Caninefates and Marfati.

XXII. Clasicus and Tutor corrupt Voculaes souldiers. Vocula at Novesium is forsaken by his souldiers, and slaine, who immediately sweare fidelitie to the Empire of France.

Vocula allured by the fraude of the Frenchmen removeth towards the enemy. When they approached to Vetera, Clasicus and Tutor pricking before under colour of discovering met with the Germane Captaines, and concluded the bargaine, and thereupon encamped their companies with a severall trench from the Legionary souldiers. At which signe of manifest contempt and revolt Vocula conceiving great indignation cryed aloud, that the Romane state was not by civill warres brought yet to so low an ebbe, as that the Treveri also and Lingones need to despise it: so many countreys continuing faithfull, our armies being victorious, the fortune of the Empire standing entire, & the gods ready to revenge this perfidious part: so long agoe Sacrovir and the Aedui, so of late Vindex and France were overthrowne, each at one blow, and now also the perfidious breakers of treaties so solemnly sworne were to looke for againe the same gods and the same fall. Julius and Augustus knew better their crooked inclinations: Galba, and the abatement of their tributes hath made them our enemies. Now they are foes be-

h. Joseph. lib. 4. cap. 2.

a. In the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, A. D. 69. b. A plain un-derstood meaning in Tacitus, for Vocula did not diminish but rather increaseth the tribes of the Lingones and Treveri, and divide by adding them to some other cities of France: true it is, that he abated a fourth part of their ordinary tribute, but it was no this, to his audience.

cause their yoke is too gentle, but when they shall be ransackt and stript of their wealth, they will be our friends and subjects againe. When Vocula had thus spoken with great spirit and courage, seeing Clasicus and Tutor notwithstanding to continue in their traitorous purpose, he retired back to Novesium. The Frenchmen fate downe two miles from the towne in the fields, to which place the Centurions and souldiers resorting from Novesium were bought, and corrupted to a villanie never heard of before, that a Romane armie should sweare allegiance to strangers, and for a pledge of so wicked a part, either kill their Lieutenants, or deliver them prisoners. Vocula, albeit many counseled him to withdrawe, chusing rather to stick to it manfully, then cowardly to flee, called an assembly, and spake to them in this manner.

"I never at any time spake unto you, either more carefull for you, or careles for my selfe. That my destruction is purposed I am well contented to heare, and accept death in these troubles as an end of my miseries. Of you I am ashamed, and you do I pity, not because any martiall exploit, or matter of armes is intended against you; for that were agreeing to a souldiers profession, and according to the law of the field at an enemies hand: but because Clasicus with your hands hopeth to fight with the Romans, and abuseth your simplicity with the goodly oath and imaginary Empire of France. * Are we so far now fallen, not onely from our fortune & courage, but even from our ancient precedents too? For how oft did the Roman Legions chuse rather to die then yeeld one inch of ground to the enemy? Our allies have many time suffered their cities to be razed, themselves, their wives and their children to be consumed to ashes, without gaining other reward, save only to keep their faith and their fame. The Legions at Vetera support with all patience hunger and siege, and yeeld neither for feare nor faire words. We, besides men and armour, and a camp strongly fortified, have provision and victuals sufficient for a long war, if need were. Money lately we had, not onely for pay, but alscient for a long war, if need were. Money lately we had, not onely for pay, but also to serve for donative too: which whether you list to accept as comming from Vespasian, or from Vitellius, sure both wayes it came from a Romane Emperour. If you do it for feare of the battell (albeit it be no admittable reason in you who have foiled so often at Gelduba, at Vetera, and so many times overthrowne the enemy) we have trenches, and wals, and waies to prolong till more strength and supply come from the countreys about us. If it be for displeasure at me, you have other Lieutenants and Tribunes, nay Centurion or common souldier, make your choice of any so he be a Romane to lead you. Let never for shame so prodigious a thing be bruited throughout the whole world, that Civilis & Clasicus should invade Italy, having a guard of Romans attendant. What if the Germans & Frenchmen should leade toward the wals of the city? will you fight against your own native soile and sharpen your speares against the wombe of your mother? The onely conceit of so great an impiety striketh an horrour into my minde. Shall Tutor of their have watch and ward as a Prince? shall a Batavian give you the signe of the battell? will you be carried about for supplements to the Germane regiments? and what end will you finde of your treason? when the Romane Legions shall march out against you what shall become of you then, but of fugitives to be fugitives againe, and traitors of traitors, between your old oath and your new, an abomination to the Gods, and to men? O thou most mighty and mercifull Jupiter, whom with so many triumphs these eight hundreth and twenty years we have adored and worshipped: and thou Romulus the founder and father of the citie, I pray and most humbly beseech you, that if it be not your heavenly pleasures, that

"under

"under my hand and government this campe should be kept uncorrupted and clean, yet at least you will not permit it to be polluted, and stained by Tutor and Clasicus: and that it would please you to inspire to the Romane souldier, either a minde to follow honourable courses, or else a speedy and harmeles repentance. The oration was diversly taken, as of men diversly affected between feare, hope, and shame. After the speech Vocula withdrew himselfe, and consulting upon his end, was by his freedmen and bondmen staied from a voluntary preventing of a most shamefull death: for Clasicus sent by and by Æmilius Longinus a fugitive of the first Legion to dispatch that piece of service. As for the Lieutenants, Herennius, and Numisius, it seemed sufficient to put them in prison. Then Clasicus assuming the markes and ornaments of the Romane governours came into the campe: and albeit he were hardened to all kinde of desperate mischiefe, yet would not his utterance then serve him any further, but barely to recite the words of the oath. All that were present sware fidelitie to the Empire of France. Then he advanced the murderers of Vocula to a higher place, and the rest he rewarded, each according to the lewd service they did.

XXIII. Tutor bringeth Coleyn and all upper Germany to the oath of France. The Legions of Vetera surrender the place to Civilis with condition onely of saving their lives: which notwithstanding is not performed.

After these things Clasicus and Tutor divided charges. Tutor with a strong power lay about Coleyn, and brought both them, and all the souldiers which lay upon the upper bank of the Rhene, to the same oath, slaying the Tribunes at Magontiacum, & driving away the Camp-master which refused to sweare. Clasicus suborned certaine of the lewdest companions of those which had yeelded themselves, commanding them to go to Vetera, and there to proclaime pardon to all those, that would submit themselves to follow the present course: otherwise to looke for no hope but sword, and famine and all extremities. They which were sent used their owne example as a motive unto them. On the one side the respect of their loyaltie, on the other their present necessities, distracted the persons besieged, betwene the two courses of honour and shame. While they delayed to resolve, their food failed them both usuall and unusual: they had eaten their mules and horses, and other creatures, which being otherwise abhorred and loathed, hunger had made favorite and sweet: and lastly feeding of branches, and sprigs, and pulling of grasse which grew in the wals, they were a pattered of misery and patience, till such time as sending Embassadors to Civilis for life, they stained their honorable actions with a shamefull and dishonorable end. Neither was their petition admitted, before they sware fidelity to France. Then he granted them life, referring the spoile of the campe to himselfe, and appointed keepers to stay the money, the servants, and stuffe, and others to conduct the souldiers empty away. About five miles off the Germanes lying in ambush, rose and suddenly set upon them unawares, such as were most valiant and made resistance were slaine where they stood: many were cut off in the flight, the rest recovered the campe. Whereupon Civilis made complaint and rebuked the Germans as having wickedly broken their faith, whether it was but a countenance of his, or else he could not bridle them in their fury is not assuredly knowne. When the campe was ransackt they set it on fire, and all the men that escaped in the field, were burned therein.

XXIII. Civilis

* Admonos, si fortuna presens virtutisq; desertis, etiam vetera exempla discimus?

Herennius Lieutenant of the first Legion, whose standing camp was at Roma and Novesium, of the sixteenth at Novesium.

XXIII. *Civilis upon performance of his vow cutteth his beard. Of Velleda Queen of the Bructerians. Two Legions of them which forsook Vocula and yielded themselves to Clasicus, namely the sixteenth and the first, the one from Novesium, the other from Bonna their standing campes, are by commandement transported to the Triers.*

* Tac. de morib.
Germ. Allis
Germanorum
populi, usitatum
rara & privata
eiusque aucten-
tia apud Catos
in consensum
verit, ut pri-
mum adol. ut-
rim crimem bar-
bamque sum-
mittere, nec nisi
hoste caeso ex-
re votum obli-
gatumque vir-
tuti oris habi-
tum.

Civilis upon a barbarous vow when he first entred warre with the Romanes, suffered his yellow haire to grow long without barbing, and now, as upon accomplishment thereof caused it to be cut, when the slaughter of the Legions was performed: and it was reported, that hee set up as markes, certaine of the captives, for his little sonne to shoote and dart at in sport. Nevertheless neither did he sweare, nor caused any Batavian to take the oath of France, trusting in the strength and assistance of the Germanes, and if there should happen hereafter contention to grow with the French about the Empire, accounting himselfe both of more name and abilitie. Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant of a Legion among other presents were sent to Velleda, a Virgin of the Bructerian nation, and Queene over many countreys: so the old manner of the Germanes is, to beleve many of their women to be Prophetesses, and so, superstition increasing, goddeses. And at that time the authoritie of Velleda was grown in more reputation, by reason that shee had told before hand the Germanes should prosper, and the Romane Legions should be destroyed. But Lupercus was slaine in the way: a few Centurions and Tribunes French born were reserved as a pledge of alliance and amity. The standing campes of the cohorts, wings and Legions, were overthrown and burned, those onely excepted which were at Magontiacum and Vindonissa. The sixteenth Legion with the Auxiliaries, which at the same time yielded themselves, was commanded to depart from Novesium to Triers, and a day set down, before which they should avoid the campe. The meane time was spent in sundry cares. Some of the cowardliest were terrified with the late example of them which were slaine at Vetera, in their issuing out; the better sort blushed for shame, to thinke of the infamous and dishonourable journey, whom they must follow for guides, and how all things should be at the simple pleasure & discretion of those, whom they had made Lords over their life and death: others without respect of dishonour packed about them money and such things as were of most price: others made ready their harness and buckled themselves to their weapons as though they were going to field. While they were thus musing, and casting their cards, the houre of remove was come, more grievous and dolefull then was imagined. For within the trench the deformitie of the spectacle was not so apparent: the field and the day discovered the shame, the images of the Emperours being plucked out of their places, the ensignestied up; whereas contrarily the French banners glistered and played on every hand; in summe a silent and forrowfull troupe, and as it were a long funeral pompe. The conductour Claudius Sanctus augmented the indignitie, one eyed, ill-favoured in countenance, and weaker in wit. The dishonor was doubled, when as the first Legion relinquished their campe at Bonna, upon the like commandement adjoynded themselves to the other: and the countrey men, that a little before quaked for feare at the very name of a Romane, when the fame of the Legions captivity was noised, ran out of the houses, and fields from all quarters, to gaze and feed their eyes with

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so strange a sight. The Picentine wing could not endure the joy, and insulting of the people, but neglecting as well the threats as the promises of Sanctus, turned to Magontiacum; and meeting by chance in the way Longinus the murthrer of Vocula with their darts slew him for a beginning of future amends. The Legions went forward in their purposed journey, and sate downe before the wals of Triers.

XXV. *An embassage of the Tencterians to them of Coleyn. Coleyn yielded to Civilis and Velleda upon reasonable composition.*

Civilis and Clasicus puffed up with prosperous successe made a question, whether they should permit the city of Coleyn to bee sacked by their souldiers. Their naturall inclination to cruelty and coverousnes drew them that way, but the policy of warre was against it, and especially the opinion of clemency needfull in those which are to found a new Empire: the remembrance also of a private benefit made Civilis more tractable toward them, because in the very beginning of the troubles taking his sonne in their towne they committed him to honourable custodie. Notwithstanding the nations beyond the Rhene envied the riches, and growing of the city, and judged there could be no end of war, unlesse that towne were either made a common habitation for all Germans indifferently, or else rased to the ground, and so the Ubii also dispersed. Wherefore the Tencteri, a people only severed from them by the river, sent an embassage, with instruction to declare their charge in the common council of Coleyn, which one of the most importunous among the embassadours uttered in this peremptory manner. We thanke our gods and yours, and Mars cheife of all gods, that you are returned into the corps and communitie, and name of Germanie; and we rejoyce for your sakes, that you shall at length live as freemen among freemen. For hitherto the Romans have shut both water and land, and in a manner the very heaven it selfe betweene you & us to hinder our conferring & meeting, or else which is more contumellious to martiall men, that we should never have access to your city but unarmed, and naked almost and that guarded and paying a toll. But now, to the end that this mutuall league of alliance and friendship may stand & continue for ever, we require of you to pull downe the walles of your towne, the bulwarkes of your bondage, for even wilde beasts shut up forget their accustomed valour and vertue. Next we require you to kill all the Romans within your territory: liberty and Lords cannot dwell together. Then to bring out all their goods and divide them in common, that no man should hide any thing, or seeke to sever his cause from the rest. Moreover that it may be indifferent both for us, and you, as it was in times past to our fathers, to converse and inhabite upon both sides of the river. As nature hath communicated the day and the night to all men, so the hath layed open all lands of the world to valiant minds. Resume your ancient customes and lawes, laying aside all your effeminate pleasures, by which meanes, more then with armes the Romans subdue nations & countries. So shall you be a people uncorrupt, without admixtion of forraine manners or blood: so shall you forget servitude, & either live in liberty, or be lords over others. The Agrippinenses taking a time to deliberate: seeing neither future feares would permit them to yeeld to the conditions, nor their present estate plainly to refuse them, made answer in this manner. We have taken, you see, the first opportunity of recovering our liberty, perchance with more hast then good speede, that we might be joynd with you, and the rest of the Germans our

kinmen:

" kinsmen: but seeing the Roman armies do gather of all sides against us, it is meet
 " and safer to strengthen, then to pull downe the wals of our city. As for strangers,
 " Italians or other, which lived among us, either they are slaine in the warres, or fled
 " home to their countries. To them which be ancient inhabitants amongst us, and
 " are linked with us in marriage, and to their ofspring, this country is their own na-
 " tive soile: neither do we thinke you fo unreasonable as to with us to kill our parents,
 " our bretheren, or children. For taxe and tallages we acquite and discharge you for
 " ever: you shall passe and repasse without all impeachment, but onely in the day
 " time, and unarmed, till our raw and new amity be joyned, and confirmed by con-
 " tinuance and custome. Civilis and Velleda shall be arbiters: to their knowledge we
 " referre the cause, and the conclusion of the whole treatie. The Teucteri being
 " thus in part pacified, embassadours were sent to Civilis and Velleda with presents
 " who obteyned all things as they of Coleyn desired: onely they were not admitted
 " to have access of speech with Velleda, nor suffered to see her, for more keeping of
 " state, and to maintaine a more reverend conceit in the hearts of the people. She was
 " lodged in a high tower, and one of her kined appointed to carry as from a goddesse
 " her oracles and answers.

XXVI. *The Bethasi, Tungri and Nervii yeeld
 to Civilis.*

Civilis thus strengthened with new increase of confederates, resolved to af-
 sociate the cities adjoining, or to warre against them if they resisted. So he
 tooke in the Sunico, and composed their able men into cohorts: but as he
 purposed to have passed further, Claudius Labeo with a raw company of Bethasi,
 Tungri, and Nervii, having seized upon the bridge of the Mosse, and trusting to the
 advantage of the place opposed himselfe and stopped his passage. The event of the
 skirmish was doubtfull in the straites, till the Germans swimming over the river
 came upon Labeos backe: and withall Civilis, whether upon a bold venture, or
 upon a set march, rushed into the midst of the Tungri, and with a loud voice pro-
 tested, that the warre was not undertaken to that end, that the Batavians & Treveri
 should be soveraigne lords over all other nations: Farre be all such arrogancy (quoth
 he) from our thought: only receive us as your good friends and allies. Lo here for
 my part I commit my selfe to your hands, employ me as you list, either for a captain
 or a common souldier. The common people was much moved at these words, and
 put up their swords, and Campanus and Juvenalis chiefe men of the Tungrians yeeld-
 ed the whole enation unto him; Labeo before he was compassed in, fled away. The
 Bethasi also and Nervii yeelded themselves: whom Civilis adjoining to his power
 became very puissant and strong, all the cities either fearing, or favouring him vol-
 untarily.

XXVII. *Julius Sabinus with his Lingones giveth battell to the
 Sequani, and is overthrowne.*

IN the meane season Julius Sabinus, breaking downe the monuments & records
 of the Roman alliance, tooke upon him the style and title of Caesar, & led after
 him a huge and rude company of his country folkes, the Lingones, against the
 Sequani, a state bordering upon them, and faithfull to us. Neither did the Sequani
 refuse to wage battell, where in fortune favoured the better side, and the Lingones

were

were discomfited. Sabinus as rashly he enterprised to give battell without due cir-
 cumspetion, so without feare of shame he ranne cowardly away: and to raise a ru-
 mour that he was dead, he set on fire the house into which he was knowne to have
 fled, and there was supposed voluntarily to have ended his life. But hereafter in
 convenient place we will shew by what meanes, and secret shifts he prolonged it,
 for the space of nine yeares, and withall the rare faithfulness of his friends, and the
 memorable example of his wife Epponina.

XXVIII. *A Diete of the cities of France summoned at Rheims. The preparations
 at Rome for the warre against the Batavians, Treveri, and Lingones.*

*The Diete at Rheims resolveth upon peace, notwithstanding
 the embassage of the Treveri and Lingones, and
 the allegations of Tullius Valenti-
 nus to the contrary.*

THIS successe of the Sequani rebated and staied the violent course of the warre.
 The cities began to consider better of matters, and to remember their coven-
 ants and leagues with the Romanes, at the motion principally of the Remi,
 who sending messengers throughout France summoned a Diet, to deliberate what
 course they should take, keepe peace, or seek liberty. All these things reported at
 Rome to the worse, troubled Mutianus, least the captaines whom he had chosen
 Annus Gallus and Petilius Cerealis, albeit excellent men, should hardly be able
 to wade through so mighty a warre. Neither was it expedient to leave the citie
 without a governour or head, and yet not in Domitians hand whose wilde and un-
 bridled affections were greatly feared: especially Antonius Primus, and Arrius
 Varus, as before we have shewed, being suspected not fully to favour the state.
 Moreover Varus was captaine of the Guard and strong, as having so many souldiers
 at commandement. Therefore Mutianus before his departure displaced him from
 the roome, and least he should be discontent altogether, made him chief officer for
 the provision of corne: and to pacifie the minde of Domitian, that bare some good
 will unto Varus, he set in his place over the Guard Aretinus Clemens, one neerely
 allied to the house of Vespasian, and dearely beloved of Domitian: alleading that
 his father had worthily performed the same place under Caius the Emperour. The
 name was acceptable to the souldiers, and the man, though a Senatour by calling,
 was thought sufficient to discharge both the roomes. The greatest men of the citie
 were willing to provide for the voyage of France: some others were taken in by
 especiall suite. Domitian and Mutianus both of them prepared for the journey,
 but not both minded alike; Domitian hastening forward upon hope, and young
 bloud: Mutianus seeking delays to retain the fiercenesse of Domitian, lest if he
 put himselfe in possession of an army, through the heat of youth and ill counsellors,
 he should disturbe both the peace and the warre. The sixth and eighth of the
 victorious Legions, of the Vitellianists the one and twentieth, the second of the
 lately enrolled, were conducted part over the Penin and Cottian Alpes, part over
 the Graia: and moreover the fourteenth Legion was sent for out of Britanny, the
 sixth and tenth out of Spaine. Now the cities of France partly upon the same
 the host approaching, and partly of their owne disposition inclining to the milder
 course, met in councell at Rheims, where an embassage of the Treveri attended,
 whereof Tullius Valentinus was the chiefe man a principall firebrand of the warre:
 who with a premeditate oration applied to the Romans all those objections, where-
 next,

with

with mighty monarchies are usually charged, sparing no spite of words, nor art to aggravate matters against them; a factious person and apt to stir troubles, and willingly heard of the multitude, by reason of his eloquence such as it was. But Julius Aupex, one of the noblemen of Rheims, discoursing of the puissance of the Roman power, and the great commodities of peace, and affirming that war might be commenced by cowards, but must be fought with the hazard of the most valiant men; and that even now the Roman legions were upon their backs, by this grave speech staid them all: the wiser sort with respect of duty and faith, the younger of danger and feare. And so they commended the courage of Valentinus, but followed the counsell of Aupex. It is certain that the Treveri and Lingones had the worse audience in France, because in the comotion of Vindex they had sided themselves with Verginius. Many were discouraged by reason of the emulation that would ensue between the provinces; what should be the head of the warre, from

* *Prode jure augustinus petere.*

* whence should Law and soveraigntie be derived; and if they did conquer which should be the seate-towne of the Empire. They were not yet conquerours, and yet were they at discord brawling about the presence, some alleaging their treaties and ancient leagues, some their riches and present strength, and some their antiquitie. Whereupon the whole counsell detesting the future confusion, affirmed and ratified the present estate. Letters also were written unto Treveri in the name of the common counsell of France to desist from armes, whilst pardon might be easily obtained, and many would become suters in their behalfe if they repented. But Valentinus refused the courtesie, and at his returne stopped the ears of his city against this good motion, being a man rather plentifull in orations and speeches, then carefull for other provision of warre.

XXXIX. *The one and twentieth Legion surnamed Rapax cometh into Germany. Sextilius Felix with his cohorts overthroweth Tutor and the Treveri. Valentinus returning from the Diete stirreth up the warre againe, the two Legions transported from Novesium and Bonna to Triers departed to the Mediomatrici.*

IN like manner neither did the Treveri, nor Lingones, nor the rest of the states that revolted, carry themselves as the weight of the cause and the danger required: even the Captains themselves conferred not counsels together. But Civilis wandered about the wildes of Belgium to catch Claudius Labeo, or else to chase him out of the country: Classicus lay for the most part idle & lazie, and as it were took the fruition of his supposed gotten kingdome. Tutor also slackted to make himselfe strong upon the upper bank of the river, and with garrison to possesse the passages and heights of the Alpes, whilst in the meane time the one and twentieth Legion brake in from Vindonissa, and Sextilius Felix, with the Auxiliarie cohorts by the way of Rhoetia, unto whom a wing of horse-men called Singulares (who marching at the first by Vitellius appointment toward Italy revolted afterward to Vespasian) adjoyning themselves. Their captaine was Julius Briganticus Civilis sisters sonne, mortally hating his uncle, and hated againe; as commonly the enmities of nearest kinsfolkes, if once they fall out, are most despightfull and deadly. Tutor increased his power consisting of Treveri with a fresh supply of Vangiones, Caracates, and Triboci, and that which added most strength with old experienced Legions

nary souldiers, both footmen and horse, some corrupted with hope, and others awed with feare: who at the first killed a cohort sent before by Sextilius Felix, and anon when the Romane captaines and armies approached, redeeming their former fault fled over to them, and were followed by the Triboci, Vangiones and Caracates. So Tutor being left alone with his Treveri chiewing Magontiacum fled to Bingen, trusting upon the strength of the place, because he had broken down the bridge of the river Nava: but Sextilius with his cohorts following his footsteps, and finding a forde descried his power, and overthrew it. This discomfited utterly discouraged the Treveri: and the common people casting their weapons away returned to their husbandry. And certaine of the nobility that they might seeme to be foremost in laying hostility aside, fled to those cities for refuge which had not broken with the Romanes. The Legions, which, as before we declared, went by commandement from Novesium and Bonna to Triers, voluntarily resumed the oath to Vespasian. These things were done in the absence of Valentinus: who at his returne in a desperate fury and rage stirred the coales, and kindled the fire anew. Whereupon the Legions got them away to the Mediomatrici, a state in league with the Romans: and Valentinus and Tutor perswaded the Treveri to take up their weapons againe, and go to the field, having first killed Herennius and Numisus the Lieutenants, to the intent that being without all hope of pardon, they might be more fastly united together in their wicked conspiracy.

XXX. *Petilius Cerealis overthroweth the Treveri, taketh Valentinus alive, adjoyneb the two Legions from the Mediomatrici, and makerh an oration to the Treveri.*

THIS was the state of the war, when Petilius Cerealis came to Magontiacum and by his presence raised great expectation, and hope of our side. Cerealis himselfe was desirous of the battell, and having a better grace sometime to contemne the enemies, then alwaies to beware them, with lusty courageous words he inflamed his souldier, as supposing, so soone as he could overtake the enemies without delay to joyne issue in the field. A supply of souldiers sent out of France he turned home againe, willing them to signifie so much to the rest in his name, that the Roman Legions sufficed for the defence of the Roman Empire: and that all our good friends and allies should returne to their peaceable businesse, without further care, assuring themselves; that the war, now that the Romanes personally undertook it, was as good as already dispatched. That increased the obedience of the French: for having received their men back againe, they supported more easily all taxes and tributes, and were the more ready to performe all points of their dutie, because they saw their helpe was not needed. But Civilis and Classicus, when as they heard of the overthrow of Tutor, the slaughter of the Treveri, and the good successe every where of their enemies, all in a fright and haste seeke to unite their dispersed powers, sending messengers in the mean time to Valentinus one after another warning him to take heed to the main chance, and not rashly to venture and hazard the battell. With so much the more expedition Cerealis dispatched to the Mediomatrici, lying neerer upon the enemy, certaine to lead the two Legions thence to assaile them on that side: and assembling all the souldiers at Magontiacum, and the power which he had brought with him over the mountaines, himselfe marched forward, and at the third remove came to Rigodulum, a place naturally strong by reason of the high situation, and the river Mosella closing it in: where Valentinus

lentinus with a great power of Treveri was incamped; and had made it stronger by art, casting trenches and ditches about it, and mightie huge stones to hinder the passage. But these fortifications terrified the Romane captaine nothing at all, but boldly he had the footmen breake thorow, and appointed his battell of horsemen to cline up the mountaine, despising the enemy, whom he knew to be raw, and unskilful in service, and not to have that advantage by the difference of the place, that himself had by the difference of men. At the going up of the hill some little itay was made, untill the enemies had spent their arrows and darts: then coming to handie strokes, they were driven down headlong, and tumbled one over another, as it were stones at the fall of a building: and part of the horsemen fetching about by easier ascents took many of the chiefe nobility of Belgium prisoners and amongst others Valentinus Generall that day of the field. The next day Cerealis entred the town of Triers. The souldiers extremely desirous to raze the city alleaging that here Clafsicus, here Tutor was borne: here were the men through whose wicked conspiracy the Legions were besieged and slain. What had poore Cremona deserved to greatly, as to be rooted out of the body of Italy because it differed the victory only one night: here in the confines of Germany stood the seat-town of rebellion entire, and triumphing with the spoiles, and slaughter of our armies and Generals. As for the spoile he might at his pleasure dispose of to the Princes behoofe, they could be contented with the burning and ruines of that rebellious colony, to requite thereby in some part the destruction of so many camps. Cerealis for fear of infamy, if he should be thought to nulle his souldiers in licentiousnes and cruelty, repressed their anger and they obeyed being become, now they had left off civil war, of more modest behaviour also in forraign. Then the miserable pitifull spectacle of the Legions, which came from the Mediomatrici, drew mens minds to the consideration thereof. Upon the guilt of their offence they stood with a sad and sorrowfull countenance, casting their eyes down to the ground, no joyfull greeting when the armies met nor answering ought to those that sought to encourage and comfort them, but hiding themselves in their tents, not abiding to looke on the light: not so much amazed with danger or fear, as with the shame & discredit. And even the conquerors were astonished at the sight, who not daring to speak begged their pardon with silence and teares, till such time as Cerealis with comfortable words revived their spirits; affirming that those things, which indeed came to passe through the mutinousnesse of the souldiers, or the dissention of the leaders, or the malice of the enemies, were but fatall mischances, which could not be escaped: and therefore that day they should account the first both of their service, and oath: their former facts neither the Prince, nor he would remember. Then were they received into the same camp & proclamation made throughout all the bands, that no man in contention or anger should object to any of them their misdeeds or mishaps. Then calling the Treveri & the Legions to an assembly he spake unto them in this wise. I was never practised in the art of speaking: my profession is arms, & with arms I have made good proof of the vertue of the Romans. But because words prevail so much with you, & I see you esteeme good and evil, not by their own natures, but by the speeches of factious persons, I thought it expedient to say some thing, which now that the warre in a manner is finished may be more behoofeful for you to heare, then for us to speak. The Romans, their Captains and Leaders, entred your country, and the rest of France, not pricked by any desire of theirs, but requested thereto by your predecessors at what time civil diffentions had tired & ruined them and the Germans called in by one side brought both into thralldome. How many battels we have

1. *For the 11.*
2. *For the 11.*
3. *For the 11.*

fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, what paines our armies have taken, and with what successe we have handled ourselves in the German wars for your sakes, it is notoriously knowne; neither doe we therefore with so much expence of money and men guard the Rhene for the safety of Italy, but lest some other Ariovistus should passe and conquer the kingdome of France. Or do you think your selves better beloved of Civilis & the Batavians, and the Germans over the Rhene, then your fathers and grandfathers were of their predecessors? the same causes still are remaining, and so will be for ever, to move the Germans to passe into France: to wit, satisfying of their pleasures and lusts, avarice, and desire of changing seat, that leaving their mires and deserts, they may take possession of this fruitfull countrey, and you the inhabitants thereof, yea but liberty and glorious shewes are pretended. Where was ever any, I pray you, that sought to enthrall or usurpe over other, but he cloaked his purposes with some goodly titles? France never was without petty tyrants and wars, till ye came under our jurisdiction. We, albeit we have been often provoked, have put that onely as conquerors upon you, whereby peace might be maintained. For neither peace can be maintained without armes, nor armes without wages, nor wages without tribute: all other things are like to us both. You command govern our Legions, you are the Presidents of these and other provinces, no prerogative is kept from you, or reserved for us. Again, they which dwell far off, feeble the commodity alike of a good prince, whereas tyrants oppress most the neereest. As you endure and support with patience a barren yeare, if it happen, and unseasonable weather, and such other defects of nature; even so tolerate a little and beare with the riotous life or avarice of governours. Faults will be so long as there be men: but neither are they continuall, and amends is commonly made by better which follow. Unlesse peradventure you hope for a more moderate, or easier government under the reigne of Tutor and Clafsicus, or that with lesse tribute then now is payd, armies can be maintained to hold out the Germans and Britans. For if the Romans, which the gods defend, should be dispossessed, what els can ensue but wars of nation against nation; and the confusion of the whole world: This frame is the workmanship of eight hundred yeares, good fortune and discipline, which cannot be dissolved without the destruction of the dissolvers; but your danger, which have gold and riches the chiefest causes of war, of all is the greatest. Therefore embrace your peace, and love that city whereof both you and we are members alike. You have proved both fortunes: let them be a warning unto you to chuse rather subjection with safety then rebellion with ruine. With this speech he settled their minds and lightened their hearts who feared a heavy doome.

XXXI. *Civilis and Clafsicus write to Cerealis.*

AT the time that the Romane armie was within Triers, Civilis and Clafsicus sent letters to Cerealis, the contents were, that Vespasian was dead, although the Poltes concealed the matter: that Rome and Italy were consumed and wasted with inward warre. As for Mutianus and Domitian they were nothing else, but vaine names without forces: if Cerealis list undertake the Empire of France, it were his best course, and they would not be against it, contenting themselves with their own cities and confines, or if battell pleased him better, even that they would not refuse. To these points Cerealis answered nothing to them, but sent the messenger that brought the letters, away to Domitian.

XXXII. *Civilis with his confederates overthrowne by Cerealis at Triers.*

IN the meane season the enemies began to march, and approached on every side in severall companies: whom Cerealis permitting to joyn, was blamed by many for suffering them to unite, with whom he might have fought single, and defeated them easily being divided. The Roman army cast a ditch and trench about their campe, in the which they were before unadvisedly lodged without any defence. Among the Captaines of the other side there was diversitie of opinions, and the matter debated both waies. Civilis thought it expedient to stay for the Germanes coming which dwelt over the Rhene, the terror of which nations would tread under foot the Romane powers: as for the Frenchmen it mattered not much what way they went, being nought els but a prey to the conquerors; and yet the strength of France, the Belgians, had either openly declared for them, or at least secretly wished them well. Contrarily Tutor affirmed, that by delay the Romanes would grow and increase, so many whole hostis coming in from every side, one Legion being already transported out of Britanny, others sent for out of Spaine, and many Legions at hand out of Italy, not of raw souldiers, but old and well expert in war: as for the Germanes they looked for, what were they else but a kinde of unprofitable troubles of a campe, out of all awe and obedience to superiours, that would not be commanded nor ruled, but do all as they listed themselves? Now for money and gifts, the onely means to corrupt the Germanes, the Romanes had more abundance, and no man was so hasty to fight, but would rather chuse quietnesse then danger with the same hire. Whereas if they would presently fight, Cerealis had no other Legions as yet, but onely the remnants of the Germane army entangled with an oath to the Empire of France. And moreover this their late unlooked for successe against Valentinus, & his rude untrained company, would be a baite unto the and their Generall to further rashnesse, and therefore they would without doubt venture againe, and so fall into the hands not of an unskilfull youth, better scene in words and babble, then armes and military feates, but of Civilis and Classicus; at the very sight of whom the enemies would tremble, calling to remembrance their former feares, and flights, and famines, and how oft they had been taken and pardoned their lives. Neither doe the Treveri and Lingones keep in with the Romans now upon love and good will, but for feare: which take ye away and they will resume their weapons againe. Classicus approving the opinion of Tutor decided the controversie, & forthwith they proceed to execution. The middle battell was assigned to the Ubii and Lingones, on the right side stood the Batavian cohorts, on the left the Bructeri and Tencteri: in this array partly from the mountains and partly betweene the way and the river Mosella they assailed our army so suddenly, that Cerealis, lying abroad that night out of the campe, had word brought to his chamber and bed all at one instant, that the battell was begun, and his men overthrowne rating at the first their dastardlinesse that brought in the newes, untill with his owne eyes he saw the whole message clearly confirmed, the campe of the Legions broken up & entered into, the horsemen defeated, the bridge over Mosella in the midst of the towne possessed by the enemy. In which confusion Cerealis behaving himselfe without all feare, with his owne hands drew back them which fled away, and manfully, albeit unarmed among so many weapons, with his fortunate rashnesse, and assistance of some valiant souldiers coming in, recovered the bridge, and left

left a chosen company of men to guard it. Then returning to the campe he found the bands of the Legions, which were taken at Bonna and Novesium, disbanded and scattered, few souldiers at their ensignes, and the standers almost circumvented. "Whereupon being full of indignation and wrath, You forsake not (quoth he) Hordeonius or Vocula, you can alleadge no falsehood or treason in me: neither ever did I commit any act that needed excuse, save onely in affirming you had forgotten your oath to France and remembered your allegiance to the Roman Empire, I shall, and so am contented to be numbred with Numisus and Herennius, that all your Lieutenants may be said to have died either by the hands of their own souldiers or else of the enemy. Go tell Vespasian, or which is neerer Civilis and Classicus, that you have left your Generall in the field: Legions shortly will come, doubt ye not, which shall neither suffer me to be long unrevenge, nor you unpunished. The accusation was true, and the Captaines and Tribunes spake, and urged to the same purpose. So they railed and made head by cohorts and bands, for the whole battell could not be dispaired, partly because the enemy was upon them, and partly by reason of their tents and stuffe, which hindred them greatly fighting within the trenches. Tutor and Classicus and Civilis each in their severall quarters animated their men to fight, the Frenchmen for liberty, the Batavians for glory, and the Germans for spoile, and all went with the enemy till the one and twentieth Legion knitting together in a more open place then the rest, valiantly received the adversaries charge; and recharging by and by drove them from their ground. It was not without the speciall help of the gods, that our enemies being victorious so suddenly altered their mindes, and turned their backs. They affirmed afterward the sight of the cohorts terrified them, which at the first joyning being defeated, united againe in the hill tops, and seemed a new supply in their sight. But indeed the chiefe impediment of their victory was, that they left off to deale with the enemy, and quarrelled foolishly among themselves for the spoile. Cerealis as he had almost undone all by negligence, so by diligence and constancy he recovered it againe, and following his fortune took the same day, and razed the enemies campe.

1 Betweene the way and the river] Tacitus, might well in this place, after the example of the most approved story writers have set us down a more plain and particular chorography of the place wherein this battell was fought, of whether side of the river the campe stood, and how intrest of the towne: for as it is written it is, in my fancy, hard to conceive, not onely to us now, but even to them for whose use he wrote it: himselfe we will suppose that every common man that lived in Rome in those times knew this: as, which he telleth us of here, and such other private matters in the life of Triers necessary for the full conceiving of the place. Beside that perchance, after the fire as you list, some objections may be picked out of the text here chaicely answerable.

XXXIII. *They of Coleyn kill the Germans which they finde in their town: and cut a cohort of Civilis lying at Tolbiacum in pieces. The Caninefates fight prosperously against the fleet of Britanny, and Civilis against some of Cerealis horsemen.*

THe souldier without any long intermission was straight waies called to a new service. They of Coleyn requested their helpe, and offered to surrender the wife and sifter of Civilis, and the daughter of Classicus, which were left with them as pledges of mutuall amity, and in the mean season slew the Germans which lay dispersed in their towne: whereupon growing into extreme feare they had just cause to cry for aide before the enemies gathering new strength should resume courage, or prosecute the revenge. For Civilis also purposed thitherward, beside other

competent forces, upon confidence principally of his most courageous cohort composed of Chauci and Frisii, which was not present in the overthrow, and lay at Tolbiacum in the territory of Coleyn, but he was diverted from that determination by a sorrowfull message, that the cohort was massacred by the fraud of the Agripinenses, who when the Germanes had filled themselves with wine and good cheere, and so were laied to sleepe, shut up the doores, put fire to their lodging, and burned them alive: and withall Cerealis was come himselfe with speed to relieve them. Moreover another feare troubled Civilis minde not a little, left the fourteenth Legion together with the navy of Britanny should waste and spoile the Baravian border that lyeth upon the Ocean. But Fabius Priscus the Lieutenant, having crossed the seas at the shortest cut, led forth the Legions by land into the coasts of the Nervii and Tungri, and those countries yelded themselves to the Romanes. As for the navy, the Caninefates venterously made out against it, and took or sunck the greater part of the ships: and the same Caninefates defeated a multitude of the Nervii, voluntarily gathered together to fight in favor of the Romans. Clasificus also against certaine horsemen, which Cerealis sent before to Novesium, skirmished prosperously. Which small but often losses did dimme and diminish the glory of the victory lately obtained.

XXXIII. *The sonne of Vitellius is slaine. Antonius Primus discontented saileth from Rome to Vespasian lying at Alexandria.*

ABout the same time Mutianus commanded the sonne of Vitellius to be slain, pretending that a perfect union could not grow, unlesse all seeds of warre were utterly rooted out. Moreover he would not permit that Antonius Primus should be assumed into Domitians traine in the voyage of France, having him in jealousy, by reason of the souldiers love towards him, and because of the mans hauty proud nature, who could not abide any equall, much lesse a superior. So Antonius mal-content went to Vespasian, who received and entertained him in good sort, albeit not according to his expectation. The merits of the man, by whose conduct doubleless the war was consummate and ended, distracted him one way, and Mutianus letters another: and withall the rest put forward, inveying against him as an insolent and intolerable person, joyning thereto the faults of his former life. And he for his part by his arrogant behaviour ceased not to provoke displeasure, odiously inculcating at every word, what things he had done, and how greatly he had deserved of the cause, despising the rest as men of no service in war, and Carinas a dishonoured captive, and yelded person. Whereupon by little and little he began to be in lesse credit, and lightlier esteemed of the Prince, notwithstanding outwardly he countenanced him as before.

XXXV. *Certaine miracles which happened whilest Vespasian staid at Alexandria attending for a good winde, and a seasonable time of the yeare.*

IN those moneths which Vespasian staid at Alexandria, attending the ordinary summer windes, and a sure season by sea, many miracles happened, whereby the speciall favour of the gods and their good will towards Vespasian was evidently signified. A certaine poore blinde man of Alexandria, knowne in all the

* Suet. Vesp. 7.
auturias &
quasi magis
quodam ut c. in
opinatio & ad hoc
nec principis di-
erat, huc quoque
accessit: e ple-
be quidam lu-
minibus ob-
tus, item alius
deblis erat, &c.

towne

towne by reason of his infirmity, warned by the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation adoreth above other gods, fell downe at the feete of Vespasian, and humbly besought him with teares to remedy his blindnesse, praying him to vouchsafe with the spittle of his mouth to wet his eyes round about. Another lame of a hand, by the commandement of the same god, prayed Vespasian that it would please him to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at the first scorned and rejected their suits. But when they persisted still insistant upon him, he began to doubt with himselfe, fearing on the one side discredit, and opinion of vanity, on the other upon the importunatenesse of the diseased, and speeches of flatterers, entering into some hope, at the last he willed the Physicians to consider, whether such blindnesse and lameness were possible by humane helpe to be cured. The Physicians according to their custome disputed the point diversly, discoursing out of their learning, that it might be, the blinde mans eyes were not perished, but onely overgrown with some skinn, which being removed, the sight would returne: likewise the other mans limbes were dislocated, and might with force conveniently used be set right again; and perchance it is the pleasure of the gods to restore them to health, and to chuse the Prince for the means of performing the same. Finally if the remedy had good successe, the glory would redound to the Prince that did it: if not, the scorne should light upon the poore patients that importuned him. Whereupon Vespasian supposing all things feaseable to his good fortune, and nothing now incredible, stepped forth with a merry countenance, and in the presence of a great multitude, that stood by attending the event, did as they had desired him to do, and presently the lame recovered the use of his limbes, and the blinde of his eyes. They which were present at both affirme both to be true, even now at this time when nothing is gotten by lying. Then Vespasian became more desirous to visite the sacred seat of the god, and there to aske counsel concerning the affaires of the Empire; and commanding all to avoide, he entred into the temple, and as he was busie about his devotion suddenly he saw behinde his back, as he thought, one of the noble men of Egypt named Basilides, whom he knew to be sick in his bed many daies journey from Alexandria. Then he enquired of the Priests whether Basilides that day had entered the church and of others whom he met whether he had beene seene in the city or no: at the last sending horsemen of purpose to see, hee found at the same moment Basilides was no lesse then fourescore miles off: then he perceived it was a divine vision, and out of the name of Basilides derived an answer. The original of this god hath not hitherto beene declared by any of our writers. The Egyptian Priests doe report the history thus: that Ptoleme the king, hee which first of the Macedonians ordered the kingdom of Egypt, when hee had walled the lately built city of Alexandria, erected temples, & instituted religious rites, saw in his sleepe a faire goodly young man much taller then the ordinary stature, who warned him to send into Pontus of his most trusty friends, and fetch thence his image: that it would bring great prosperity to the whole kingdom, and that place would especially flourish where the image should be received: and straightwaies the young man seemed to be carried up into heaven out of his sight in a great flame of fire. Ptoleme moved with so great and prodigious a miracle, declared his vision to the Egyptian Priests: who are wont to interpret such things. But when he saw them utterly ignorant of Pontus and forraigne matters, he asked Timotheus an Athenian one of the Eumolpidae, whom he had sent for from Eleusis to have the chiefe government of matters of religion, what devotion or what god that might be? Timotheus, conferring with some which had travelled in Pon-

tus,

* Some think
it to be the
Priest in
mount Camel
mentioned
2. b. 1. but in
the circum-
stances doe
hardly agree.
Deduced of
Genesis.
The same
story is recor-
ed by Plut. lib.
de Iside & Os-
rid. with some
difference in
circumstances:
and by Euse-
bius in his
comment up-
on Dionysius
more agree-
ably to the tra-
dition here.

had gotten, and builded some few castles further in the land, to win by that means a fame of augmenting the office.

¹ *Tac. 14. Ann.* After Didius succeeded ² Verantius, who died within one yeere.

³ *Of the success of his affairs, Tac. 14. Ann.* Then ⁴ Suetonius Paulinus for two yeeres space behaved himselfe fortunately, subduing the nations and establishing garrisons. Upon confidence whereof going to assaile the Ile of Mona, which ministred supply to the rebels, he disurnished the country behinde and laied it open to all opportunities of the enemy. For through the absence of the Lieutenant, the Britans free of feare began to discoure the miseries of bondage, to lay their injuries together, and aggravate them by constructions. That their patience had profited them nothing, save onely to draw heavier burdens upon them, as men that would gently beare. That whereas in former times they had onely one king, now were there two thrust upon them, the Lieutenant to sucke their blood, the Procurator their substance: whose disagreeing was the torment of the subjects, their agreement their undoing; the one vexing by souldiers and captains, the other by wrongs and indignities. That now their covetousnesse and lust layed hold, without exception, of all: and whereas in field he that spoyleth is commonly stronger, now were they by cowards and weaklings for the most part dispossest of their houses, bereaft of their children, enjoyned to yeeld souldiers for other mens behoofe, as though they were men, that knew how to do nothing else, save only to die for their own country. For otherwise what a small handfull of souldiers were come over, if the Britans would fall to reckon themselves: that ⁵ Germany so had shak't off the yoke, having no Ocean sea, but only a river, for their defence. That their causes of taking armes were urgent and just, their wives and children, their parents, and country, whereas the Romanes had nothing to move them to warre, but their own covetousnesse and wanton lust: and that they would doubtlesse depart, as Cæsar Julius had done, if the Britans would imitate the virtues of their progenitors, and not be dismayed with the doubtfull event of one skirmish or two. That men in misery had more courage and vehemency to attempt, more constancy to continue: and now even the gods seeme to pitie the poore Britans estate, having sent the Romane Captain out of the way, and confined the army, as it were, into another Iland. That now being assembled to advise and deliberate together, they had attained the hardest point, in an action of that nature, wherein without question it were more danger, to be taken, then consulting, doing. With these and the like speeches inciting one another, by common consent they resolve to take armes under the conduct of ⁶ Voadica a Lady of the blood of their Kings: for in matter of governing in chiefe they make no distinction of sexe. And first pursuing the souldiers which lay divided in garrisons, and winning the forts, they invaded anon the Colony it self, as being the seat of their slavery: in sacking whereof no kinde of crueltye was omitted, which either anger or the rage of victory might induce a barbarous people to practise. And unlesse upon knowledge had of the revolt Paulinus had come to succour with speed, Britanny had then been lost, the which with one prosperous battell he restored to her former obedience, and patient bearing the yoke, some few keeping out and remaining in armes, whom the guilt of the rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon, and some feare also of the Lieutenants private displeasure: who though otherwise a singular man, yet seemed to shew too much haucie and hard dealing toward those which yielded themselves, and to revenge in a sort his own injury. Whereupon Petronius Turpilianus was sent in his place as a more intreatable person, and a stranger to their faults, and therefore more ready to receive their repentance: who having composed the former troubles, and daring no further, delivered Trebellius Maximus the charge.

⁷ Trebellius

Trebellius a man unfit for action, and altogether unexpert in service, by a kinde of courteous & milde regiment intertained the country in quiet. For now the Britans also had learned good manners, not rudely to repulse the sugred assaults & flatterings of vices; and the disturbance of civill dissensions ministred a lawfull excuse for his doing nothing. But the souldier accustomed to warfare, waxt wanton with ease, and grew to be mutinous. Trebellius by flying away and hiding himselfe eschewed their first indignation, and anon resuming his place without majestie, without authority, he ruled by way of intreatie, and at his souldiers discretion: and so coming as it were to a capitulation, the army for licence to do what them listed, the Captain for safetie of his own life, the mutiny ended without any bloodshed.

⁸ *Tac. 2. Hist.* Vettius Bolanus succeeded in place, and in the same loosnesse of discipline, the civill warres continuing still, like default against the enemy, like licence in the camp, saving that Bolanus, a good honest man, not odious for any crime, in stead of obedience had gotten good will.

But when as Vespasian with the rest of the world recovered Britanny also, great Captains, good souldiers were sent, and the hope of the enemy was greatly abated. For straightwaies Petilius Cerealis strooke a terror into them, by invading upon his first entry the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole province. Many battels were fought, and some bloody, and the greatest part of the ⁹ Brigantes either

conquered or wasted. And whereas Cerealis would doubtlesse have dimmed the diligence and fame of another successe, Julius Frontinus a great man, as he might after that predecessor, sustained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puissant and warlike people of the Silures: where he had, beside the vertue of the enemy, to struggle with the straits and difficult places.

In this estate Agricola found the province, and the warres thus farre proceeded in, when as about the middest of the summer he passed the seas: at what time the souldier, as if the season were past, attended an end for that yeare of his travell, and the enemy a beginning to hurt. The Ordovices a little before he entred the land had cut awing almost wholly in peeces, which lay in their borders. Upon which beginning the country being awaked, as men desirous of warre, allowed the example: some stayed to see how the new Lieutenant would take it. Agricola although the summer was spent, and the bands lay dispersed in the Province, and his souldiers had fully presumed of rest for that yeare, which hindred much and crossed directly the undertaking of warre, divers also being of opinion rather to keepe and assure the places suspected, all this notwithstanding he resolved directly to encounter the danger: and gathering the ensignes of the Legions, and some few Auxiliaries, because the Ordovices durst not descend into indifferent ground, himselfe first of all, to give others like courage in the like danger, led up to encounter the enemy. And having destroyed almost the whole nation, knowing right well that same must with instance be followed, and as the first should fall out, so the rest would succeed, he deliberated to conquer the Iland of Mona: from the possession whereof, as before I have rehearsed, Paulinus was revoked by the generall rebellion of Britanny: but as in a purpose not purposed before, ships being wanting, the policie and resoluteenesse of the Captaine devised a passage, commanding the most choice of the Aydes, to whom all the shallows were know, and who after the use of their country were able in swimming to govern themselves with armour and horses, laying aside their carriage, to put over at once and suddenly invade them. Which thing so amazed the enemy attending for ships and such like provision by sea that

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surely

¹ *14. Ann.* her name is written *Boadicea*, and *Boadicea* in *Xpitol.* *cap. 14. Hist.*

² *Tac. 14. Ann.*

³ *Agricola went into Britanny, as it may be gathered by some circumstances in this booke, in the very yeere before Vespasian died, and returned about the fifth or sixth of Domitian: of whose gells in Britanny, beside Tacitus, Xiphilius, Titus, make honorable mention, and other.*

⁴ Northwales.

surely beleieving nothing could be hard or invincible to men which came so minded to warre, they humbly intreated for peace and yeelded the lland. Thus Agri-
cola at his first entry into his Province (which time others consume in vaine ostenta-
tion or ambitious seeking of ceremonies) entering withall into labours and dan-
gers became famous indeed and of great reputation. Neither did he abuse the
prosperous proceeding of his affaires to vanitie or braving in speeches. He termed
it not an exploit or a conquest to have kept in order persons subdued before: he
bedeckt not with lawrell his letters of advertisement, but stopping and supplanting
the fame he augmented the same, when men began to discourse upon what great
presumptions of future successe, he should make so light an account of such great
actions already performed.

Now as touching his civill government, Agricola knowing right well the disposition and minde of the Province, and taught also by experience of others, that armes availed little to settle a new conquered state if injuries and wrongs be permitted, determined to cut off all causes of warres and rebellions. And beginning at home, his house first of all he reformed and restrained, a point of more hardnesse to some than to govern a Province. He committed no manner of publick affaires to bondman or freed: he received no souldier neere to his person upon private affections of partial fuiters, nor upon commendation or intractable Centurions, but elected the best, presuming the same to be the most faithful. He would see into all things, not exact all things to the rigour: light faults he would pardon, and the great severely correct: not alwaies proceeding to punish, but often content with repentance: chusing rather not to preferre to office and charge such as were like to offend, then after the offence to condemne them. The augmentation of tribute and corne he mollified with equal dividing of burdens, cutting away those petty exactions which grieved the subject more then the tribute it selfe. For the poore people were constrained in a mockery to waite at the barnes which were locked against them, and first to buy corne, then after to sell at a price. Severall wayes were enjoyed, and furre distant places by the Purveyours commandments: that the country should carry from the neerest standing camps to those which were farr off and out of the way, till that which lay open to all and at hand was turned in fine to the gain of a few. By repressing these abuses straight in his first yeere, a good opinion was conceived of the peace, which either by the negligence or connivence of former Lieutenants was now no lesse feared then warre. But when the summer was come, assembling his army together, those which in marching behaved themselves in modest sort he commended, and checked the loose and dissolute straglers: the places for pitching the camp he designed himself, the firs and the thickest he proved the first in his own person: not suffering in the meane season any corner in quiet in the enemies country, but waiting and spoyleing with sudden excursions and roades, and when he had thorowly terrified them, then would he againe spare and forbear, alluring thereby their mindes to friendship and peace. Upon which kinde of proceeding many states, which before that day stood upon termes of qualitie, gave hostages, and meekly submitted themselves, receiving garrison and permitting to fortifie; which he so wisely with such great foresight and reason performed, that nothing was ever attempted against them, whereas no new fortified place in all Britanny escaped before unaffayled.

The winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable and politicke devise. For whereas the Britains were rude and dispersed, and therefore prone upon every occasion to warre to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorted them

in private, and helpt them in common to build temples and houses, and places of publicke resort, commending the forward and checking the slow, imposing thereby a kinde of necessitie upon them, whilst each man contended to gain the Lieutenants good will. Moreover the noble mens sonnes he tooke and instructed in the liberal sciences, preferring the wits of the Britains before the students of France, as being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Romane language, whereas they lately rejected the speech. After that our attire grew to be in account, and the Gowne much used among them: and so by little and little they proceeded to those provocations of vices, to sumptuous galleries, and bathes, and exquisite banquettings; which things the ignorant counted civillite, being indeed a point of their bondage. In the third yeere of his warres he discovered new countreys, waſting a long time, till he came to the first of Taus. Which thing so terrified the enemies, that although the army had been toiled with cruell tempests, yet they durst not assault them, and the Romans moreover had leisure and space to fortifie there. They which were skillfull that way observed, that never any Captain did more adviſedly chuse his places: no castle planted by Agricola ever was either forced by strength, or upon conditions surrendered, or, as not defensible, forsaken. Many times they issued forth: for against a long siege, they were stored with a whole yeers provision. So they wintered there without teare, every garrison guarding it self, and needing no help of their neighbours; the enemies assaulting sometimes, but in vain without any successe, and driven thereupon to despair. For the losses of summer they were commonly wont to repaire with winter events: now summer and winter alike they went to the worke. And in all these actions Agricola never sought to draw to himself the glory of an exploit done by another, but were it Centurion or of other degree, he would faithfully witness the fact, and yield him alwayes his due commendation. By some he is said to have been somewhat bitter in rebuking: and indeed the man was, as toward the good of most sweet disposition, fo to bad and lewd persons unpleasant and fower; but his choler passed away with his words: closeness in him and silence you needed not feare: he esteemed it more honest to offend, then to hate. The fourth summer was spent in perusing and ordering that, which he had overrun: and if the valiant mindes of the armies, and glory of the Romane name could have permitted, or accepted it so, they needed not to have sought other limit of Britanny. For the Glota & Bodotria, two arms of two contrary seas shooting mightily into the land, are only divided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, which passage was guarded and fortified then with garrison and castle: so that the Romans were absolute lords of all on this side, having cast out the enemy, as it were, into another land. The fifth yeer of the warre Agricola first taking sea went over and subdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, nations before that time unknown, and furnished with forces that part of Britanny, which lyeth against Ireland, more in hope then for feare. For Ireland if it might have been wonne, lying between Britanny and Spaine, and fely also for the French sea, would aptly have united, to the great advantage of the one and the other, these strongest members of the Empire together. In bignesse it is inferiour to Britanny, howbeit bigger then the Ilands of our sea. The foile and temperature of the aire, the nature and fashions of the People, differ not much from the British. The ports and places of access are more knowne by reason of more frequenting of merchants. Agricola had received before a Prince of that countrey driven out by civill dissention, whom under colour of courtesie and friendship he retained till occasion should serve. I have heard him oftentimes say, that with one Legion and some few Aydes, Ireland might be

The fifth of
 Dumbarton.
 is Edinburgh
 1751.

^k He meant
the *Mediterra-
nean* and the
Islands there,
as *Sicily, &c.*

be won and possessed, and that it were also a strength for our British affaires, if the Romane forces were planted else where, and libertie, as it were, banisht out of sight.

Now in the summer, which began the sixt yeare of his office, because a generall rising in armes of all the further nations beyond Bodotria was feared, and passages were all beset with the power of the enemies, he manned a fleet to search the creekes and harboroughes of the ample region beyond it, backing them first of all with a navy the rest of his strength, and with a goodly brave shew bringing warre both by land and by sea. And oft fo it chanced, that the horseman and footman and the sea-souldier met and made merry in the same camp, extolling and magnifying each their own prowesse and adventures: making their vaunts and comparisons souldier-like, the one of the woods and high mountains the other of dangers of tempests and waves: the one of the land and the enemy the other of the Ocean, subdued. The Britans, as by the prisoner it was understood, were amazed also at the sight of the navy, as though now the secrets of their sea were disclosed, and no refuge remained if they were overcome. Whereupon the Caledonians arming with great preparation and greater fame, as the manner is of matters unknown, assailed our castles as challengers, braving and putting in feare: insomuch that some of our side, which would seeme to be wise, being dastards indeed, counselled the Generall to retire on this side Bodotria, and rather to depart of her own accord, then to be repelled with shame. In the meane season Agricola hath knowledge, that the enemies meant to divide themselves, and to give the onset in severall companies. Whereupon lest he should be enclosed about, and intrapped by their multitude and skill in the country, he marched also with his army divided in three. Which when it was known to the enemy, changing advice on the sudden, & uniting their forces together, they joyntly assaulted by night the ninth Legion, as being of weakest resistance: and having slain the watch, partly asleep, and partly amazed with feare, brake into the camp. And now were they fighting within the trenches, when Agricola having understood by spies what way the enemies had taken, and following their footsteps, commandeth the lightest forfemen and footmen to play on their backs and maintain the skirmish, and anon the whole army to shewt. And when it drew neere to be day, the glittering of the ensignes was seen. So the Britans being quailed with a double danger, the Romans recovered courage again, and being out of perill of their persons, fought now for their honour, freshly assailing their late assayers, and driving them to the gates: where in the traits the conflict was sharp and cruell, till in the end the enemies were forced to flee, whilest both our armies contended, the one to seeme to have helped their fellows, the other to have needed none other to help them: and if the bogges and woods had not covered their flight, that victory had ended the warre. Upon this battell so manfully fought, so famously won, the army presuming that to their prowesse all things were ealie and open, cryed to leade into Caledonia, and to finde out the limit of Britanny with a course of continuall conquests: and those which ere while were so wary and wise, waxt forward enough after the event, and grew to speake bigly: such is the hard condition of warres: if ought fall out well all challenge a part, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise the Britans presupposing that not valour, but the cunning of the Generall, by using the occasion, had carried it away, abated no whit of their stomach, but armed their youth, transported their children and wives into places of safetie, and fought by assemblies and religious rites to establish an association of the cities together. And so for that yeare both parties departed incensed away.

The

The same summer a cohort of Vspians, levied in Germany, and sent over into Britannie, committed a hainous and memorable act. For having slaine a Centurion and certaine souldiers set over them for direction in discipline, they fled and embarked themselves in three vessels, compelling the Masters by force to execute their charge: and onely one doing his office, the other two being suspected and thereupon slaine, this strange going out, the fact being yet not noised abroad, was gazed and wondered at. Afterward being driven uncertainly hither and thither, and assailing the Britans which stood in defence of their owne, often prevailing and sometimes repulsed, they came at the last to that misery, that they were enforced to eate one another, first of the weakest, then as the lot lighted. And thus floating about Britanny, and lesing their vessels for lacke of government, they were intercepted first by the Suevians, and then by the Frisians, as pirates and robbers, and some of them being bought by merchants as slaves and by change of masters brought to our side of the river, grew into a name by giving first notice of so great and so rare an adventure.

In the beginning of the summer Agricola was deeply touched with a grievous mischance which happened in his own house: for he lost his own sonne being about a yeere old. Which unfortunate hap he neither bare out, as some great men have done in the like, vain-gloriously, norooke it again so impatiently as women are wont: and amidst his mourning and sorrows used the warre as one of his remedies. Therefore sending his navy before, which by spoyling in sundry places should induce a greater and uncertainer terrour upon them, he made ready and followed himself with his army, joyning thereto some of the valiantest Britans, whom by long experience in peace he had found most faithfull, and so arrived at the mount ^{Now called} Grampius, where the enemies were lodged before. For the Britans not daunted ^{Grimsbaine.} with the event of the former battell and attending for nothing else but revenge or servitude, and being taught at the length that common danger must be repelled with concord, by leagues and embassages had assembled the power of all the cities together above thirtie thousand armed men, the view being taken, beside an endlesse number of youth, which daily flocked to them, and lusty old men, renowned in warre and besring the badges due to their honour: at what time Galgacus, for vertue and birth, of all the leaders the principall man, seeing the multitude hotly demand the battell, is said to have used this speech.

"When I view and consider the cause of this warre, and our present necessitie, I have reason, me seemes, to presume, that this day, and this your agreeing consent, will give a happy beginning to the freedome of the whole lland. For both have we all hitherto lived in libertie, and beside no land remaineth beyond, no sea for our safetie, the Romane navy thus, as you see, surveying our coasts: so that combat and armes, which men of vertue desire for honour, the dastard also must use for his securitie. The former battells, which have with diverse event been fought with the Romanes, had their refuge, and hope resting in our hands. For we the flower of the British nobility, and seated therefore the furthermost in, saw never the coasts of the countreys, which served in slavery, even our eyes are kept unpollured, and free from all contagion of tyranny. Beyond us is no land, beside us none are free: us hitherto this corner and secret recess hath defended. Now the uttermost point of the land is laid open: and things the lesse they have been within knowledge, the greater the glory is to achieve them. But what nation now is there beyond us? what else but water and rocks, and the Romane lords of all within land? whose intolerable pride in vain shall you seeke to avoide by service

"service and humble behaviour: robbers of the world, that having now left no
 "land to be spoiled, search also the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seek to win
 "wealth: if poore, they are content to gain glory: whom not the East, nor the west
 "have satisfied: the only men of all memory that seek out all places, be they weal-
 "thy or poore, with like ardent affection. To take away by maine force, to kill and
 "to spoile, falsely they terme Empire and government: when all is waste as a wil-
 "dernesse, that they call peace. His children and bloud each man by nature hold-
 "eth most deare: those are pressed for souldiers, and carryed away to be slaves o-
 "therwhere. Our sisters and wives, though they be not violently forced as in open
 "hostilitie, are in the meane while under the colour and title of friends and guests
 "often abused. Our goods and substance they draw for tribute, our corne for provi-
 "sion: our bodies and hands, they weare and consume, in paving of bogges and of
 "woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities. Slaves which are born to bondage
 "are sold, but once, and after are fed at their owners expences: but Britanny daily
 "buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at charges with her own bondage. And as in a pri-
 "vate retinue the freshman and last comers is laughed and scoffed at by his very fel-
 "low servants, so in this old servitude of the whole world our destruction onely is
 "sought, as being the latest and most vile in account. We have no fields to ma-
 "nure, no mines to be digged, no ports to trade in: and to what purpose then
 "should they reserve us alive? Moreover the manhood and fierce courage of the
 "subject pleaseth not much the jealous Sovereigne: and this comer being so secret
 "and out of the way, the more securitie it yeeldeth to us, in them it works the grea-
 "ter suspicion. So seeing all hope of pardon is past, at the length take courage to
 "defend and maintain your safety as well as your honour. The Brigantines led by a
 "woman fired the colony, forced the castles: and if such a lucky beginning had not
 "ended in sloth and securitie, they might have with ease shak off the yoke. We as
 "yet neither touched, never subdued, and born to be free, not to be slaves of the
 "Romans, let us shew straight in the first joyning what manner of men Caledonia
 "reserved in store for her self. Or do you think the Romans to be as valiant in warre
 "as they are wanton in peace? No, not by their vertue, but by our jarrings and dis-
 "cords they are grown into fame: and the faults of their enemies they abuse to the
 "glory of their own army composed of most divers nations, & therefore as by pre-
 "sent prosperitie holden together, so if fortune do frown it doubtlesse dissolveth:
 "unlesse you suppose the Frenchmen and Germans, and, to our shame be it spoken,
 "many of our own nation, which now lend their lives to establish a forein usurper,
 "and yet have been enemies longer then servants, to be led and inducued with any
 "true hearted and faithfull affection. No, it is terrour and feare, weak workers of
 "love, which if you remove, those which shall have ceased to feare will straight be-
 "gin for to hate. All things to incite to the victory are on our side. No wife to en-
 "courage the Romans: no parents to upbraide them if they flee: most have either no
 "country at all, or some other: a few feeble persons, trembling and gazing at the
 "strangenesse of the heaven it self, the sea and the woods: whom the gods have de-
 "livered mewed up, as it were, and fettered into our hands. Let not the vain shew
 "and glittering of gold and silver terrifie us, which neither defends nor offendeth.
 "Among the enemies we shall finde of our side: the Britans will agnize their own
 "cause: the French will remember their freedome and former estate: the rest of
 "the Germans will leave and forsake them, as of late the Ulpians did. And what
 "else then have we to feare? the castles are empty, the colonies peopled with aged
 "and impotent persons, the free cities discontent and in factions, whilest those
 "which

"In this place,
 "where Tacitus
 "himselfe is
 "knowne wife to
 "the king of
 "Ireland, people of
 "N. r. r. r. r. r. r.
 "and not of the
 "Britons, 14.
 "Ab. 14.

which are under obey with ill will, and they which doe governe rule against right.
 Here is the Generall and here the army, there tributes and mines, and other misfe-
 ries inseparably following them which live under subjection of others: which whe-
 ther we are to continue for ever, or straight to revenge, it lieth this day in the field.
 Wherefore going to battell beare in your mindes, I beseech you, both your "ance-
 stors and your posteritie. This speech was cheerfully received, with a long after
 their barbarous fashion, with confused exclamations and noises. And as the com-
 panies clustered together, and glistering of armour appeared, whilest some of the
 boldest advanced forward, and withall the ranks were putting themselves in array,
 Agricola albeit his souldier was glad of that day, and scarce could with words be
 withheld, supposing yet best to say somewhat, encouraged them in this wise.

Fellow-souldiers and companions in armes, your faithfull service and diligence,
 these "eight yeeres so painfully shewed, by the vertue and fortune of the Romane
 Empire hath conquered Britanny. In so many journeys, in so many battels we had
 of necessitie to shew our selves either valiant against the enemy, or patient and labo-
 rious above and against nature it selfe. In which exploits we have borne us both
 hitherto so, that neither did I desire better souldiers, nor you other Capitaine. We
 have exceeded the limits, I of my predecessours, and you likewise of yours. The
 end of Britanny is found, not by fame and report, but we are with our armes and pa-
 vilions really invested thereof: Britanny is found and subdued. In marching when
 the passing of bogges, or mountains, and rivers, troubled and tired you out, how
 oft have I heard the valiant souldier say, When will the enemy present himselfe?
 when shall we fight? loe they are now put up out of their holes: and here they are
 come: your will loe here, and place for your vertue, and all things to follow in an
 easie and expedite course, if you winne; if you loose, all against you. For as to have
 gone so much ground, escaped the woods, passed over the firthes, is honourable
 forward, so if we doe flee, the vantages we have this day will become our most dis-
 advantage. For we are not skilled so well in the countreys, we have not the like
 store of provision, but hands we have and weapons, and therein all things included.
 For my part I am long since resolved, that to shew their backs is neither safetie
 for souldier nor Generall: and therefore a commendable death is better then life
 with reproch; and suretie and honour are commonly dwelling together: or if
 ought should misshappen, even this will be a glory, to have died in the uttermost end
 of the world and nature. If new nations, and souldiers unknowne were in the
 field, I would by the example of other armies put you in courage: now recount you
 your own victorious exploits, and aske your own eyes. These are the fame men,
 which the last yeere assailed one legion by stealth in the night, and were by a blast
 of your mouth overthrown: these of all other Britans have been the most nimble
 in running away, and therefore have escaped the longest alive. For as in forrests
 and woods the strongest beasts are chased away by maine force, the cowardly and
 fearefull are scared by the noise of the hunters, so the valiant of the British nation
 we have already dispatched, the rascall herd of dastardly cowards only remaineth:
 whom at length you have found, not as having intended to stay and make head, but
 as last overtaken, and by extreme passion of feare standing as stocks, presenting oc-
 casion to us in this place of a worthy and memorable victory. Make an end there-
 fore of your warfare, and to "fiftie yeeres travels let this day impose a glorious
 conclusion. Approve to your country, that the army could never justly be charged
 either with protracting the warre, or pretences for not accomplishing the conquest.
 As Agricola was yet speaking, the souldiers gave great tokens of fervencie, and
 when

"Your ances-
 "tors which li-
 "ved in the hap-
 "py estate of
 "libertie: and
 "your success-
 "ors, which un-
 "lesse we shew
 "valour this day
 "shall live for
 "ever in most
 "miserable ser-
 "vitude.
 "And yet this
 "was but the
 "seventh yeere
 "of his office, as
 "appeareth be-
 "fore.

"From the
 "first entry of
 "Claudius into
 "Britanny
 "scemeth not to
 "have been a-
 "bove foure or
 "five and fortie
 "yeares.

when he had ended accompanied the speech with a joyfull applause, & ran straight-ways to the weapons. Agricola seeing them sufficiently animated, and rushing furiously forward, ordered his men in this manner. With the Auxiliary footmen, being eight thousand, he fortified the middle battell: three thousand horse he put on both sides in the wings, commanding the Legions to stand behinde, before the trench of the camp, to the greater glory of the victory, if it were obtained without the Romans blood, otherwise for assistance and succour, if the vanguard should be repelled. The Britans were marshalled in the higher ground, fitly both to the shew and to terrifie, the first battalion standing on the plaine, the rest in the ascent of the hill, knit & rising as it were one over another: the middle of the field was filled with the clattering and running of chariots and horsemen. Then Agricola perceiving the enemy to exceed him in number, and fearing lest he should be assailed on the front and flanks both at once instant, displayed his army in length: and although by that means the battell would become disproportionably long, and many advised him to take in the Legions, yet being more forward to hope, then yielding to feare he rejected the counsell, and leaving his horse, advanced himselfe before the ensignes on foot. In the first encounter, before the joyning, both sides discharged and threw: wherein the Britans employing both Art and valour, with their great swords and little targets, avoyded our throwes, or shooke them, darting withall great store against us of theirs: till at length Agricola spying his vantage exhorted three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians to press forward, and bring the matter to handy strokes and dint of the sword, a thing which they in respect of long service were able readily to perform, and contrarily to the enemies prejudiciall, and hurtfull by reason of their little bucklers, and huge swords: for the swords of the Britans, being blunt pointed, were no way fit for the close or for open fight. Now as the Batavians began to deale blowes, to strike with the pikes of their bucklers, to mangle their faces, and having overborne in the plaine all that retired, to march up the mountaines, the rest of the cohorts gathering courage upon emulation violently beat down all about them, and many halfe dead, or wholly untouched, were left for haile of winning the field. In the meane time the chariots mingled themselves with the battell of the footmen, and the troopes of the horsemen began to flee: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distressed themselves by the unevennesse of the ground, and thicke ranks of their enemies. Neither was the forme of the fight like a loose skirmish of horsemen to and fro, but slauing still and maintaining their places, they fought by maine weight of horses to breake and beare downe one another. The wandering waggones also, and murtherlie horses as freighted, as it happened them by feare to be guided, over-bare many times of their friends which met them, or thwarted their way. Now the Britans, which stood aloofe from the battell on the height of the hills, and at their good leisure disdaind our fewnesse, began to come downe by little and little, and to compasse about the backs of our men, which were now in traine of winning the field: but Agricola suspecting as much, opposed against them foure wings of horsemen purposely retained about him for sudden dispatches, and chances of warre, and repulld them back as sharply, as fiercely they ran to assaile. So the counsell of the Britans turned upon their own heads: and the wings were commanded to forsake the battell and follow the flight. Then might you have seene in the open fields a grievous and pittifull spectacle, pursuing, wounding, taking, and killing of them which were taken when others were offred. Now whole regiments of the enemies, according to their severall dispositions, though armed and more in number, turned their backs to the

* *Covinaris*.
 And. lib. 3 c. 6.
 Dicitur En-
 tanni non equi-
 tati modo aut
 pedibus eum &
 bigis & caris.
 Gallie armati,
 coarctos vocant,
 quorum subactis
 axib. utitur
 by Cesar and
 Tally the 7. are
 called *effechar*

fewer: others unarmed fought their owne death, offering themselves voluntarily to the slaughter. Every where weapons lay scattered and bodies, and mangled limbs: the ground every where imbrued in blood: and sometimes even in them which were overcome, appeared now at their end both anger and valour. When they approached the woods, uniting themselves, they intrapped unawares some of the foremost of our men, which unadvisedly followed, not knowing the cuntry: and unlesse Agricola had with his presence every where assisted at need, setting about them his bravest and most ready footmen, as it were in forme of a toyle, and commanding some of his horsemen to leave their horses where the passages were narrow, and others where the wood was thin to enter on horseback, no doubt we had taken some blow by our overmuch boldnesse. But after they saw our men againe in strong array to follow the chafe in good order, they fled, not in troups as before, and attending each other, but utterly disbanded and single, eschewing all company, toward the desert and farre distant places. The night and our fulnesse of blood made an end of the chafe. Of the enemies slain ten thousand were slaine: three hundred and forty of ours; amongst whom was Aulus Arturius a Captaine of a cohort, upon a youthfull heate, and through the fiercenesse of his horle, being carried into the middest of his enemies. That night the winners for their part solaced themselves with the victory and spoile: and the Britaines being utterly broken, crying and howling, men and women together, take and draw with them their hurt perions, call the not hurt, forsake their owne houses, and in despite also, set them on fire themselves, chuse out holes for to lurke in, and straightwayes forsake them, communicate some counsells together, and then have some glimbling of hope: sometimes at the sight of their dearest beloved they are moved to pity, more often stirred to rage: and certain it is, that some, as by way of compassion and mercy, slew their own children and wives. The day following discovered more plainly the greatness of the victory. Every where defoliation and silence; no stirring in the mountaines: the houses fired and smoaking farre off; no man to meet with our spies; who being sent abroad into all quarters found by their footsteps the flight was uncertain, and that they were no where in companies together. Whereupon Agricola because the summer was spent, and the warre could not conveniently be divided, bringeth his army into the borders of the Horrestians, where receiving hostages he commanded the Admirall of the navy to saile about Britanny, lending him souldiers and strength for that purpose, and the terror of the Roman name was gone already before. Himself with ease and gentle journeyes, to terrifie the new conquered nations with the very stay of his passage, disposed his footmen and horsemen in the wintering places, and withall the navy with prosperous winde and successe arrived at the port: Trutulensis, from whence it departed, and coasting along the nearest side of Britanny returned thither againe.

This state of affaires in Britanny Agricola signified by letter, without any amplifying termes to Domitian: who after his manner with a cheerefull countenance, and grieved heart received the newes, being inwardly pricked to thinke, that his late counterfeit triumph of Germany, wherein certaine slaves bought for money were attired, and their haire dressed as captives of that country, was had in derision and justly skorned abroad, whereas now a true and great victory, so many thousands of enemies being slaine, was currant and famous in every mans mouth: that it were indeed a most villous point, if a private mans name should be exalted above the name of the Prince. In vaine then had he suppressed the study of Oratory, and all other worthy policke artes, if he should in military glory be disfeited by another

[illegible]

for other matters might more easily be passed over, but to be a good commander of an army was to be above private estate, that being a vertue peculiar for a Prince. With these and the like cares being tormented, and musing much in his closet alone, which was a token and signe of some cruelty intended, he thought it yet best for the present to dissemble and put off his malice, untill the heat of his glory & love of his souldiers, were somewhat abated, for as yet Agricola remained in charge. Wherefore he commanded that all the honours of triumphall ornaments, * image triumphall, and what else usually was conferred in lieu of triumph, should be awarded unto him in Senate in most ample & honorable termes: and sending a succesor caused withal a bruit to be spread, that the province of Syria which then lay voyde, by the death of Atilius Rufus the Lieutenant, and was reserved for men of great quality, was purposed unto him. And a common opinion went, that Domitian sending one of his most secret and trusty servants to Agricola, sent withal the patent of Syria, with instruction, that if he were in Britanny it should be delivered: and that the same man meeting Agricola as he crossed the sea, without speaking unto him, or delivering his message, returned againe to Domitian. Whether this were true or fained and firmed probably, as correspondent to the princes disposition, I cannot affirm: but in the meane season Agricola had delivered to his successeur the province in good and peaceable estate. And left his arrivall at Rome should be noted, by reason of the multitudes of people which would goe out to see, and to meet him, cutting off that curtesie of his friends, he entred the city by night, and by night, as he was willed, came to the palace. Where being admitted to the Princes presence, & received with a short salutation and no speech, he sorted himselfe with the rest of the waiters. Now to the end he might temper & qualifie with other good parts his militar renown, a vertue unpleasant to men of no action, he gave himself wholly to quietnesse and meddling with nothing; being in apparell moderate, affable in speech, accompanied usually but by one or two of his friends: so that many, which commonly judge of great men by outward appearance and pompe, seeing and marking Agricola, missed of that which by fame they conceived, few ayined aright at the cause. Often was he in those dayes accused to Domitian in absence, and in absence acquitted. The cause was neither matter of crime, nor complaint of party agrieved, but the renowne of the man, and the Princes disposition hating all vertue, and the most capitall kind of enemies commanders, procured the perill. And in truth those times ensued in the state, which would not suffer Agricolaes name to be buried in silence: so many armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germany, Pannonia, either through the rashnesse or cowardlinesse of the Generals cast away: so many good souldiers, with so many cohorts defeated and taken. Neither was it the question then for the uttermost bounds of the Empire and banke of the River, but the standing camps of the Legions, and the provinces themselves were in danger of leeling: so that losses being heapt upon losses, and every yeere becoming notorious for some calamity and overthrow, Agricola was required by the speech of the people for Generall, every man comparing his quicknesse, resolutenesse, and experience in warre, with their insufficient and dastardly dealings: with which kinde of talke, it is certainly knowne, Domitians eares were not unacquainted: his faithfullest servants upon love and allegiance, the rest upon spite and envy pricking him forward, being of himself prone to the worse. So Agricola partly through his owne vertues, and partly the vices of others, was drawne headlong perforce into glory. Now the yeere was at hand, when as the Proconsulship of Asia, or Africke should be allotted unto him, and upon the late murdering of * Civica, nei-

* Illustrius
tue honoris,
i. illustrium
phylis statua.

in Sue' suis
Domitiano e.
to, complures
seculares, in his
diuotus consu-
latus intermit-
in quibus Civil-
cam Cratichm
intus) Asia
proconsulatus.

ther could Domitian faile of example to follow, nor Agricola of direction what he should doe. Some also privy to the Princes secret intents offered speech of themselves, and asked him whether he could be content to accept of the government: commending at the first a farre off a quiet life and voyde of businesse, and proffering anon their mediation to the Prince to allow his excuse. At the last declaring their purpose in plaine termes, by perswasions and threats they induced him to become a direct suiter in that behalfe to Domitian: who setting a fained countenance upon it, and composing himselfe to keep majesty and state, both heard his humble petition excusing himself from that charge, and when the excuse was admitted, suffered himselfe to be solemnly thanked, and was not ashamed of so odious a benefit. Howbeit the pension, which was wont to be offered to men of that quality and by him had beene granted to certaine, he did not bestow upon Agricola: either being offended it was not sued for, or upon the guiltinesse of his owne conscience, lest thereby he should seeme to have bought out * that thing, which he had forbidden. It is the property of mans nature to hate those whom he hath hurted: beside Domitian was prone and headlong to anger, and the more close the more irrevocable, yet was he notwithstanding altered and mollified by Agricolaes discretion and wary behaviour: for he did not with obstinacy, nor vaine ostentation of liberty, neither hasten his fame nor his fall. Let them well know that are wont to admire those things alone, which are done against the streame of the time, that great men may be found even under bad Princes; that dutifull obedience and modesty, if industry and valour be joynd, may attaine to that degree of praise and renowne, which some following dangerous courses have aspired unto by an " ambitious death, without any further profit at all.

The end of his life brought mourning to us, and griefe to his friends, and even by strangers and persons unknown was lamented: the common sort also, and this rechelesse people of ours, both came oft to his house, and in all publike places & meetings, had it in speech, neither did any person, when he heard of his death, either rejoyce, or sodainly forget it. And that which procured the greater compassion was a constant report, that he was made away by poyson. Of mine owne knowledge I dare assure nothing: this only, that during the time of his sicknesse there came from Domitian, oftener then usually are wont from Princes, who visit by others, both of his secretest servants and neereft physicians to see him, whether as of carefulnesse, or only to spie. I leave it uncertain: certain it is, that the day of his death, every degree of his going away was carried in post to the Prince; and few men beleevied the newes should be hastened so much, that he would be sorry to heare. Notwithstanding he made shew of sorrow in minde and in countenance, being now out of danger of that which he hated, and one that more easily could dissemble his joy then his fear. When Agricolaes testament was read, wherein he made Domitian coheire with his most deare wife and most dutifull daughter, it was certaine he greatly rejoyced thereat, as if it had beene a signe of honour, or proceeded of judgement: so blinded he was, and so greatly corrupted by continuall custome of flatteries, that he could if he did not perceive, that no good father did ever appoint for his heire any Prince, but a tyrant. Agricola was borne the thirteenth day of June, Caius Caesar being thirteenth time Consul, and dyed the * fixe and fiftieth yeere of his age, the fower and twentieth day of August, Colliga and Priscus being Consuls. Of personage (if posterity desire to be informed thereof) he was rather well proportioned then tall, with an assurednesse and great grace in his countenance: " a good man you would easily thinke him, and willingly a great. And although he dyed in the middle course of

x That is, his
going into the
province.

* Meant, as I
take it, princely
by Helvidius
and Thra-

sea, whom
Martial also
noteth in an
Epigramme to
Decianus much
to this purpose.

Quid magni
Thrausae com-
muniq;
catonis Digna-
ta sit sequens,
salus in esse
votis, Pectore
nec nudo stri-

dos intorris in
ensis, Quid
scissis velim te,
dicant facis,
Xolo verum,
scilicet redimat
qui languine
fenum: a Hanc
volo laudari
qui sine morte
quiescit.

y That is, of
the vertuous
qualities of A-
gricola.

z Four and
fiftieth year at the
most, for from
Caius Caesar, z.

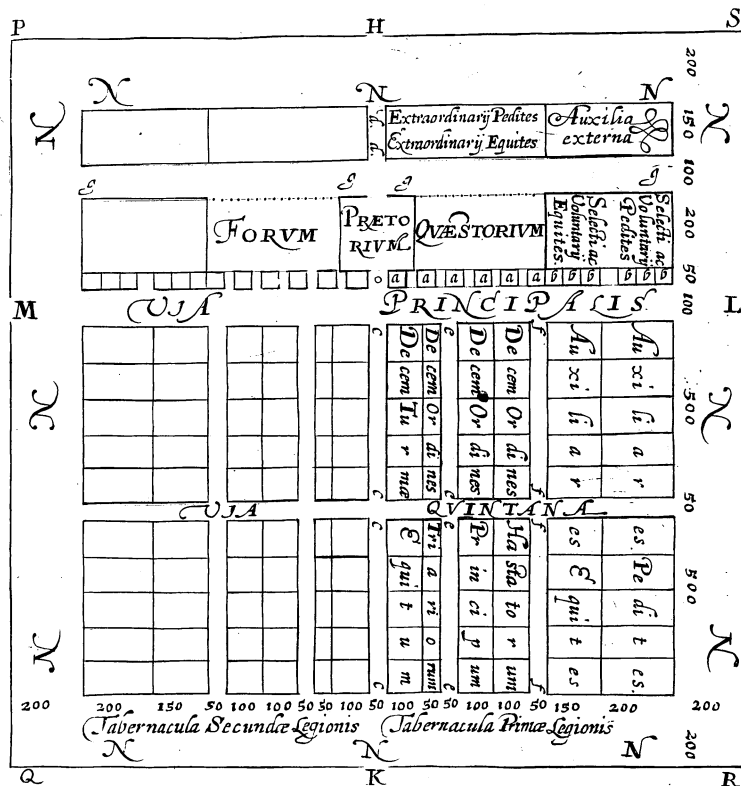
conf. to Colliga
and Priscus
Consuls were
no more but
three yeeres, but so
is the fashion
not only of
Tacitus, but of
other History
writers, to misre-
count in a
manner al-
ways to the
more.

m Dionys. lib. 48.
 αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ
 λέγει τὰς ἐν.
 n Of Augustus
 Dio.

After the covenant followed the great mystery of the Roman estate, Gith = Herodian, *Tafarumamentum*, upon
the very form and efficacy of a foulard, without which first solemnly taken, or after the expiration of which, as up-
on the falling of the Legions, those qualified otherwise never so well, though present in the camp, it was not pos-
sible for a lawful force to kill, or wound, or prevent himself in fight against the enemy. This oath Polybius conceived thus:
**HMHN THΕ ΑΡΧΗΞΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΨΗΡΙΝ ΤΟ ΕΡΩΤΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΤΟΝ ΑΠΚΟΝ-
ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ.** *This is, They should be obedient, and execute to the utmost of their power whosoever
ever should be commanded thereby by their superiors; lib. ii. not much otherwise, if you translate it grammatically in
this manner: I have sworn, I will obey my superiors, and do all that shall be commanded me by them. This is the military*

18 *Conjuration*
 19 *Atq; seruo in*
 20 *consecratum*
 21 *frangit*
 22 *non uocat; sed*
 23 *consecratum*
 24 *non uocat; ut*
 25 *cum de tumuli*
 26 *et*
 27 *et*
 28 *et*
 29 *et*
 30 *et*
 31 *et*
 32 *et*
 33 *et*
 34 *et*
 35 *et*
 36 *et*
 37 *et*
 38 *et*
 39 *et*
 40 *et*
 41 *et*
 42 *et*
 43 *et*
 44 *et*
 45 *et*
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 93 *et*
 94 *et*
 95 *et*
 96 *et*
 97 *et*
 98 *et*
 99 *et*
 100 *et*

The Roman manner of encamping according to Polybius and other ancient Writers is represented in the figure following.



in this case we are rather to cleave. Now that *Prætoria* was recent to the enemy, and *Decumana* further off, it is evident by Cæsar lib. 2. d. bell. civ. Pompeius, faith he, *acis accipit, protinusque in ex castro contulit, et eis excursumque* (so in *latine* ad *Prætorem* pampat peficet, clare, intem, inquit, *calbra*. And immediately after: *Pompeius cum intra vallum nulli videretur, equum nactus Decumana p[er] ex castra eiecit*. That *Prætoria* was the foregate, and *Decumana* the backgate, it appears by the place of Livy above alleaged, lib. 10. d. *tergo callidum Decumana p[er] impus fallax*. And so Pompeius calleth the side where K. flævius perpetually stood, *decumana* *munus* *de Decumana*. That is, The forefile of the camp. And so the other side, where the other army stood, he calleth *prætoria*. That is, The backfile of the campe, as I think, only by way of supposition and descension; *præ*, because in his defence of the lodgings he beginneth at the *P R A E T O R I V M*, and proceedeth on forward toward *Tro Decumana*.

[illegible]

The General Officer over the Camp was called *Præfuitis Castrorum* : * to whose charge appertained to flake out the Camp and fix it in the best position and order the trenches and ditches, to quarter the soldiers with their carriage and lodging, to provide dyer and phylicker for the sick, and pay the Plunder &c. Particularly over the Smiths, Carpenters, and other artificers, with the Engineers, and such like, the officer was called *Præfuitis fabrum*. Both of them, as I think, lodged in *QVARTASTORIO*, where it is likely the *Legati legionum* also were quartered, and in the free flatte the *Legati consularis*.

As often as ever the tents were pitched, and camp fedd, all which followed the Campe both bond and free, received an 10th call *ἱερὰ μνημόνῳ κατέβη*, which according to Polybius was, ΜΗΝΕΡ ΘΕΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΜΕΜΟΡΑΝΣ ΚΑΒΕΒΗΝ, ΑΛΛΑΚΑΝ ΕΡΘΗ ΤΙ ΤΙΣ ΤΟΤ' ΑΝΟΙΞΗΝ ΕΝΙ ΤΟΤΣ ΚΙΝΑΛΑΡ ΕΡΧΟΤΕ. That is, That he should fetch nothing out of the campe, but if any happened to finde quoth the xialap carry it to the Tribunes libe, and in another place toucheth a matter of greater importance, concerning the just representation of the spoile in the sacking of cities, a point most probably induced, whether the spoile were to be sold to publick sales, or else divided among the soldiours, whether the worst sort are commonly most nimble that way. But chiefly it flayed the mindes of those, who by the Generals commandement remained in armes in the market place against all sudden misadventures of warre, being assured thereby of equal part with the rest in the prey which should be taken by others. *Aulus* 4 *Gellius* testeth the very forme of the oath downe in more particular termes out of *Ciculus* de *re militari* 3 *ius exercitus* decemque millia passuum prope factum non facies dolo malo, si neque cum plurius prius nammi argenteis disfigulos. Exteraque hallam, basilis, ligna, pabulum, uerem, fellum, fuculum, si quisq. ius inuenerit quod prius nammi argenteis, uti tu ad col. sic fuc ad quem uerem alter iusserit perferas, aut proficere in tria, proximo quisquid inueneris iussitque dolo malo, aut dimisso suo cuius ad censibus esse reddis, uti quod recte scilicet est otiosus.

In service the Legionary soldiers had allowance of pay, corn, and apparel: and at the end of his service a confideration in money, or land of inheritance, and sometimes both. For the pay Livy * writeth thus: *Annus conditæ 249. decrevit Senatus ut stipendium i militib; publico acceptet, cum ante id tempus de suo quilibet fasilis to munere esset.* The quarterly Solaries limited in the sixth book, at least as it was in his time, assigning to a footman a denarius for two corns, and a footman for a soldier, while Solarius in another place refused into four asses, to a Centurion twice so much, a horseman a denarius, or Roman pound for twelve asses. This pay continued, as Livypoke, in this forme till Cæsar's time, who *legionibus stipendium in aureis soluit.* Suetonius Julio, cap.6. So that the footmen had by the day eight asses, the Centurion thirteen, the horse soldier sixteen. Augustus increased the footmen pay to * ten assis a day, and as it seemed fitter after it rose to half a denarius. Besides wages the flautiers received in later times *señalium de publico*, as it were some honorary grant, not all his apparel, as I suppose. Plautarch Gracchus, among the lawes which were established by C. Gracchus, one was, *faith he, sarmenorum, libris numeris donare stipendiaris.* *ut quilibet de reo suo stipendioris impendat.* That is, Military, or sarmenaria, garments be given the soldier by the officer without any deduction of wages therefore. For before, as I have observed, they received pay, and were furnished with the necessities of the Quæstor, but the price was set up in their wages. Vegetus lib. cap. *Innotuit militis, quæ sublevis possit.* Thirdly they received *frumentum.* Vegetius in the place before allanced, *militis, quæ sublevis possit.* Thirdly they received

Imperatoris. Vegetus in the place above allcaged, *Imperatoris miles qui annona publica pascitur*. And in the free state, *Salus*

[illegible]

i The Roman
foot lesse then
ours by halfe
our inch.

k Liv. lib. 31.
l Appian. 1. E

which were,
faith he, thirty
two, *Liv. in ep*
roma 89. fortie
seven, as I thin
by corruption
of name

in Seneca conso-
lat. ad Albina

quot colonias in
omnibus provinciis

*vicit Romanus
habitat.*

o *Liv. lib. 45.*
p *Appian Mit.*

Q 46. lib. 3. 1. 9
 r Appian 2. Ep
 f 156. lib. 5. 1.
 2. f. 1. lib. 5. 1.

a Livy in Rom

Romana legio
dulla, faith he
in the family

number, and is the beginning

Romanas legiones
 jam spes deseru-

b *Romulo*, eis σ
ταγματα στρατ

501 ὁ σωτὴρ
πρὸς τὴν

c ἡ χρυσολόγος
d *Diogenes*. lib. 7.
e *Antiphanes*.

Livy lib. 1. 20
horie in tribu

centuram.
 ၆ ဘိဝံ ထွဲ နာဗိ
 နွဲၤက နွဲၤကဏ်း နီၤ

ἀπὸς διὰ
καρποφίτου δι

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्री १०८ नाम स्तोत्रम्
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

g Dionys. lib. 5.
h lib. 1.

i lib. 8.
 k Dionys. lib. 6.
 l Dionys. lib. 5.

in *Dionys. lib. 2.*

un

■ For of the
heads at least
halfe be women;
and of the other
halfe, scarce an
halfe serviceable
men. Dionysius
l y. maketh one
of his censures but
a quarter of the
heads.
o *Novum*: for
otherwise the
state in his time
kept more then
thrice so many in
armes, or perad-
venture it was
but a slip of
his pen.

p lib. 2. σήμερον
παλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς
ἐκκλησίας; αὐτῷ τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῷ
συνελευμένῳ συνέ-
μειν ὑποβίβας τοὺς ἱε-
ροκότας ἀφ' οὗ μνησ-
θείμεν, ἰστορίας δ'
ἐστὶν ἐπιμαρτυρη-
σαι.

q Liv. lib. 25.
r lib. 26.
s lib. 27.
t Epist. Liv. l. 49.
u Euseb.
x Epistol. 98.
y 110 cohortes.
that is, 55000.
Evocati 2000 7
cohortes in castra-
lis. 3500. Summa
60500.
a Appian. 3.
b & 4. Equ
B Seneca consolatio
ad Polyb.

e. 35.
 c *Dis. lib. 55.*
 d *Tac. a. Ann.*
 e 3. *Hiflor.*
 f *Dis. Ptol. Geo.*
 g *Dis* in the
 place alleged,
 and *Ptolemaus.*
 h 3. *Hif.*
 i *Dis.*
 k 3. *Hif.*
 l *Dis.*
 m 1. *Hif.*
 n 2. *Hif. Dis.*
 o 1. *Hif.*
 p 3. *Hif.*
 q 1. *Hif.*
 r 2. *Hif. Plat.*
Orthoe.
 f 1. *Hif.*
 t 3. *Hif.*
 u Which Tacitus
 1. *Hif. fecit.*
 eth to call His-
 spania.
 x 3. *Hif.*
 z 3. *Hif.*
 b *Dis.*
 c 2. *Hif.*
 d 1. *Hif.*
 e *Xiphil.*
 f *Dis.*
 g 3. *Hif.*
 h *Dis.*
 i *Dis Ptol. Geo.*
 k 5. *Hif.*

women above three hundred thousand. Now half of the cente, or a quarter of the heads of the common intend- men being accounted men of the field, we may probably conclude, that the state of Rome in those days was able to put (even twice thousand, or not much less) in arms. *Ann. urbis conditæ* 160. *Quantum nunquam ante* Livy lib. 2. *Legiones decem fuisse*. Dionysius addeth *αἰσθητοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι*. That is, a chief confil of 4000 men. So that the Romans armed that year actually forty thousand men of themselves, without the *Auxilia* of the Latin nation, whom it was not thought convenient as yet *patræ patriæ arma*. In the war of the *Drepani* cent Sabines & *Aequos* ten Legions were levied *αὐτοκρατορικῶν τριῶν καὶ ἑξήκοντα ὁπλίσαντες* in *ἑκαστὴν ἑκατὸν πεντακισχίλιοι*. That is, Accompanied with as many more of the Latines, and other their Allies, Dionysius lib. 11. Summe eighty thousand. *Ann ab urbe condita* 486. upon the revolt of the Latine nation, the Romans armed forty thousand footmen, and three hundred horse. Livius lib. 8. *Paucior non urbana tantum, sed etiam agrariorū juvenute, à cem legionibus scripte distincti, quatuor milia peditum & decem milia equitum, trecentorum, quem nunc novum exercitum, si quis ætterna vis dignetur, he vires T. quibus vis terrarum capiti orbis contrahi in unum haud facile efficitur: ad quem laborem sola crevissimos, divitiis luxuriamque.* Between the first and second war Punick, at what time the cente of the Citi- zens picked about three hundred thousand, a full view being taken of the forces of them and their allies in Italia; there were found, as Polybius reporteth, above seven hundred thousand footmen able to bear arms, and exceedingly thousand horse, an incredible number if we compare it with later ages: and produced by Diodorus Sic. a Bibliot. to confirm it, that the Romans in the first war Punick were as nowthwithstanding that Caesar Appian writeth *Rome* in the first war fought in France, with four millions of men, as with a hundred thousand, which dried up with drinking thivers, falled the mountains, bridged the sea, as Ilorides and Panegyrics make it believe. *Ann. urbis conditæ* 518. & 539. & 542. in the second Punick warre, the Roman state armed twenty three Legions, which according to the count of that time riseth to an hundred and fifteene thousand Legionarie footmen, and almost five hundred horse. After the third Punick war, in which time the cente was 'as four hundred thousand, in *bellis sociis* the Romans armed an hundred thousand: & the *socii* as many on the contrary side, beside sufficient garrisons in their severall Cities. Appian *lib. 11.* In the civil war of Sylla the Consuls had two hundred Cohorts of five hundred a piece, *Equi* 1. and Sylla v twenty three Legions, which Appian resolveth into an hundred and twenty thousand: on both sides two hundred and twenty thousand. In the Civil warre between Pompey and Cæsar, about which time the cente amounted to s four hundred and fifty thousand, Pompey had 7 sixty thousand and five hundred men, Cæsar eight Cohorts, in which were but twenty two thousand, and two Cohorts *praefidis castris lib. 3. de bello civili.* After Cæsar's death when the peace was made at Mutina to trouble the state, *Officiis* was had twenty Legions. Antonius twelve: Brutus s eight: Cassius twelve: Lepidus three: Dolabella two, and at least one in Africk. Summe sixtie fix: all alone time: which following the race set down in Antonius oration, s *etiam* in the second Antony and Octavian warre, the same sixtie eight thousand, which broughteth our bet- ter to four hundred thousand, the great reckoning usually in that time we made of horse, and men in the Roman state. After the civil warres ended, Augustus settling the state, and removing armies out of Italie, established in the provinces and limits of the Empire, s 23. Legions with their Auxilia, that is, according to the Position, and dis- tance, two hundred seventy six thousand soldiers. Tiberius maintained 4 twenty five Legions, that is, three hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, placing in the two Germanies eight Legions: in Spain three: Africk two: Egypt two: Syria four: Illyricum five: to wit, twain Pannonia, two in Moesia, two in Dalmatia, Summe twenty six.

In Galbaes time the state mai

In Britannic (c) three,
In Spain two,
In Gallia (m) Lugdunenti one,
In High (m) Germany three,

In Low Germany four, f

In Pannonia two,
In Dalmatia two,

In Mœsia three,

In Africa one, Tertia i Augusti
In Egypt two,

In Syria¹ four

Secunda (f) Augusta.
Nona Hispaniensis.
Vicesima (g) Victrix.
(h) Sexta, (i) Ferrata.
(k) Decima, (l) Gemina.
(n) Prima (m) Italica.
(o) Quarta, (p) Macedonica.
(r) Decimoctava, (s) Alas Duovicesima.
(t) Vnaevicesima (r) Rapax.
Prima.
Quinta.
Decimaquinta.
Decimafexta.
Septima * Galbiana.
Tertiadecima * Gemina.
Vndecima * Claudiana.
Quartadecima * Gemina.
Tertia * Gallica.
Septima * Claudiana.
Octava * Augusti.

¹ Tertia Cyrenaica.
² Duodevicesima Primigenia.
³ Quarta^a Scythica.
⁴ Sexta^a Victrix.
⁵ Duodecima^a Fulminatrix.
 Viceima, if the place be not corrupt in Dio, that there were two of that name continued from Augustus to his time.

In

In Jewry { three, }
 { Quinta v Macedonia.
 { Decima x Fretensis.
 { Quindecima x Apollinea.

At ^aRome one, { Prima^b Adjutrix^b Classica.

[illegible]

f 1. *Hift.*
t 5. *Hift. Ios. 3.*
αλυσ. cap. 5.
u *Die.*
x *Ex lap. Capito-*
lino.
a 1 *Hift.*
b 2 *Hift.*

c As at this time
Mauritania,
Rhætia, Noricum,
Thracia, &c. Tac.
2. Hist.
d Neque multo
secus in iis auxi-
liis virorum.
e Lib. 55.

f Agathias lib. 5.
p. 152. sets down
a proportion ob-
served in the lat-
ter Emperours
time far greater,
of 64; 000.
fighting men,
which he com-
plains to have
beene by Iusti-
nian in his lat-
ter time greatly

[illegible]

1 cap. 6.

© с.а.б.

p Fetus.

q̄ Suct. Augusto.
6. 49. neque vi-
gint plures quam
tres colores in
urbe esse passus est
Augustus easq; si-
ne castis, reliquis
in viberna & asti-
va circa finitima
opp:da dimittere
cognoverat.
l. cap. 37.
lib. 2.

κατάλογος

[illegible] $\mathbf{V} =$

at the J
for

K Caesar. com.
appointeth 80.
oncrarias ad dua
legiones transpor
tandas.

1. ^{κτ} τοῦ εἰχμῆ
τοῦ ^{κτ} τοῦ π. ^{κτ} ^{κτ}
ἐν' ἀλλήλοις,
faith one, and
Lucan. lib. 3.
*Quasque quater
surgens extruisti
remigis ordo con
mouet, describit*

the Quadrirem
Virg lib. 5. de-
scribing the Tr
reme triplici pu-
bes quam Darda-
na versu impel-
luit, ternis confu-
gunt ordine rem-
Memnon infra
p. 86 in

men. p. 80. in the
description of
an ocleres, &
ταύτη, saith he
ἰνατόρ (μὴ) αὐτοῦ
ἰνατοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ
ἐλπίου. ὡς ἐκ τοῦ
κοπίου ἐκ διατί-
μης καὶ ἰνατοῦ, ὡς
ἰνατοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ

κὶ ὕψακοπις
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡσυχαστη
 μόνων μετὰ
 μέντοι ἡσυχίας καὶ
 ἀκρίβειας, καὶ κυ-
 ράται δὲ.
 m Dio lib. 50.
 οὗτο ἡσυχαστὴς
 καὶ πάλιν ἡσυχία

τες, κ' ὅθ' ἐστι τὸ
 καμυσαχίπ' ἐπὶ
 παρσκαυασμῶν
 ἐν ἐπιδ' ἰαχῶν.
 ἡ τὰς μὲν ἐξ ἑνὸς
 δ' ὅς ἐστις ἐφ' ὅ
 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οἱ σφα
 ο lib. 53.
 p. 171.

α Demetrio.
 τ lib. 5.
 [λιβυρα γῆ
 ἰβυρα γῆ, οἱ
 ἰβυρα γῆ τῆς
 ἰβυρα γῆ τῆς
 οἰκίστης τε καὶ
 γῆς ὅθεν ἵππ
 ὀνυαῖος τῆς

α) ὁμοίᾳ ἀντι-
 λαβουρίας α-
 σπασμοῦσι. L.
 nus lib. 1.
 17. fine conten-
 u ἢ τετακτόν-
 λης. Incertu

at the least, which were to encounter with the enemies: in *Speculation*, and such like as were meere ~~vanishing~~ ^{vanishing}, being not greatly materiall. For whereas in their manner of fight by Sea, there were three ordinary wayes to offend, either to break the enemies ship by running against it, to wipe away her oares, or to kill the fouldiers which stood at defence upon the hatches, and so board her, for performing the first, it was meet that their own should be surely

and strongly headed for that encounter. *Turtur* ^{supra} *q* *q* which had *ad proram* & *puppm* *turturum* *propugnacula*, *ut mari quoque*, faith Pliny, *pugnaretur velut ē murū*. Pollux maketh mention of *turturum*, *Νέτορ* & *Βαρυον*. That is, the right f lib. 32. and left *turtur*, which were on the sides.

The officers in the Navie were *Præfides* *classis*, Admirall of the whole Armada; *Duumviri* in the ancient story, whene they went to the Naies to Conquest; *Triumviri* Governours of particular Armes, whene Salvo

which as two were joined in the Commission. The *Prætorius* Government of a particular imper: men *Gubernator*, the *Maffar*, *Nauticus*, and other under officers: The rest *Socii navales*; or *Astivæ*, *ἀστίβοι ναυτικοί*. Againe, *Socii navales* of two sorts, *limy*, *remiges*, to handle the oare, or *Scaphiti* whom Cæfar callen *Nautas*, for the other servi-
ces in the ship. *Socii navales* in the free state were collected, *Ex ultime classis hominibus*, or *ἐκ τῆς ὑστερᾶς κλάσης* h 3. Hf.
δὲ τοῦ ἐσχάτου πλοίου ἀνδράσι: and Dolubus (Greekish: in latter times, *ex Dalmati Pannoniæ &c.*) The Souldiers *Quadrati* *Veges*, l 4.c. 3.

most commonly Legionaries, accommodated both to fight at Sea, and upon occasion to make their descent into the land; and in latter times to every *Armada* was annexed his proper Legion with the Legionary Officers appertaining. In the first Punick warre we have an example in * Polybius of three hundred *Remiges*, and an hundred and twenty *Triremes* in each of the flups of warre: and likewise a division of the *Armada* into four ranks: The first called

fretis: of [so] wonderfull adirpath multt they be, which will be Lords of the world; and yet that of the elder Scipio was more marvellous, who p Die quadra, *simo quinto quamez stivis dicta materia erat, navis instructa amatsque in aquam deduxit*, and that being not afflicted by the publick purie. In the ninth year of the said Punick warre, according to Polybius were manned. But Regulus the same year, sixth Appian, *Nipon*. failed into Africk

with three hundred and thirtie: *Æmilius* and *Fulvius* had three hundred and sixtie thousand of service in the same warre, which number can hardly be matched againe in the Romane state in many yeares after. In the second *Punic* an hundred and sixtie, or two hundred, or not much above. Against *Antiochus* they manned but eightie, and at other times the like in their more flourishing state. Which doubt *Polybius* also noteth in his *Historie*, but leaveth the solution to another place. For although the number of three hundred sixtie four is not so excessive, yet

such and so great was the Fleet, by reason of the qualitie of ships, that not onely the Grecian and Macedonian, but
even the Perian power, which covered the Sea with twelve hundred faile, could not by Polybius judgement stand
in comparison. After Polybius time, Pompey in bello^h *Piratico* had not above two hundred fventie. But in the
civill war he had, asⁱ Appian witnesseth, six hundred *naves longas*, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ πλεμίσματος. And Augustus after he had
^h Livy lib. 28. ⁱ Polyb. lib. 1.

driven Sex. Pompeius out of Italie, * fix hundred *longas navas* of his own, befide feventeen which fled with Pompey, and the Navy of Antonie, who shortly after the battel of Actium furnished five hundred shippes of warre, (ἑξήκοντα πλοῖα) where Augustus had two hundred and fiftie. Plutarch Antonio. And this was, as I take it, the greatest reckoning in the Romane state. But whereas we read of * fixtine hundred with Sylla out of Asia; * a thousand

land with Germanicus in Germanie, and such like; they are not to be otherwise intended but as vessels to transport, not for the warre.

After the civill warres ended, Augustus having as it were walled the State with Legions, and Aids by land, as before we have shewed, established also to guard the Empire by Sea, two ordinary Armadaes in Italie, the one at Misenum in *misenum* to protect, and keep in obedience France. Spaine, Mauritania, Africa, Egypt, Sardinia, and Sicily.

itum in mari superius, to proceed to the coast in boats, and to keep the passage open; and having taken Sicily, Sardinia and Cilicia; another at Ravenna, in mari supero, to defend and bridle Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Creta, Cyprus, &c. and out of Italie, one in Porto Euxino, for defence of those countries consisting of forty ships at the beginning of the Vespasian time. Eggeppibus lib. 2. Before these Armadae which remained ordinary for defence of the Empire, Prætorium Gallicis litus, such as Tacitus, Polstrata navis præsidebant, quas Asiatica victoria captas Augustus in oppidum Favonium

Sicily
Sardinia
Cilicia
Epirus
Macedonia
Achaia
Asia
Cyprus
Crete
Porto Euxino
Favonium

lignis miscrat valido cum remige: and betide, *Apud idonea provinciarum sociæ triremes.* Claudius adjoining Britanny to the Empire, adjoynd also the British Armada. And not onely by Sea, but also upon the Rivers that bordered the Empire, severall Navies were maintained, as *Germania classis* upon the Rhene, *Danubiana classis,* & *Euphratenfis.* Tacitus, and others.

V₃ THE

Translations of the marginals Greek.

In the margin of Tacitus.

Page 3. *Amphibium*, destroyed. * For vertue, wealth or nobilitie was with him a publicke crime against all men. *Galba*. lost opinion of orderly proceeding and popularitie, in putting to death certaine noble-men without forme of law, though peradventure they had justly deserved to die.

Amphibium, to be slain by treason.

8. He that is sent governour into Egypt sustaineth the person and place of a King. * In extortions and murders upon crueltie and rapine.

16. * He gave to the Judges of *Ludi Olympici* a million of *Sesterces*, which afterwards *Galba* demanded of them back againe. * *Galba* sought out those who had bought or received in gift any thing of *Nero's* favorites, and of them he exacted it.

21. * Intending to make sacrifice to Jupiter, and be scene of the Citizens. * He kissed his fingers and call towards every one of them.

22. They ravened, robbed and spoiled all things they could lay their hands on.

23. * Getting upon the porches and high places about the place of assemble, as it were to behold a play.

24. * With which the Centurions scourge them that deserve punishment. * *Otho* fearing to contradict them, answered that he would make the man away, but not so suddenly; for that he had matter of importance which he must first learne out of him.

25. *Galba's* body *Heliophilus Priscus* took up by *Otho's* permission, and *Argius* his freed man buried it by night.

26. This year *Sulpicius Galba* conquered the *Chatti*.

27. *Amphibium*, universally one and another.

31. Missing of their desire in *Perginus*, they sought to fulfill it in some other.

41. *Otho* dispatched towards *Tigellinus* lying at *Sinuflu*, for there he sojourned, having ships attending in the road, as though he would have fled further and first he attempted to corrupt him that was sent, offering him store of gold to let him escape: then not obtaining his purpose, he gave him notwithstanding the gold, praying him that he would yet have patience a little, till his beard might be shaven, and himselfe taking the razor cut his own throat.

47. * Left being in wine you fall to quarrelling amongst your selves, and wound one another, and so dishonour the banquet. For the fight of Armes draweth men often to handling of them. *Tellama* this usage may be removed by fathers armour and weapons out of the place where the women used to eat. * Two Centurions. * Eighty Senators. * Sending them out by a back gate.

50. * And the common people accounted the rising of *Tiber*, as an evil signe. * The river did dole harme in the corn-market, whereupon followed a great dearth for many dayes.

54. To doe his reverence to the Prince, and receive commision from him concerning the affaires of *Jewrie*.

55. Some say that the Island was called *Cyprus* of the sonne of *Cinyras*. * The said altar was placed in the open aire without any cover, as others also in *Homer* seeme to have bene, on which those that travelled by the way did offer. * It is reported and believed amongst the *Barygetes*, that the image of *Diana* named *Kindyas*, though lying open to all weather, is yet neither touched with snow, nor raine at all.

74. Slaying all those of the vanguard.

76. One of the common souldiers stretching out his sword and crying, We are thus resolved for thee, *O Cesar*, flew himselfe.

78. Supposing it madnesse to receive the Empire at the conquered hands, having refused it before at the conquerours. And fearing to goe in Embassie to those of Germany whom he had forced to many things against their own will.

90. Nothing amazed at the change determined to go on his journey to *Rome*.

120. Small vessels straight and light of forme 25. men apiece; seldome and at the uttermost not above 30. the *Grecians* call them *Camaræ*.

131. * The Temple of *Jupiter*, and *Juno*, and *Minerva*. At what time also the Capitol was burnt, which foule Ad some imputed to *Carbo*, some to the *Consuls*; others said it was done by *Syllas* commandment. The certaintie was not known neither can I conjecture the cause why it was done. * *Appian*. For his felicitie against his enemies, his flatterers named him, The happy, which proceeding first of flattery, was afterward confirmed to him by common consent. *Plot*. Lastly upon these accidents he commanded himselfe to be called, The happy: for so much doth the word *Felix* signifie.

135. And fighting in three severall places in the citie, they were all made anend of.

139. To have twelve *fastes* alwayes and in every place borne before him, and to sit between the present *Consuls* in a chaire of estate.

150. An escape of memorie.

160. Being brethren, and in a manner of the same years, and never doing any thing the one without the other, but being always united, and communicating as in blood, so in their counsels and wealth, they governed a great while the two *Germanies* together, afterward being sent for by *Nero* into *Greece*, as though he had stood in need of their sufficiency, they were according to the nature of those times accused. And both of them let themselves be bloud to death.

164. *Archerus*, Archers on horse-back.

174. * He hid himselfe in a cave under ground, and there lay secret the space of nine years with his wife, on whom he begat two sonnes, as it were by divine providence.

182. * *Diomitus* in his periegesis speaking of *Alexandria*, where is, said he, The temple of the great god *Jupiter Simiopolita* beautified with much gold, then the which there is no one temple in the world more goodly and glorious. * For he brought not with him that name from *Sinope*, but after his coming to *Alexandria*, the name of *Sarapis* was given him, which in the *Egyptian* language signifieth *Pluto*.

186. In these times the noble men of *Rome*, such as be desirous of good learning, instead of travelling to *Athen*, go to *Messina*, and in another place be attributeth to them the commendation of *Varro* in discipline, and modestie.

188. *Xiphil*.

188. *Xiphil*, *Agricola* the first Roman that we have memory of discovered Britanny to be an Island. *Dio*. In procelle of time first under *Agricola* Propretor, and now under *Severus* the Emperor it was evidently known to be an Island.

192. For as the proverb saith, Venture must be made in the *Carian* (that is the common mercenary souldier) not in the *Generals* person.

199. Making an expedition into Germany, he returned not having so much as once seen the enemy; now it is needlesse to report what great honours therefore were then bestowed upon him, and alwaies after upon other Emperours his matches, lest that suspecting by the smallness of their honors their actions to be checked, they should weaken their anger upon the Senators, *Agrippa* *postum*, worthy to be led in triumph, or triumphed over.

In the margin of the Annotations.

Page 2. *Dio*, wherein it becometh us not to mourne for him, but to magnifie alwayes his spirit as a God.

7. Afterwards the Centurions with torches put fire to the pile, which was soone consumed, and out of it an eagle let loose flew up, as carrying forthwith his soule into heaven.

29. *Appian*. I to be sacred and not to be touched himselfe, and whosoever else should sic unto him. *Dio*. The prerogatives granted to the Tribunes were conferred upon him, so that if any man should injury him in word or deed, he was to be reputed a sacrilegious and detestable person.

35. * Antony allotted souldiers to death, not those who had stirred mutinies, forsaken their place in watch, or standing in battell, upon which crimes only the law of armes had laid fo rigorous and terrible a punishment, but &c. * *Callicledon* *Lugdunum*, now *Lugdunum*.

98. * Northerly winde blowing yearly after the summer *solstitium* some twenty dayes, about the rising of the Dogstar, * being mixed of the northerly and westerne winde.

117. One dayes. *Antonius* entered the citie, being the third of the moneth *Aprilis*.

122. * Of the Roman warres he spared to triumph, as being civil, and neither much becoming himselfe, and much misliked and abhorred of the people, yet did he notwithstanding carry in triumph all the accidents of those war in divers pictures, and the images of the captives and principall men, saving of *Pompey*, whom only he chewed to shew, as being yet in all mens hearts greatly desired, and wished for. * The shew in his triumph of the citizens slain in *Africa* did much grieve the people.

205. *Diomitus* gloried much more in his poems, then in the happy successe of his warres, and amongst other poets that lived in the tyrants court. *Philoxenus* a maker of *Didymus*, a man of great reputation and renown in that kinde of poem, the Tyrants verses being read in banquet which indeed were naught, was asked his opinion of them. Who speaking somewhat freely his minde, the tyrant was offended with his answer and crying out that upon envy he had spoken ill of his poems, commanded those that attended, to carry him forthwith away into the quarry pits. * This kinde of leaveny and envious juggling and deceit, not by dispraising, but by commending to ruine your neighbours, was first and principally found out by such as remaine in Princes courts, upon jealousie and ambition they have, one to outgrow another.

207. * Every one of the Legions is of 4000. a piece. i. Ten Legions were enrolled of 4000. a piece.

208. * There followed him the horse belonging to the Legion. For every Legion had annexed to it an hundred and twenty horse.

209. * For dividing themselves into payres. Of the six months they keep the field, each paire commandeth two months. * The Law commandeth all the 60 centuries to obey, and do what is commanded by him.

210. * After that Augustus was settled in monarchy, he quit the Italians of the paines of service, and utterly disarmed them. * The gentlemen on horseback must of necessity serve ten yeares, the footmen 16. before they be 46. yeares of age. * When they will take up any souldiers, they call that tributes one by one, as the lot falleth.

212. * The same form of government the *Præfecti* also use with the allies.

213. * The first day of the yeare they both ware themselves, and caused others to swear, that they would accept for good all *Cæsars* acts. Which thing is used even at this day for the acts of the present Emperours, and for those or all their predecessours whose memory is not disgraced.

214. * The whole figure of the caltrematation is a square of equal sides.

216. * If the place chance to be uneven, they make it plaine and even. * When they are fast gathered together into the camp, and ready to enter the enemies country.

217. * *Romulus* divided his people into Legions, and every Legion consisted of 3000. persons. * He resolved to make war against the *Sabins* arming all the Roman forces, which were double to that they were before the taking of *Alba*.

221. * The Provost of the City having but few souldiers under his government. * Having never so much as imagined of (a service, then first they entred into concert thereof.

222. * For being without sayles, and prepared only for the fight, they did not follow in chase those which fled.

* *Liburni* a people of *Illyrium*, who with light and swift ships roved about the *Mare Ionium*, and Islands there. Whereupon at this day the Romans call the lightest and swiftest of the *Buemes Liburnice*. * *Triacontoros* and *Tessarcontoros* and *Pentecontoros* have their names of the number of their oares. *Moneres* and *Biremis* and so in consequence have their names according to the number of ranks of oares one above another. Vingt but few *Triremes*, but furnished with *Pentecontori*, and long ships.

223. Ships of service that were some five hundred, 3. and of *Liburnice* an infinite number. * A man may well doubt what the reason should be why the Romans being now lords of all, and in a far greater height then before, can neither man out so many ships, nor sayle with so great navies.

The rest which are not here translated, are but either some few words, or else Greek of that, the substance whereof is in the text.

FINIS.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. L.* for *Richard Whitaker*, and are to be
sold at the signe of the Kings Armes in *Pauls*
Church-yard. 1640.